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EDITED BY  
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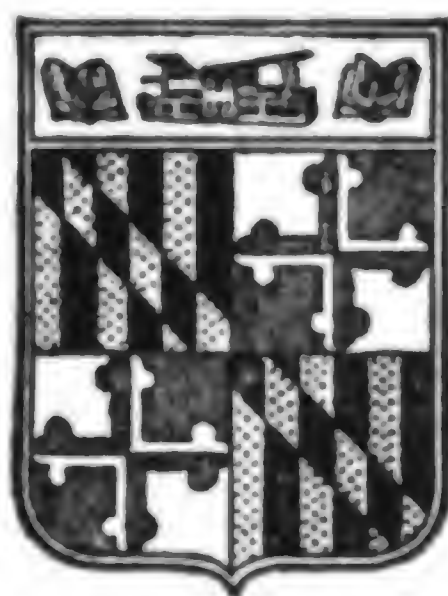
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## I.—THE DIALOGUE OF TACITUS.

The preparation of a text and translation for the Loeb Classical Library has sent me back to the *Dialogus*. It is just twenty years since my edition was published in the Clarendon Press Series, and in the interval the literature of the subject has grown very considerably. One might almost think that our generation had deliberately set itself to make amends for the neglect of previous times. Special studies have been undertaken in the learned journals; new editions have been produced; and above all fresh light has been thrown by quite recent discoveries on some at least of the problems which have made the *Dialogus* one of the puzzles of literary antiquity. I wish to speak in this paper of what can now be called with confidence the Hersfeld archetype, and of a recent attempt to use the new evidence that has come to light in support of a textual theory which I believe to be unfounded, and which must in any case be left to rest, as formerly, on internal evidence alone.

In his monumental edition of the *Dialogus*, Gudeman followed Voigt in rejecting without hesitation (p. cxx, note 206) the tradition which ascribed the rediscovery of the minor works of Tacitus to Enoch of Ascoli. But this is a case where it would have been better not to be so positive. For not only is the tradition vindicated (and accepted now, by the way, by Gudeman himself), but a portion of the 10th century archetype recovered by Enoch at Hersfeld and brought by him to Italy has been found incorporated with a 15th century manuscript at Iesi. It seems hardly creditable to Italian scholarship that a codex so



important as that which turned up in a private library only ten years ago should have lain hid so long. If it had been reported earlier it would have saved much discussion. The incident is significant as showing that while scholars are busy looking in many lands for what is underground, some things are still to be found above the surface in Italy itself.

For the purposes of my edition published by the Oxford Press, I collated a somewhat neglected manuscript in the British Museum, the *Harleianus* 2639, containing the Suetonius fragment and the Dialogue. The fact that the Suetonius comes first in this codex did not blind me to the importance of a note which I reported (p. lxxix) as occurring at the end of the text—*Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur*. The obvious inference from these words was that the *Harleianus* derived, either directly or indirectly, from an ancient manuscript which must have been the archetype of the two lost codices that are known as X and Y. And as the *Harleianus* was written in Italy, it seemed reasonable to conclude that it was no mere copy of an ancient original that Enoch brought from Hersfeld, but the *antiquissimum exemplar* itself.

This view turns out now to be amply justified by the facts. The Suetonius fragment was the last of four treatises contained in the Hersfeld original, the other three being (1) The Germania, (2) The Agricola, and (3) The Dialogus. It was in 1901 that Sabbadini announced<sup>1</sup> the discovery in an Ambrosian MS. (R. 88 sup. f. 112) of certain references entered in his diary by Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477), about the time of Enoch's return from the mission on which he had been sent in search of manuscripts. The entry begins with the words "Cornelii taciti liber reperitur Rome visus 1455 de Origine et situ Germanie". It was in 1451 that Pope Nicholas V had sent Enoch into Northern Europe, and this note makes it certain that he was back at Rome in 1455, bringing his sheaves with him. Decembrio quotes the beginning and end of the Germania, which he describes as a codex in double columns, containing 12 folia,—"*opus est foliorum XII in columnellis*". The Agricola is next described in the same way, and is said to have been comprised in 14 folia. The account given of the Dialogus, which comes next, must be quoted almost as it stands: "Cornelii taciti dialogus de oratori-

<sup>1</sup> Rivista di fil. class. XXIX (1901) p. 262 sq.



bus. Incipit: *Sepe ex me requiris . . . . . oratoris retineat*: Opus foliorum XIII in columnellis. Post hec deficient sex folia. nam finit: *quam ingentibus verbis prosequuntur*.<sup>1</sup> *Cum ad veros iudices ventum*. Deinde sequitur: *rem cogitare nihil abiectum nihil humile*. Post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio, et finit: *Cum adrisissent discessimus*".

The fourth and last treatise is described as "Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus liber", in seven folia. In connection with an argument which will be developed later, it may be important to remark here that in citing the concluding portion of this treatise Decembrio must have read clearly in his archetype the words *proconsulem* and *conspectu*, which afterwards became corrupted, the former into *personalem* A B, and the latter into *ypseum* A, *ipseu* B. This suggests that the compendia which have been noted as characteristic of the text may have been due, not to the Hersfeld archetype, but to X, the lost original of A and B.

The discovery of Decembrio's note would have sufficed to vindicate the tradition of Enoch's connection with the Hersfeld codex. But the sequel is even more remarkable. Only a year or two after Sabbadini made his communication, the discovery was announced (as a matter of fact, at the International Congress of Historians held at Rome in 1903) in the library of Count Guglielmi-Balleani at Iesi, in the district of Ancona, of a 15th century codex in which is incorporated a portion (one whole quaternion) of the *Agricola*, which obviously formed part of the "antiquissimum exemplar" brought from Hersfeld to Rome in 1455.<sup>2</sup>

The new evidence is being invoked to settle two important textual problems, first the extent and nature of the great lacuna at the end of ch. 35, and secondly the suggestion, which has received much support, that a second lacuna must be assumed in the text after the words *faces admovebant* in 40, 7 (Teubner text). It seems to me that in regard to the former of these two problems no certain result has yet been reached, while as to the second the facts have been altogether wrongly interpreted.

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally this establishes the reading *prosequantur* (*prosequuntur* A B E V<sup>2</sup>: *persequuntur* H V: *persequimur* D: *persequuntur* C Δ).

<sup>2</sup> See Annibaldi, *L'Agricola e La Germania di Cornelio Tacito nel MS. Latino N. 8 della biblioteca del Conte G-Balleani in Iesi, Città di Castello, 1907*, and the same editor's *La Germania*, Leipzig, 1910; also Wissowa's preface to the Leiden facsimile (Sijthoff, Leiden, 1907).



Let me take the second first. The view set forth in the introduction to my edition of the Dialogue is the traditional and conservative one, viz: that chs. 36 to 41 form a continuous whole and must be credited to one speaker, Maternus. That there are repetitions in his discourse, and even redundancies, must be admitted; the speaker shows that he is conscious of them himself (e. g. *ut subinde admoneo* 37, 31), and they seem to have been motivated by what had been said, probably by Secundus as well as by Messalla, in that part of the debate which has been lost in the great lacuna. But the critics go too far in my opinion when they speak of contradictions<sup>1</sup> in addition to repetitions,—some of them even vainly endeavoring to make out that there are inconsistencies between what Maternus says here of the scope of republican oratory and the ideal which he describes in the speech he made at the opening of the discussion on the comparative merits of oratory and poetry.

Now as to the MS. evidence. In Classical Philology, Vol. 7, No. 4, pages 412-419 (October, 1912,) Dr. Alfred Gudeman sets forth what he believes to be an "amazing confirmation" of the theory that a second lacuna must be assumed in the text after ch. 40, 7. It is well known that such lacunae do not usually occur at the end of a sentence, as is the case here, and the theory in question would be greatly strengthened if it were possible to show that the words "faces admovebant", which close the sentence, occurred at the foot of the verso of a page in the archetype; the loss of the succeeding folio may easily then have given rise to a lacuna not noticed by the next copyist,—especially if he found the following page beginning with the new sentence, *Non de otiosa*, etc., which of course is pure supposition. In order to furnish the necessary proof Dr. Gudeman assumes that the words with which ch. 36 now begins, "Rem cogitant", were at the beginning of the page in the archetype which followed the great lacuna. This assumption (unlike the one in regard to *Non de otiosa*, etc.) he is probably entitled to make, as the most likely theory about the great lacuna is that it was caused by the actual loss or the total disfigurement of certain complete folia in the original.

<sup>1</sup> The best statement of the argument under this head will be found in the Preface to the edition by C. John (Weidmann, Berlin, 1899) p. 39 sqq. See on the other hand my edition, Introd. p. xxxviii sqq.; and cp. Hendrickson in Am. J. Ph. xvi (1895) pp. 84-86.



Arguing from these premises Dr. Gudeman takes the diplomatic edition of the text of the *Agricola* published by Annibaldi, and founds on it his alleged proof that the portion of the Dialogue from ch. 36 to "*faces admovebant*" at ch. 40, 7, would make exactly two folia or four pages of the archetype. Having presented the case so that we are bound to suppose that a leaf may have been accidentally lost "at the precise juncture where the strongest of internal reasons pointed to an interruption of the context" he calls it a "coincidence too marvelous for credence", and proceeds to establish the theory by the processes of arithmetic. I shall not be doing Dr. Gudeman any injustice if I briefly summarize his argument as follows: An average page of the *Agricola* MS. as printed in Annibaldi's diplomatic reproduction contained 282 cm. of text. Two folia, therefore, or four pages, would contain 1128 cm. of text. Now the entire length of the text of the Dialogue as printed in the Teubner edition from chs. 36 to 40, 7 is 1025.4 cm.,<sup>1</sup> but as 1 cm. of this edition is equal to 1.1 cm. of the archetype the same amount of text covered 1127.94 cm. in the MS. "Dividing this total by 282, the number of cm. to a page, we find that chs. 36 to 40, 6 [7] took up 3.999, or exactly 4 complete pages in the codex Hersfeldensis". If this calculation were correct Dr. Gudeman might certainly be excused for regarding the fractional difference as quite insignificant, amounting as it does to less than a single letter. He would have proved in fact that, as the verso of the second folio must have finished with the words *faces admovebant* at 40, 7, the lacuna postulated at that point in the text by Heumann, Andresen, John, and others must have been caused by the actual loss of a leaf or leaves in the archetype.

Unfortunately the calculation does not hold. In the first place let me call attention to the fact that it is based on averages, a somewhat slender foundation for a process claiming such arithmetical exactitude. The Teubner text is of course a known quantity: a full line measures 8.5 cm. But the case is different with the written text of the *Agricola* as it is preserved for us in the surviving quaternion of the archetype now found imbedded

<sup>1</sup> I am giving Dr. Gudeman the benefit of his own figures, but am bound at the same time to report that my measurements are different. Taking the Teubner text as it is printed in the 1901 edition I find 127 full lines (plus four spaces for capital letters) from ch. 36 to ch. 40, 7, and this gives at 8.5 cm. per line 1079.5 cm., not 1025.4.



in the codex Aesinus, which, by the way, does not yield the same measurements as Annibaldi's diplomatic reproduction. Dr. Gudeman gets his 282 cm. per page by calculating the length of a column line in Annibaldi's printed text as varying from 4.4 to 4.85 cm. or of a double line as varying between 8.8 and 9.7 cm., the grand average being 9.4 cm. As there are 30 lines to the page he multiplies 9.4 by 30 and gets 282.

Believing Gudeman's results to be as important as they are certainly remarkable, I set about to verify them, and resolved not to rely upon averages for the MS. lines as reproduced by Annibaldi, but to proceed by the method of actual measurement of his text. I find that the content of each of the 16 pages which make up the quaternion varies from 276.1 to 303.5 cm., and that the average is therefore not 282 cm., but 290.1, which would give nearly one Teubner line more for each page, and which for the four pages taken together increases the resulting difference from the single letter reported by Gudeman to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Teubner lines, at the very least.

This, however, while establishing a doubt, would not in itself be sufficient to dispose of Dr. Gudeman's argument. The variations of script from one page to another of a manuscript are known to be considerable, and *on the supposition that* the copyist of the Dialogue was the same as the copyist of the Agricola, or at least that he was writing in the same style, it may be admitted that the text of chs. 36 to 40, 7 would go *approximately* into four pages of the MS.<sup>1</sup>

But the next consideration which I have to bring forward is altogether fatal to Dr. Gudeman's theory. The note in Decembrio's diary states that in the archetype the great lacuna was followed by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  folia, or five pages: "post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio. et finit: *Cum adrisissent discessimus*". Four of these five pages Gudeman has accounted for by supposing that they contained the text of the Dialogue from chs. 36 to 40, 7. We have thus one page left. But the remaining text of

<sup>1</sup>My calculation is that the Agricola quaternion is contained in 491 *full* lines of the Teubner text. Two folia (or a quarter of a quaternion) would therefore go into  $122\frac{3}{4}$  lines. As a matter of fact there are 127 full Teubner lines from ch. 36 to 40, 7, which would go into two folia if we allow  $31\frac{3}{4}$  Teubner lines to each page here, instead of  $30\frac{3}{4}$  lines, which is the average for the Agricola quaternion. It may be noted that there are more chapters in the Agricola text, while the Dialogue is more continuous.



the Dialogue cannot by any stretch, either of imagination or of arithmetic, go into one page calculated on the same basis as the other four. My estimate is that with a colophon three folia, or six full pages, of the Agricola type would be needed to take in the 182 Teubner lines of the Dialogue from ch. 36 to the end. This is inconsistent with Decembrio's note, "folia duo cum dimidio", which we must take to be correct. Gudeman's arithmetical processes must be applied to the fifth page equally with the other four, and the grounds on which he bases what he calls a "surprising result" in regard to these are found completely to collapse when we come to deal with the remainder of the text.

The possibility may occur to some that Decembrio may have given an inaccurate report when he wrote "folia duo cum dimidio", and that he may have failed to include in his reckoning what may have been the verso of a leaf immediately preceding, making six pages in all instead of five. This would involve the explanation that the great lacuna was caused not by the actual loss of folia, but by their disfigurement, and that the text again becomes legible on the verso of the *sixth* page (post hec deficient *sex folia*), beginning with the words "rem cogitant". Such a hypothesis, while it would find room for the remainder of the text, is excluded by a fresh proof which may be held to point in a different direction in any attempt to estimate for the lost archetype of the Dialogue the amount of Teubner text that may have gone to the MS. page. Decembrio's note says that the Germania was contained in 12 folia, reproduced in the *codex Aesinus* by only 10 folia.<sup>1</sup> We need not have any difficulty here in accepting Decembrio's statement as absolutely correct. A comparison of the Germania text with the surviving quaternion of the Agricola makes it easily possible to reconstruct the archetype on the basis of Decembrio's 12 folia. Decembrio's note tells us next that the Agricola was contained in 14 folia. There is more difficulty here, but the important fact to note is that while the body of the work surviving in the old quaternion (13.2—40.6) is fully accounted for, and while careful calculation shows that the first four folia, no

<sup>1</sup> The copyist of the Germania in the *codex Aesinus* got  $6\frac{1}{4}$  additional Teubner lines into what is now 69<sup>r</sup>; if he did the same, as seems to be the fact, in each of his ten folia, or twenty pages, he would gain about 125 lines—just the equivalent of the two folia by which he reduced the size of the archetype.



longer extant, must have been written on pretty much the same scale, the case is different with the last two folia. It may even be significant that the last pages of the old quaternion have a somewhat larger content than most of the others. The seventh folio (63) has 291 cm. on the recto, and on the verso 297.9. The eighth (63) has on the recto 300.6 cm. and on the verso 294.5. Then follows a very considerable jump. Fortunately for us what was originally page 64 of the *Agricola* is still preserved, the writing having first been erased for the purpose of receiving the text of the *Germania*, where it is now page 69. In regard to this page the fact becomes of first-class importance that its content was greater than that of the *Agricola* pages upon which Gudeman's whole argument is based by no fewer than 6½ additional Teubner lines. In centimetres the increase is from 294.5 in 63<sup>r</sup> to 352.3 in 64<sup>r</sup>. The erased portion of the *Agricola* contained 37 lines of Teubner text<sup>1</sup> and the portion of the *Germania* substituted for it, as may be seen from the facsimile given in Annibaldi's edition, has just about the same amount. Annibaldi in fact has already noted (see his *Germania*, page 24), "*that the script of the last pages of the Agricola was different from that of the preserved quaternion; it was finer and closer and each line, therefore, contained a larger number of letters*". In his opinion, we have here a clear case of a different hand.

For the Dialogue these observations come to have the highest possible significance. Taking 290.1 as the average number of cm. for each page of the old quaternion, we are able to square our calculations with Decembrio's note, both for the preceding part of the *Agricola* and for the whole of the *Germania*. In the old quaternion there are 491 full Teubner lines. This gives an average of 30½ lines for every page of the MS. But towards the end of the quaternion, as remarked above, and still more after it, conditions begin to change. The first folio after the quaternion (64<sup>r</sup>) we find to have contained no fewer than 37 lines of the Teubner text of the *Agricola*. Following Annibaldi, who makes his calculations on the basis of the erasures still traceable in the MS., I am able to report that the original 64<sup>r</sup> con-

<sup>1</sup> Annibaldi tells us that page 64<sup>r</sup> of the original *Agricola* text, now erased, contained the parts from *ad Agricolam* in 40, 6 to *qui iturus* in 42, 4.—fully 37 Teubner lines. Compare his *L'Agricola*, etc. (1907), p. 138, with the facsimile given in his more recent *Germania* (1910).



tained 32 lines and 65 35 lines of Teubner text, while the last page of all, 65<sup>v</sup>, has 32 lines even without the colophon.

The bearing of these calculations on the Dialogue is this. Decembrio's note states that up to the great lacuna the text of this treatise was contained in 14 folia, or 28 pages. These pages must have been similar in character, not—as Gudeman wrongly imagines—to those folia of the *Agricola* which had the least content, but to those which had the greatest. We have seen how Gudeman's calculation breaks down entirely in regard to the last 2½ folia of the Dialogue, and it is found to be equally inapplicable to the first 14. I estimate that not 14 folia, but at the very least 15½ (with some additional space for capital letters), would be required for the amount of Teubner text that comes before the great lacuna, calculated at anything like 290.1 cm. to the manuscript page and say 30½ lines of Teubner text. This may be shown by the following proof: The *Agricola* quaternion contains, as has been said, 491 full lines of Teubner text; this gives us 122½ lines for 2 folia, or 4 pages. Multiplying by 7 to get Decembrio's fourteen folia we get 859½ Teubner lines, or with a deduction for the space that would be occupied by the title of the Dialogue, say, 850 lines. But the Dialogue contains, up to the great lacuna, 939 full lines of Teubner text, and we are therefore left with a residuum of 89 lines,—pretty nearly the equivalent of 1½ folia, or three pages, making 15½ folia in all. For the first 14 folia of the Dialogue it becomes necessary therefore to postulate an archetype which contained the equivalent of 34 full Teubner lines to the page, instead of 30½, as in the case of the *Agricola* quaternion. Our conclusion must be that the Dialogue was written in the style of the last two folia of the *Agricola*, and not in that of the extant quaternion.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover the same argument holds also in regard to the Suetonius fragment, which must have been written in pretty much the same script as the Dialogue—certainly not in that of the

<sup>1</sup> A minor proof of this conclusion may be cited here. In quoting from the Dialogue to show where the lacuna begins, Decembrio's note contains the words *quam ingentibus verbis prosequuntur. Cum ad veros iudices ventum . . .* Here *quam* is for *numquam*—the *num* having formed part of the previous line. I therefore take *quam . . . prosequuntur* as having formed one line in the archetype. With the usual contraction, *ingentib.*, this line contains 30 letters, which is the normal number, as may be seen from Annibaldi's facsimile of 69<sup>r</sup>.



Agricola quaternion. Decembrio's note assigns to it seven folia, and indicates that it finished abruptly with only a few lines in the last column. Now, whereas the Agricola quaternion contains about 491 full Teubner lines, the Suetonius fragment has considerably over 500, and these would certainly have required at least a full quaternion (i. e. 16 pages and more, instead of less than 14) if they had been written in the same style.<sup>1</sup>

We may now take our main conclusion as sufficiently established. There were two hands, not one, in the Hersfeldensis, and Gudeman's laborious argument, depending as it does on identity or the closest similarity of script, falls to the ground.

The two folios that were added to the third quaternion to complete the Agricola are an important factor in the new statement of the case. They are almost enough in themselves to invalidate the assumption that one and the same scribe was entrusted with the making of the whole codex. In that case, he would infallibly have carried forward the text of the Agricola into the fourth quaternion, in which he had to copy the Dialogus. He would, in fact, have made his transcript continuous. If the Agricola had been the last of the four treatises comprised in the Hersfeldensis, instead of the second, the addition of two folia to complete the text, instead of a new quaternion, would have been quite intelligible. But Decembrio's note is decisive on this point. It describes the codex as he saw it in Rome in 1455. I do not attach much importance to the fact that (Wissowa, p. ii) the inventory supplied to Poggio by the Hersfeld monk, as quoted by Antonius Panormita in 1426, shows the treatise of Frontinus "*de aquae ductibus*" intervening between the Agricola and the Dialogus. The citation is faulty in other respects. The important point for us is that it confirms the order of the treatises as given in Decembrio's note—(1) Germania, (2) Agricola, (3) Dialogus, (4) Suetonius. Otherwise we might have been inclined to suspect, from the order in which they occur in many MSS., that

<sup>1</sup> Another method of stating the argument is to take the Leiden facsimile, and note that whereas the fourteen folios of the Dialogus in the Hersfeld original need over 48 pages in the Leidensis (and correspondingly the "folia duo cum dimidio" more than 8 pages, and the seven Suetonius folios 25, counting the index), no more than 32 pages are required to contain all the 12 folios of the Germania. If the Leidensis had contained the Agricola, it would have given its 14 folia in about 38 pages, as against 48 for the corresponding number of Dialogus folios.



the Suetonius originally came first.<sup>1</sup> In any case the Dialogus and Suetonius portion was evidently regarded as easily detachable from the rest. These treatises are reproduced in several 15th century MSS. independently of the Germania and the Agricola. They are not included in the codex Aesinus. The inference must be that they were irrecoverably separated from the rest of the Hersfeldensis soon after its reappearance at Rome. The next owner of the codex after Enoch's death in 1457 was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II (Wissowa, p. ix), and he seems to have kept as firm a hold on his property as Enoch himself had done. If he had permitted copies to be made, the Agricola would have come to light sooner than it did. As a matter of fact it is not included in either A or B, or even in the editio Spirensis, 1470. If a further separation had taken place, and if the Agricola had been detached from the Germania, that would help to explain how the last four folia of the latter treatise and the first four of the Agricola came to be separate—as we can see from the Iesi reproduction must have been the case. They formed, in fact, the second quaternion of the Hersfeldensis, which would have to be cut in two to effect the separation.

But all this is speculation, and nothing short of the recovery of the lost portions of the Hersfeldensis could set the remaining questions at rest. We have seen that there must have been two scribes. Were they contemporary, or is it conceivable that the Hersfeld codex was composite, consisting of two portions, one written in the 10th and the other in the 13th century? An affirmative answer would make the transmission of the Dialogus, under the name of Tacitus, a greater mystery than ever. It would probably have to imply that a copyist in the 13th century added two folia to complete the text of a 10th century MS. of the Agricola, and then went on to transcribe the Dialogus and the Suetonius from some unknown original.

It must suffice to state the conundrum without any further attempt to answer it. Annibaldi describes the two additional Agricola folios, which are now palimpsest, as considerably worn away and thinned by the process of rubbing, but he does not suggest any doubt as to their being an integral and original part

<sup>1</sup> The note in the Harleianus would still be quite appropriate, as indicating that there was no more of the Suetonius in the "antiquissimum exemplar", and that the text was complete ('hoc integrum videtur').



of the 10th century Hersfeldensis. The 15th century copyist of the Aesinus used them, in accordance with a common practice, as an outside cover to stiffen the paper quires of his Germania.

The only argument derivable from internal evidence that can be adduced in favor of the theory here broached is that editors have inferred, as a rule, from the condition of the text both of the *Dialogus* and of the *Suetonius*, that the archetype must have abounded in the compendia that were characteristic of the 13th century, whereas the 10th century script in which the *Agricola* quaternion is written is singularly free from any except the usual contractions. I have suggested, on the other hand (p. 3), that the compendia in question may have been due, not to the archetype, but to one of the very few copies which its owner permitted to be transcribed directly from it. To speak more particularly of the *Dialogus*. All the existing 15th century MSS. are understood to have been derived from the Hersfeldensis through two intermediaries, X and Y, which are no longer extant. If what I may call the 2d portion of the Hersfeld codex was 13th century, there would be room for mistakes. On the other hand the large number of variants, traceable to compendia, that are found in a codex like the Vaticanus D, may be explained by the assumption that these compendia originated in some intermediate copy: the only puzzle is how a current script of the 15th century can have presented any real difficulty.

I have left myself scarcely any room to speak of the second problem of the *Dialogue*, the length of the great lacuna. It is faithfully indicated in all the manuscripts, and the question is whether it occurred originally in the Hersfeld codex itself or in some predecessor. In the former case we should now be in a position to determine the real extent of the existing gap: in the latter, we should still be left to conjecture.

Here again the new factor in the problem is Decembrio's note. He tells us that there were 14 folia up to the words *Cum ad veros iudices ventum* in which the lacuna begins (ch. 35) and adds "Post hec deficiunt sex<sup>1</sup> folia . . . Deinde sequitur: '*rem*

<sup>1</sup> Students of the text of the *Dialogus* will note Decembrio's agreement here with the Y tradition in *cogitare* and *nihil* (for *cogitant* and *vel* in X). The transposition of the vulgate *nihil humile nihil abiectum* may be explained either as a reminiscence of Cicero (see my note *ad loc.*) or as the result of an



*cogitare nihil abiectum, nihil humile*'. Post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio et finit: *Cum adrisissent discessimus*".

This is a very definite statement by a careful observer, and it must mean that the lacuna began after the 14th folio, which must have been the 6th folio of the 5th quaternion in the Hersfeldensis. Moreover if we are to interpret Decembrio's note as meaning that the codex had 16½ folia and was minus 6, it is easy to calculate that the lacuna amounts to  $\frac{4}{15}$  of the whole treatise, or rather more than one-fourth.

On the other hand the Vatican codex 1862 (A), has the marginal note "hic desunt sex pagelle", and the Leidensis (B) "deerant in exemplari sex pagellae vetustate consumptae". I call attention to the difference (though there may be very little in it) between B's *deerant* and the present tense *deficiunt*, and *desunt* in the other two notes. The use of the present seems to point (certainly in the case of Decembrio) to first-hand observation, whereas B is generally believed<sup>1</sup> to be a copy, not of the Hersfeld archetype, but of the transcript from that original made by Pontanus, to whom we must also attribute the words "vetustate consumptae". It is difficult to account for the discrepancy between "folia" on the one hand and "pagellae" on the other: if it is an affair of single pages, the extent of the lacuna may obviously be reduced by one-half.<sup>2</sup> But was the missing portion indicated only by a note in the Hersfeld original, or were the

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unintentional omission in the archetype in consequence of which one of the two *nihil* clauses was added above the line and was taken in by Decembrio at the wrong place.

<sup>1</sup> Massmann's view, however (see his edition of the *Germania*, 1847), that the Leiden MS. was written by Pontanus himself, has recently been revived. I am informed by Prof. B. L. Ullman of the University of Pittsburgh that he has made a special study of this problem, and that he believes that most of the corrections and marginal notes in the Leiden MS. as well as those in other MSS. known to have been written by the same copyist, are all in the same hand as the text, viz., that of Pontanus. The text is in his most formal style, while the notes vary considerably. It should be stated also, as against Wissowa, that *excripsit* in the note on f. 47<sup>v</sup> of the Leiden codex (Iov. Pontanus Umber excripsit) means 'copied', not 'composed'.

<sup>2</sup> The number six is vouched for not only by Decembrio's note (sex folia), but also by A B and E (sex paginae, or pagellae). On the other hand, when the copyist of Ven. says '*hic deficiunt quattuor parvae pagellae*', it is obvious that the reference is to the MS. from which he was making his transcript.



folia actually there, though in such a condition that they could not be read? Wissowa takes the former view, holding that the loss of the folia had already occurred in a predecessor of the Hersfeldensis. This enables him to reconstruct the second part of the archetype in three quaternions—16 folia for the Dialogue, with the last page on 1<sup>r</sup> of the third quaternion, and the remaining 7 folia of that quaternion for the Suetonius fragment. I find great difficulty in accepting this reconstruction. It would of course dispose, more effectively than ever—so far as the Hersfeld codex is concerned—of the hypothesis of a second lacuna after 40, 7, because if all the folia in that codex are accounted for in this way none can have been lost. But if it is correct, what are we to make of Pontanus's description of the archetype? In another note on the verso of the 47th page of the Leidensis, he makes a further contribution to our knowledge of its condition, speaking again of Enoch's search for *libri*, and referring obviously to the Hersfeld archetype: "hos quanquam mendosos et imperfectos ad nos retulit". If the codex Hersfeldensis was complete as regards its external form, and if the great lacuna which it had inherited from its predecessor was indicated only by a marginal note, why did Pontanus use such epithets as "mendosos" and "imperfectos"? And what is the meaning of 'vetustate consumptae' in the marginal note in B at the end of ch. 35?

It seems far more probable that the defective portion of the Dialogue was actually contained in the archetype as brought from Hersfeld to Rome, but in such a state of disfigurement and mutilation that the folia could not be deciphered by a transcriber. The description of the codex given by Pontanus would seem to be too strongly colored if its main defect consisted merely in the fact that the Suetonius fragment finished abruptly in an uncompleted column,—with another note by Pontanus in the margin of his copy,

"Amplius repertum non est adhuc".

W. PETERSON.

## II.—DERIVATIVES OF THE ROOT *STHA* IN COMPOSITION.

### II.<sup>1</sup>

SUPERLATIVES IN *-STHO-S* 'STANDING' (See *AJPh.* XXXI, 409 sq.).

43. I do not propose to rehearse my arguments here further than again to assert their semantic aptness. *Skr.* *yāj-i-ṣṭhas* (see also § 100) is not ill absolved by the definition 'in-sacris-stans'—of a steady sacrificer—and *nēdi-ṣṭhas* 'proximus' by analysis as *\*na-sd-i* 'sub sede' (cf. *Av. asne* 'prope', loc. to Indo-Iran. *ā-zd-na-* 'in-sede', v. Brugmann, *Gr.* 2. 2, 816) + *\*stha-s* 'stans'. In Homeric *ἀγχι-στον* the adverbial prius 'prope' demands, almost, if we exercise our common sense (see § 3), that we take *-στον* as a verbal, and in the common turn *ὅθι τ' ἀγχιστον πέλεν αὐτῷ* the translation 'ubi ei prope-stans erat' is perfectly adequate. Its propriety is its proof, and proof enough. What derivation could better suit the ordinal ending *-sthos* than from the verb 'to stand'? And the propriety of the same ending for the superlative (often also ordinal, see *AJPh.* 31, 404) is, as such things go, proof. The same may be said of the analysis of *πρό-τερος* as *vor-fahrend* (l. c. 408 sq.), and of *pri-or* as 'prae-iens' (ib. 423 sq.). Etymology, derivation, is the condition precedent to all phonetics, to all mor-

<sup>1</sup>See *A. J. P.* XXXIII 377-400. To § 42 add § 42a; cf. §§ 6-8. I now explain the frequent deaspiration of *-sthi-* as due to the case forms where *-sthy-* came into being. In Greek, we know, every *y-* became a rough breathing. This means that *y-* was itself aspirated = *hy-* (cf. also the Avestan doublet *yaṭ—hyaṭ*, where *h-* does not, in Bartholomae's opinion, represent *s*, see his *Woert.*, col. 1227). In the group *-sthy-* the aspiration of *t* was given up for the aspiration inherent in the *y*. This perfectly accounts for the preservation of *th* in *apāṣṭhi-hdn-*, with invariable *i*, and its reduction to *t* in *dyo' pāṣṭi-s* (see § 62), where *i* varied in the flexion with *y*. It also accounts for the difference in point of aspiration between an apparently abstract stem like *pāniṣṭi-* 'laus' (?) and the superlative (§ 43) *pāni-ṣṭha-s* 'in laude (?) stans'. See also § 100.—E. W. F.



phology, and our morphological explanations of the comparative and superlative have to be made to fit obvious etymologies. So it is with the phonetic laws. They are well used as "receipts for etymologizing", standards of measurement, that is, but they depend on, are secondary to, the etymologies, to which they must be made to conform, and not conversely.

MATERIAL OBJECTS THAT PROJECT: PRONGS, HOOKS, BARBS, STICKS, ETC.

44. Pāṇini referred *apaṣṭha-* 'barb-point' (cf. Vedic *apāṣṭhā-s* 'hook') to the root *sthā* (see Wackernagel, ai. Gram. I. § 205 b. anm.) To justify Pāṇini all we need to do is to bring forward Lith. *āksti-s* 'spit, prong', *ākstinas* = OBulg. *ostinŭ* 'goad', of which the primary sense was 'sharp-standing'.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic form actually of record we have *apa* 'ab' + *akstho-s* 'sharp standing' (with *k* [not *ĥ*] as in Lithuanian; see further Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *acus*). In the *ṣṭh* of *apa-ṣṭha-* 'exstans' we have a tribute to the Vedic word of record, unless we follow Wackernagel (in which case we must write *ap'-aṣṭha-*) and derive the posterius from *\*ak̐-tha-* : *āṣ-ṭrā-* 'goad' (l. c. § 202 b.).<sup>3</sup> There is no sound reason, however, to exclude *apa-ṣṭha-s* and *pra-ṣṭha-s* from the group of words that show hyper-lingualism of the root *sthā-* (see Wackernagel, § 205 c. anm.; § 206 b), and Pāṇini is doubtless right as against Wackernagel (§ 206 b. anm.) in the analysis of *āmba-ṣṭha-*, name of a people. The analysis as *amb(h)as-* (*b* as in *ambu-* or by deaspiration?) 'water' + *stha-s* 'habitans' may be

<sup>1</sup>Here cf. the Celtic base *akto-* 'goad' (? from *aksto-* § 12), and Welsh *eithiw* for which Stokes-Fick<sup>4</sup> (p. 5) write a start-form *akttvo-* (i. e. *ak-<s>ttvo-*), posterius : Lat. *stiva* (see § 4). The thorny *genesta* bore in OIr. the name *aillenn*, start-form *ak-<s>tinā* 'sharp-standing' (see on *-stinā* § 16).

<sup>2</sup>To refuse to analyze *dṣ-ṭrā* as 'sharp-tool' or 'sharp-borer' is again to shrink from the obvious. Why does the suffix *-tro-* designate tools? Because *-tro-* meant 'tool', and *ρέπερον* 'gimlet' is hardly more than a heavily reduplicated word. I entirely agree with Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *τείρω*, that the agent suffix *-tōr-* | *-tēr-* is also a noun derived from the root *ter*, and the mystery of *ū* in Latin words like *nā-tūra*, *cul-tūra* disappears when we note that the root *ter-* 'bore' also had a form *twer-* 'facere', generalized in the large group of Slavic words gathered by Miklosich, Wtbch., p. 366, s. v. *tvorŭ*. For the way in which the future sense developed in the Latin forms in *-tūrus* see Zimmermann in KZ. 42, 305, and cf. Skr. *dātāsmi* literally = *dator sum*, but in usage = *dātūrus sum*.



compared with Varro's apparently sound explanations of *Inter-  
-amna* and *Antemnae* (see l. l. 5, 28).

45. With Skr. *apa-ṣṭha*- Lat. *dē-stina* 'prop' may be compared, cf. Lat. *destinare* 'to make fast', usually of record in the sense of 'to lash', but in the last analysis 'to lash' and 'to peg' continually interchange (see TAPA. 41, 34 sq.). One may remind himself of the use of forked branches of trees to fasten logs securely to the ground, for instance. In its vocalism *-stina* is comparable with Lith. *āk-stina-s*. It is curious also that *re-stis* 'stay' (a large rope) admits of so pat a rendering as 'back-stay'. A happy chance preserves in Av. *srvi-stāy-* 'mit hörnern widerhaken' (of an arrow) not only a proof of the root *sthāy-* (§ 5), but a proof of the meaning 'exstans' applied to a 'prong' or 'barb'.<sup>1</sup>

46. With the posterius of Lith. *āk-sti-nas*, Lat. *sti-lus* and *stimulus* also invite identification, and *ungustus* 'fustis uncus'

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae's analysis of *srvi-stāy-* results in the definition 'dem ein horn-(spitzen)-paar als ständer dient' and according to him *srvi* is a dual, a not altogether self-evident type of compound. Perhaps *srvi* is a locative (with *i*, a quantity Bartholomae demands, Gr. Ir. Ph. § 219, 2 b.) and meant 'in cornu', taking *cornu* as 'bow'. This analysis suggests the derivation of Latin *sagitta* arrow from *\*sagi-sta-*, with dissimilation of the second *s* to *t* (cf. the *ḥ-sth* dissimilation in the Skr. proper name *aṣva-tthāman-* = equi-stator, but it is not clear that the banyan tree, *aṣva-tthd-s*, was the 'horse-stall', see Fay, AJPh. 17, 5<sup>1</sup>). But what is *sagi*? Possibly = Skr. *\*sa-jya-s*, whence *sajja-s* 'bow' (lit. with bowstring). Then *-gi-* is from *-gwi-* (*gwy*; cf. further examples in Osthoff, IF. 27, 174 sq.), and *sa-* some form cognate with "copulative" *ó-*, i. e. *sagitta* from *\*sogitta* by a change analogous to Wharton's so-called 'law', but dependent on the Latin, not IE. accentuation. Popular etymology may have played a part also, say from *sagmen* 'grass-stalk' or from *sagāx* 'acutus' (sc. mente); cf. also the gloss *sagatio* παλμός = 'vibratio'. In view of Skr. *ni-ṣaṅga-s* 'quiver' (lit. down-hanger), *ni-ṣaṅgín-* 'sagittarius' the prius *sagi-* may have meant 'quiver'.—A third word for arrow with posterius in *-στ-* is *ὀϊστός*. Barring the "prosthetic" *ó-*, this might be from *\*isus(h)o-s* (prius = Skr. *īṣu-* 'arrow' + tautological *-stho-s*: Lat. *stolo*, e. g. § 49), with haplologic loss of *-us-*. Schrader's suggestion (Reallex. s. v. Pfeil) of a poisoned arrow permits of deriving from *\*o-wi(s)-stho-s* = 'cum viro'; cf. Skr. *viṣ-* 'faeces', expanded to *vi(ṣ)-ṣṭhā*: *viṣd-m* 'poison'. For the force of the *o-*, cf. *ó-βριμος* 'violentus' (from 'cum violentia'): *βριμη* 'violentia' (v. Johansson, IF. 3, 239). Brugmann's root-complex *ó-ισ-* (see IF. 29, 229 sq.) is justified neither by *ὀίω* (see § 23) nor *ὀϊστός*.—Along with Av. *srvi-stāy-* 'in cornu stans' and Lat. *sagitta* (from *\*sagista*) 'in cornū (in pharetra?) stans' note Goth. *arhw-asna* with prius = (in)arcu- and posterius from *\*o-s(d)-no-s* 'sedens' (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 2, 2, 816, on *ὄζος* 'twig': Av. *asne* 'prope') or 'twig' (see § 53).



(Festus) contains *ungo-* (or *ungos-*): *ungulus* 'ring' (cognate with *angulus*) + *-sthos* 'stake' (cf. § 49).

#### VEGETAL GROWTHS.

47. Among the commonest projecting objects are vegetal growths and objects made from them. Testimony to the use of the root *sthā* to describe such growths is found in Skr. *sthāvarā-s* with the strong connotation of "vegetabilisch" (PW), cf. Lith. *steverys* 'stem, stalk', *stavaris* 'knot, knob', *statinis* 'paling'.<sup>1</sup> and further note *στάσις* cited from Aristophanes, Fr. 683, 859, in the sense of *τὰ πεφυκότα σπέρματα* = Eng. *stand* (of corn, cotton, etc.). Perhaps *σίτος* originally meant 'standing' (grain), and comes from \**σ[τ]ι-τος*, cf. the hendiadys *segetem*<sup>2</sup> immutasse *statumque* in Lucilius 292. We have already noted above Lat. *stiv-a* 'spoke' (§ 4), *στόμ-τε* 'stud'<sup>3</sup> (§ 15), and *postis* (§ 16).

48. *βλδ-στη*, *βλα-στός* 'a young sprout, scion'. The prius was *ml-* 'tener', belonging with the sept of Lat. *mollis*. In the verb *βλα-στάνω* the posterius may represent an original verb in a compound of the *fest-steht* type.

49. Homeric *μά-στι-* 'whip',<sup>4</sup> expanded into *μα-στιγ-*, contains a posterius meaning 'stalk' or perhaps 'stick': *σρίζω*, Lat. *in-stig-at*.<sup>5</sup> True, the *σρίζω*-sept shows no aspiration (see § 7) in Skr. *téjate* 'is sharp', and to clarify the vowel relations we have to write *st(h)ǣ(y)-g-*, cf. Skr. *sthag-a-ra-m* | *tagara-m* of a pungent perfume. In *sthágatī* 'tegit': *στέγος* 'roof' we have another shade of meaning, arising from the 'studs' that supported the roof. All the notions here involved cluster in a <'pointed> stick'; see further on Lat. *fastigium* Fay, IF. 26, 37<sup>4</sup>. The out-of-Greek cognates of *μά-στι-* comprise the sept of OHG. *mast* = 'stange, flag-staff, spear-shaft'. The prius of composition

<sup>1</sup> These words are extracted from the lexicon of Lalis, as Kurschat is not accessible to me. To them may be added the following which show root determinants, viz.: *stabas* 'post, stake', *stagaras* 'dry stalk, brush wood', *stakla* 'postis', *stambras* 'stalk', *stipinas* 'spoke', *stypline* 'stilt', *stūbris* 'stump', all of which are standing or projecting wooden objects.

<sup>2</sup> Proethnically dissimilated from *stheget-*?

<sup>3</sup> The *-ic-* suffix is to be compared with *-i(e)c-* in Lat. *ob-* <*j*> *ēce* <*m*> (Plautus, Pers. 203) 'barrier', *sub-ic-es* 'supports', see on *ικρία* and Skr. *yaṣṭí-s* § 56. For the vowel color cf. *στοά* 'colonnade' (§ 15), and *στόμα* 'mouth' (§ 66).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Encyc. Brit. 17, 664: "The young shoots <of maple> . . . are employed in France as whips".

<sup>5</sup> Does *castigo* represent *ca[sto]-stigo* 'castum stigando facio'?



was *mad-* or *mat-* 'caedere' (v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. vv. *malleus*, *mateola*). Lat. *mālus* 'mast' ('a beam in the wine press') is related—from *mad-* + *-st(ə)lo-s* : *στάλ-ις*, *σταλ-ίς* 'stake' (for fishing nets), cf. *στόλος* of 'oars, horns', etc., in Schulze's Qu. Ep., 175 (excerpted by Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. *στελευσις*): Lat. *stolo* 'sucker'. [With *μά-στυ-* cf. *μά-στις* = 'scrape-stick'.]

50. In the plant names *ἄγρω[ς]-στις* (Homer) and *λιμνῆ(σ)-στις* the prius is a (local) genitive (cf. § 79 on *ἀγρώστης* 'agricola') describing the habitat of the plants. In *ἀκοστή*<sup>1</sup> 'barley' and *ἀκαστος* 'acus' (= 'maple tree') the prius belongs with *āk/k-* 'sharp'.

51. We have in Latin more general words like *arbu(s)-stum* 'tree-place' (*-stum* = *locus standi*, cf. Eng. *stand* in § 47), *arbu(s)-sta* (cf. Naevius ap. Non. 323, 7, *locos | ingenio arbusta ubi nata sunt, non obsitu*) = *arbores quae stant*,<sup>2</sup> and *robu(s)-stus* 'qui ut robur stat' (but cf. *scelestus*, § 82). The following have a more special character: (a) *arista*, thus described by Varro (r. r. 1, 48, 1): *ut acus tenuis longa eminent e gluma, proinde ut grani apex sit gluma et arista*. We may fairly define by 'apex' and analyze as *ari-sta* 'tip-standing', identical in its prius with *ἄρι-στος* *ἀρι-στεύς* (§ 81). (b) *genesta*. This plant, called 'humilis' by Virgil (G. 2, 434) may have been named from *\*genes-* 'knee'<sup>3</sup> + *sta* 'stans' cf. *knee-holly* of the other broom plant, the

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric hapax *ἀκοστήσας* (Z 506 = O 263) has no cognation with *ἀκοστή*, first of record in Nicander (160 B. C.). The text runs:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ  
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων

and *ἀκο[ς]-στήσας* means *ἐν δεσμῷ ἐσταώς*, *ἀκος-* referring to the halter whereby the stalled horse was tied. I derive *ἀκος-* from *\*ἄκος-*: the root *e-nek/k* in Latin *necto*, etc. (see Fay, TAPA. 42, 31; 43). The root is also represented in *ἐντεσι-εργός* 'in harness working', *ἐντεα* 'harness, trappings', the stem *έντες-* being from *enkes*, blended from *enku* (cf. Skr. *am̐ku-* 'stalk', i. e. 'vītex', see Fay, l. c. p. 52; and note *am̐ku-ka-m* 'vestis', from an original sense of 'trappings' = 'ornamenta') and *enkes-*: *nekes-* in Lat. *neces-se* 'in vinculis' (see l. c. p. 47); further note *ἐπάναγκες* which attests the *es-* stem (see on *ἀν-άγκη* = 'in vinculo', l. c. p. 46). For the parallelism of *u-* and *es-* stems cf. *penu-* | *peno-* | *penes-* (§ 79) and Skr. *ambu-* | *ambhas-* 'water' (§ 44), and on *genesta* (§ 51).

<sup>2</sup> Also note the use of *stare* in Titinius 144, *fundi stabunt* sentibus, Caecilius 219, *ager autem stet* sentibus?, Lucilius 1301, *stat* sentibus fundus.

<sup>3</sup> By the verbal homoeopathy characteristic of Roman medicine (see Fay, KZ. 45, 128<sup>1</sup>) a brew of *genesta* was prescribed for pains in the knees (*genua*), see Pliny, N. H. 24. 66, but that proves nothing save a popular etymology. In the *Pervigilium Veneris* (81) oxen take the shade (lying?) under the *genesta*.



*ruscus* or 'butcher's broom'. We have the *u/es* variation (see also § 50, fn.) in Skr. *cākṣu-/cakṣas-* 'eye', and an extended *-es-* stem in *γενεῖον* 'beard': *γένυ-ς* 'chin'<sup>1</sup> and it seems a little thing to admit it also in Lat. *genes-: genu* 'knee', which belongs perhaps with *genu-inus* 'jaw-tooth' (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. vv.).

52. In the Germanic group I note two plant names in *-st-*, viz: Eng. *gorst* 'genesta' and OHG. *gërsta* 'barley'. Both of these come from the root *gher-s- | gher-s-* 'to be rough; rub' (§ 76) + a posterius from the root *-sthā-* implying 'plant'. In Lat. *hordeum* 'barley' we have a prius *hor(s)-* (from *ghor-s-* or *ghr-s-*) + a posterius *\*dhēyom* 'plant': *fē-lix*, etc. (v. Walde, s. v.). The cognates nearest in meaning are Skr. *dhānyā-m* 'frumentum': [ἀκρο-] *θύια* 'first fruits', cf. also Lat. *fē-tus* (as in Aen. 6, 141) of vegetal growths (see Fay, TAPA. 41, 25). In *κρῖ-θῆ* 'barley' we have a cognate from the parallel root *ghrēy-* (as in *χρῖω*) 'to rub' + *-dh-ā-*, replacing *-dhē(y)*.<sup>2</sup> In view of *fordeum* = *hordeum* the equation of Lat. *frit* with *\*κρῖ-θ* can hardly be refused, even if Walde<sup>2</sup> does not know how Plautus Most. 595 attests *frit* beyond a peradventure. The use of barleycorns for a least measure of weight (Greece) or of length (England) explains how *frit* = 'particle'. Varro's definition as quasi 'granulum' (r. r. 1, 48, 3) was probably merely *faute de mieux*.

53. Objects made from stoutly grown stalks are found in the following:

(a) Lat. *hasta* 'spear'. If the glossic word *harit* 'strikes' be disallowed (see Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *harena*), no verb form from a root *ghaxs* has yet been identified (on *hostit* see Fay, Class. Quart., I. 28.<sup>3</sup>), and if *hostus* is not rustic for *haustus* I would now derive it from *gho(s)-st(h)o-s* = 'ex-stans', cf. Eng. *output*, of the 'product of an industry'. Skr. *ghasra-s* 'nocens' developed from 'devorans'. The most salient fact about *hasta* is that it appears with *o* in Umbr. *ostatu* 'hastati'. Is this *o* original? Then why *a* in

<sup>1</sup> In *ἀπλ-γων*, the quite late name of a kind of spear, *ἀπλ-* might mean 'tip' and *-γων-* be cognate with *γένυ-ς*, of the 'edge' of a fishing-hook or fork.

<sup>2</sup> See in general Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 241 sq. Of the Homeric forms, *κρῖ-θ-άς* (if with *-άς*) matches the Skr. acc. plur. in *-ās* (post-Vedic, cf. Whitney<sup>2</sup>, § 351), but (*κρῖ-*)*θέων* (gen. plur.) matches Skr. *rāyām* (stem. *rēy-*). Note that Lat. (*hor-*)*deum* would be a legitimate gen. plur. The neut. sg. *κρῖ-(θ)* has probably been abstracted from a neut. plur. *\*κρῖ-θ-a*. The adjective *κρῖ-θανιάς* (*πυρός*) = barley-like (wheat) has a posterius suspiciously like Skr. *dhānyā-m*.

<sup>3</sup> Accius, *Var.*, 12 has redhostire responsum.



*hasta*? Provisionally let us assume that *\*hosta* gave way in Latin to *hasta* by regressive vowel assimilation. A second confirmatory instance of anticipation of *a* I cannot bring.<sup>1</sup> Well, the precise conditions were not liable to arise often, and *costa* 'rib' may have resisted change because *co-* was for *co(n)-* (see § 67). The permanence of *o* in *toga* proves nothing against anticipation in *hasta* where the conditions are different. Accordingly, instead of setting up a root *ghas-/ghos-* 'ferire' for *hasta* and its few cognates (see Walde, s. v. and Stokes-Fick<sup>2</sup>, p. 108, s. v. *gastā* 'schoss, spross, reis'), we come out better by writing a start-form *\*gho(s)-stā* 'exstans', cf. Columella, 5, 11, 5, ut <surculi> de arbore exstent. Beside this start-form we must set *\*gho(s)-zdo-s* 'twig' whence OIr. *gat* 'Weidenruthen', *tris-gataim* (denom.) 'I bore through': Goth. *gazds*,<sup>3</sup> OHG. *gart/cart* 'goad'—whence by borrowing Pict. *cartit* 'Busennadel'. A form parallel with *gho(s)-zdo-* is found in Greek *ἄζος* from *\*o-sdo-s* 'on-sitting' (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>1</sup>. II. 2, 816): Goth. *asts*

<sup>1</sup> Far be it from me to try for precision as to the state of the consciousness, the degree of awareness, that constituted one of the conditions of vowel anticipation, but the phenomenon in speech does not totally differ from the phenomenon in copying out words, where the copyist proceeds by a sort of self-dictation, a thing that palaeographers often fail to recognize. Friedrich (ad Catull. 10, 21, p. 125) has collected a great number of palaeographic instances, and when he speaks of the phenomenon, which he describes in the words "vorgewalt des *a*" as "rein mechanisch", he has certainly not thought things out to a finish. These script examples—granting Friedrich's claims for them (but see Fay, AJPh. 31, 82)—have to be regarded as sporadic manifestations of anticipation due to self-dictation. That in the word *hasta* some special, if undiscoverable, circumstance favored the permanent registration of a sporadic anticipative *a* may be granted, entirely within the lines of the marked trend to general uniformity in the pronunciation of words—which is all that can be said for the (entirely social) uniformity of the phonetic laws. [On *locatio* for *locatio* see Stolz<sup>4</sup>, p. 74].

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean, of course, that in *gazds* *-zd-* continues IE. *-sd-* | *-zd-* but, as the content of this paragraph teaches, I recognize in these words describing the shoots of trees three forms of preposition prius, followed by *-sdo-* 'sedens' or *-stho-* 'stans', viz: *ghos-* and *ogh(s)-* 'ex-' and *o-* quasi 'ἐπί'. Beside *\*gho(s)-tho-s* a start-form *\*ogh(s)-stho-s* would have yielded *\*o(g)sdho-s*, which, affecting *\*gho(s)-thos*, would have yielded *\*ghozdhos*, whence Goth. *gazds*. Or does *gazds* come, by Verner's law, from *\*ghos-thó-s* (note the syllabification), as it is assumed below that Goth. *husds* comes from *\*kus-thó-s* (§ 63)? For the oxytone accentuation cf. Skr. *nīdā-s* 'nest', but *\*nī-sdo-s* would be justified by *ἄζος* (from *\*o-sdo-s*). So we have *añgu-ṣṭhā-s* (Vedic) and *añgu-ṣṭha-s* (classic).



from *\*o-stho-s* 'on-standing', parallel with Ir. *gas*. With *\*gho(s)-st(h)ā* and *\*ghos-sdos* 'twig' we may combine *δοχνη* 'twig' from *\*o-ghs-* + *kā* 'out-lying', cf. *δοχατος* 'out-lying' (Fay, TAPA. 41, 50), recognizing *\*oghs*<sup>1</sup> beside *\*eghs* (see § 12, fn.) as we have *\*epi/\*opi* and *\*ebhi/\*obhi* (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>1</sup>. 2. 2, 838; 820).

54. (b) Lat. *fustis* 'cudgel' from *bhū-* (cf. *bhū-d-* in Eng. *beat*, § 26) + *sthi-s*.

55. (c) OHG. *geisala* 'whip'. The start-form was possibly *gais-* (: *χαῖος* 'staff', Skr. *hi-nóti* 'drives')<sup>2</sup> + *s(t)hlo* as in *mālus* 'mast' above (§ 49). OHG. *gīsal* 'hostage' belongs with Gallic *-geistlos* (v. Fick-Stokes<sup>4</sup>, 109). Can *-stlo-* here mean 'schössling' and *gei(s)-* (: the sept of Lat. *heres*, v. Walde s. v.) mean quasi 'relictus'? But *relictus stans* (§ 17<sup>2</sup>) might also be ventured.

56. (d) Skr. *yaṣṭi-s*. In TAPA. 42, 27 I derived Av. *yax-šti-š* 'twig' from the root of *iacio*, which appears extended by *s* in Skr. *prayakṣati* 'se proicit (=rushes); consequatur' (cf. *iaculatur* = 'hits, obtains'). The Indo-Iranian start-form was *yāk-st(h)i-s* (k, not *k̂*): Homeric *ἱκρία* (§ 47 fn.) which describes the planking of a ship's deck in general, but *ἱκρίον* means 'bohle, pfosten, balken' and *ἱκρία* = gebälk (see Capelle-Seiler, s. v.). As in Eng. *scaffold*, the name describing the supporting studs and braces also includes the platform they supported.

57. (e) Skr. *kā-ṣṭhā-m*. What was a *kāṣṭhām*? The ritual of the ÇBr. 1, 8, 3, 18 directs a process of smoothing with the fingers, and not with the *kāṣṭhām*; 3, 2, 1, 31 forbids a consecrated person to scratch himself with his nail or with a *kāṣṭhām*; 3, 3, 2, 8 forbids throwing away an accidental straw or *kāṣṭhām* found among soma-plants. Further, *kāṣṭhām* is the posterius in composition with *samidh-* 'faggot' and *trṇa-* 'grass'. The compound *kāṣṭha-rajju-* shows that the *kā-ṣṭhā-ni* were bound into bundles.

<sup>1</sup> From *oghs-* *ὀσφύς* 'hip' lets itself be explained as *\*oghs-* + *pū-*, the posterius cognate with *πῦ-γῆ* and Skr. *pu-tāu* (lexical only; cf. *ὀισ-πώτη* of a sheep's clotted buttocks: a root *pōw-*); cf. *prae-pūtium*? In *-pū-* we would have an original sense of quasi 'ruptus'. Cf. ON. *rumpfr* 'steiss', and Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *rubus*.—Apropos of *steiss* Kluge writes the start-form *\*stiw-ot-* and compares Lat. *stiva* (§ 4). Of parts of the body ending in *ot* | *et* we also have Av. *brvat-*: Celtic *\*bruvat-* 'eye-brow' (Stokes-Fick<sup>2</sup>, 187). Skr. *bhasdd* 'hind-parts' may have started as a *t-* stem, but the sandhi forms with *d-* (e. g. before the *-bh-* cases) and in composition would have been generalized by association with *sad-* 'to sit'.

<sup>2</sup> Here *κι-σθος* (*κίστος*), a 'many-branched' (*πολύκλαδος*, cf. § 49) shrub.



The word was used as a measure of length, and also as a 'hohl-mass'. At the beginning of a compound it was an expression of praise. The inference is irresistible that *kā-ṣṭha-m* meant 'culmus' and secondarily 'culmen', and that it is to be derived from *kō(l)-* 'stalk' + *stho-m* (§ 46).

58. (f) Here we may note Lat. *fistula* 'hollow reed, reed-flute; ulcer'. This I derive from *\*f[l]i-stula*, with *posterius* = 'stalk': Lat. *stolo* 'shoot, sucker' (cf. §§ 46, 49). The meaning 'ulcer' shows that the prius belongs in a general way with Lat. *flū-mina* 'swellings' (v. Walde<sup>1</sup> s. v.), cf. *φλι-μῆλια* 'swellings': Norw. *blei-me*. The primitive, *\*bhli-stolā* meant 'blow-stalk', but may also have signified 'swell-standing'. In Eng. *bli-ster* (O Dutch *blyster*) the prius would be at least related and *-ster* the result of dissimilation from *-st(h)lo-*, cf. for the sense of *-sthlo-* *ἀπό-στη-μα* 'ulcer'. For the 'exstantia' of sores (eruptions) compare Lucilius 1195, *inguen ne exsistat*, *papulae*, *tama*, etc.

#### PARTS OF BODY.

59. Derivatives of *sthā-* 'stare' are particularly common in names of parts of the body. Some of these are collected by Brugmann, IF. 18, 129 sq., as examples of an *-st-* formans (cf. Gr<sup>2</sup>. II. 1, § 479), without proper evaluation of the *sth* of Skr. *aṅgú-ṭha-s* 'thumb'; Av. *aṅgušta-* 'finger'. I have also studied some of these words in PAOS. 31, p. 412 sq., including the names of two fingers *tri-stho-s*<sup>1</sup> and *kṣw-ēks-stho-s* (see §§ 31, 36) and *παλα(ι)-στή* 'palm', which I now define as *palam-stans*. Nor is it unlikely that Lat. *palam* came from *\*palam-sthā* by discomposition, and that the prius belonged to *palma* 'palm of hand'. The root of *palma* may well have been that of Lat. *pel-lit* 'strikes'—used of the palm as a 'slapper'.

60. The *posterius -sthos* of parts of the body often had its full implication of 'exstans', doubtless, but just as often it may have been attached by congeneric adaptation, to return to Bloomfield's happy phrase in AJPh. 11, p. 2 sq.—as e. g. in Skr. *viṣ- | vi(ṣ)-ṣṭhā-* 'faeces' (§ 45, fn.).

61. Skr. *aṅgú-ṣṭha-s* 'thumb' = 'on hand standing' and *aṅgú-li-s* 'finger' = 'on hand lying' (see AJPh. 31, 416) would be perfectly convincing in their analysis were it not for

<sup>1</sup> On the relation of *\*tri-sthi-s* 'third' to *testes* 'testiculi' see Fay, KZ. 43, 156. The *testes* were two members of one of nature's own triads.



*āṅga-m* 'membrum, corpus', which I unhesitatingly connect with MHG. *anke* 'gelenk am fuss', Eng. *ankle*, and with Aeol. *ἀμφη* 'neck'. The original sense was 'joint' and the root was *eneḡh-* | *eng-* 'to bind' (see TAPA. 42, 15). I derive *ἀμφη* 'neck' from *enḡhw-*: Skr. *anḥú* 'narrow' extended by an *-en-* suffix. For *αῖφην* I set up a start-form *ḡhw-en-*, with possible anticipation of the *w*<sup>1</sup> as in Thess. *δαύχνα* = *δάφνη* (so, hesitatingly, Buck, Gr. Dial., § 68, 4a), and the same start-form accounts for *αὐχὴν*, *φ* and *χ* being dialectic from *-ḡhw-* before *-on-* forms no longer in existence (cf. Lat. *caro* 'flesh', gen. *car(e)nis*). In Gothic *hals-agga* 'neck' (if not tautological 'neck-joint') the start-form lacked the *w* which we have in *aggrus* 'narrow'. The previous nasal had caused (IE.) deaspiration in Skr. *āṅga-m* 'joint': MHG. *anke* 'ankle'.

62. Before further collecting the materials it will be well to note Skr. *apāṣṭhi-há(n)-* 'ungui-necans' and in RV. *áyo' pāṣṭi-s* 'aënam ungulam habens' (of the eagle), both belonging with *apāṣṭhá-s* (§ 44) and noteworthy because of the variation of *sth* with *st*. In view of this I shall not think any further notice necessary when we meet with deaspirated *st(h)* in names of parts of the body (cf. §§ 5, 6 [42 a]).

63. In the following group the prius is *ku-*, connected with Lat. *cavus* 'hollow', and the compound means 'hohl-stehend'. Skr. *kú-ṣṭhā* 'neb (i. e. spout) of a basket', *kú-ṣṭha-s* 'Lendenhöhle' (?), cf. the compounds *kañ-ku-ṣṭha-s* 'sort of earth', *kāla-ku-ṣṭha-s* 'sort of earth found on mountains', wherein *-ku-ṣṭha-s* suggests that the earth was gotten by a hole-digging process. In Greek we have, with easy shift of meaning, *κύ-στις* 'bladder', *κύ-στη* 'spongy bread', *κύ-σθος* 'pud. mul.', *κυσθοκορώνη*, glossed by *νύμφη*, which is glossed in turn by *τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ γενείου καὶ τοῦ κάτω χείλους ἐν μέσῳ κοῖλον* (= chin-dimple), but also = *μύρτον κλειτορίς*. We also have in Skr. a *guṇa-* form *kó-ṣṭha-s* 'unterleib, inner room, treasury'. In Latin *cu-stōd-* (*ō* as in *στώμιξ*, § 15; *d*: the *d* of Eng. *stand*, or = the *δ* of *στάδ-α*, see § 4) was 'qui apud cavum (thesauri) stat', and Gothic *huzd*

<sup>1</sup> Anticipation of *w* in pre-Greek *\*ekwo-s* rounded it to *ὑππος*, whence *ἵππος* (cf. also Meillet, Mem. Soc. Ling. 9, 136). Or the rough breathing of *ἵππος* may have to be accounted for by supposing confusion with *ἵππη* 'water', not omitting to note the sept of *ἱκμάς* (for *\*ikmas*: the Skr. root *sic* 'fluere'), see Fay, AJPh. 17, 3 sq., Walde, s. v., *equus*.



'treasure' may be derived, perhaps, by Verner's law from *\*kus-t(h)ó-m*<sup>1</sup> (§ 53, fn.). [Add. *kúṣṭhi-kā* 'dew-claw' ].

64. In the following group we probably have original euphemisms, viz: Skr. *ava(s)-sthā-s* (plur.) 'pud. mul.' = quasi 'dē-stantes'; *upā-stha-s* of the sexual organs = 'sub-stans' (whence, by discomposition, Skr. *upās-* womb?), cf. Skr. *upa* + *ā* + *sthā* = 'coire'. In *πόσθη* and *πόσθιον* 'membrum virile' the prius is (a)-*po-* or *po(s)-* = 'ab'<sup>2</sup>. With the posterius cf. colloquial *stake*<sup>3</sup>, quasi *στν-τός* (see § 20). [NHG. *leiste*, dial. Eng. *last* 'inguen' from Gothic *lai(s)-stθ* contains a *stho-* posterius attached to a prius cognate with Lat. *lira* 'furca'. Lith. *ink-stas* 'festiculus, kidney' (prius: Lat. *ingu-en*) rather owes its posterius to irradiation (§ 60)].

65. For Skr. *pr-ṣthā-m* 'back', as for *pr-ṣṭī-s* 'rib', the definition is obviously 'prae-stans', while *pār-ṣu-s* 'rib' means 'prae-ciens' (= 'swelling', cf. *in-ciens* 'prae-gnas, grávida'). In Greek we have *ἀκνηστis* 'back-bone', the prius being *ἀκνης-* (loc. gen., see § 50) = *ἀκμῆς* (cf. on Osc. *akenet*, Umbr. *per-akni*- Fay, Cl. Quart., 4, 83) 'atop'. Germ. *first* 'top of roof' = Skr. *pr-sthā-m*.

66. Skr. *o-ṣṭha-s* 'upper-lip' is matched by Av. *ao-ṣta-* 'upper-lip', but *ao-ṣtra-* 'under-lip' corresponds minutely, save in gender, to Lat. *au-sc(u)lum* 'kiss' (lit. 'lip', see the examples), with posterius *st(h)olo-* 'stans' as above (cf. § 58). Cf. also *ō(s)-stium* 'mouth' of a river. The prius *au-* means 'ab', as in Lat. *au-fugit*, *au-fert*, cf. OPruss. *au-mūsnan* 'ab-waschung' (cited by Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 2, 2, § 623). Query: Was it from the words for 'lip' that the diphthong *au* worked itself into the *ōs-* 'sept'?<sup>4</sup> The projecting mouth is described by *στόμα* (vowel-color as in *στόμιξ*, § 15, fn.).

<sup>1</sup> Greek *κρύβω* 'I hide' is itself a compound and meant 'I hole-put' (a compound in general like *type-write*, and recommended to golfers), and its participle *\*ku-dhító-s*, whence *\*ku-ddhó-* = 'in cavo positum', would serve well enough as a start-form for *huzd*, did it not separate it from *kó-ṣṭha-s* 'thesaurus' and from *custos*. Skr. *kó-ṣa-s* 'tub, treasure, treasury' will also be a compound = 'in cavo iacens'; posterius *-ṣa-*: *κεῖται* 'lies' (cf. Skr. *giri-ṣa-s*, VS., 'in monte habitans' with *ὄρεσ-κῶος*).

<sup>2</sup> Skr. *pas-* 'pud. mul.' would have come by discomposition, but PW<sup>2</sup>, no longer registers the word.

<sup>3</sup> For the figure cf. AP. 12, 232, *ὀρθὸν νῦν ἐστὴ καὶ ἀνώνυμον οὐδὲ παραίνη*.

<sup>4</sup> That *ōs-* is a gesture-word, *ō* or *au*, reproduced by lip-protrusion, and subsequently worked up into the flexional structure of the language, is altogether a probable guess.



67. Another group means 'thigh' or 'shin' or 'leg-bone' (cf. Eng. *bone*=Germ. *bein*), as in Av. *paiti-štāna-* "“(Gestell sva.) Bein’, vom Fuss bis zur Hüfte” (see Bartholomae, lex., 837). We have in (later) Greek *ιστός* 'shin, leg-bone'. Lith. *staibiai* 'shinbones' can hardly, therefore, be anything but a derivative from *sthā(y)-* 'stare', reinforced by a *bh-* determinative, cf. *σφι-φ-ρός* 'solidus', Lith. *stabas* 'stob'. It is precisely matched, save possibly in vocalism, by Lat. *(s)tibia* 'shin-bone' which has lost its *s* by alliteration in the musical group we may indicate by *tibicen* 'piper': *tubicen* 'trumpeter'.<sup>1</sup> With this evidence before us we can hardly doubt that in Skr. *ā-sthi-/a-sthān-* 'bone' the posterius means 'stans'. For the generalization of 'bone' from (probably) 'leg-bone' cf. conversely Germ. *bein*; Eng. *bone* (= quasi 'fractum' in sense, from the root *bhēy* 'ferire', see § 18). In the prius I see *od-*, cognate with Skr. *ād-ri-s* 'stone, cliff'<sup>2</sup> (see PAOS. 31, 412<sup>1</sup>), Lith. *ad-ata* 'needle' (of bone?), *ὀδ-ούς*; and with Skr. *ad-ga-s* 'rohr-stab, stengel'; also 'melted butter' (or some sort of sacrificial food, lexical).<sup>3</sup> The primary

<sup>1</sup> Walde<sup>2</sup> hazards no statement about the etymology of *tuba*. It is one of the numerous progeny of the root *tu-* 'to swell', and save for the difference in determinative belongs with "ON. *pollr* baum, hölzerner pflock, OEng. *pol* pflock" (Walde<sup>2</sup>, p. 798). The *tubus* or reed-pipe was 'hollow', i. e. air-swollen, cf. *tüber* of various swollen and knotty objects. For the specialization of meaning cf. Skr. *tū-lini* 'cotton-stalk': *tū-la-m* 'rispe' (= 'panicle' as used by Böhtlingk u. Roth, but the same word *rispe* = 'twig' as defined by Kluge). It seems a mere accident that Lat. *tüber* 'knob' (on wood) was never applied to the knot or joint of any of the reed growths.

<sup>2</sup> With *-ri-* as in Lat. *oc-ri-s* 'peak'; with *ād-ri-s* cf. Fr. *aiguille*, Eng. *needle* of 'points' of rock, or 'peaks'.

<sup>3</sup> The citations in the Petersburg lexicon do not enable me to find the connotations of *ad-ga-s*, but MPers. *azg* 'twig' admits of reference to *δοχος* (see § 53), and was perhaps a borrowing from Alexander's Greeks even. With *ad-ga-s* 'stirring-stick' (? a sort of 'chopstick') one naturally associates *khaḍgd-s* 'sword' wherein *-ga-* (for *gha-*) belongs with the root of *han-* 'ferire'. With *-ga-* cf. the posterius in *φάσ-γανον* 'sword'—whose prius *φάσ-* means 'maimer' or 'chewer'—and in *φρύ(γ)γανον* 'dry-stick for burning'. [If we think of a 'spit' for cooking (cf. the verb *σραβέω*, one of the numerous derivatives of the root *sthā-*, 'I cook, roast', etc.) the apparent suffix in Skr. *bhṛj-jana-m* and in *τήγανον* (both = 'roasting-pan') becomes clearer. Apropos of *φρύγανον*, let me say in passing that its use for quasi 'shrubs' by Theophrastus in his classification of plants furnishes a complete parallel for my explanation in TAPA, 41, 25 of Skr. *śa-dhi-s* as (brenn-) pflanze]. In *φάσγανον* *γ* is for *β* by labial dissimilation in the sequence *bh-g(h)w*, with loss of aspiration before *π*, cf. *ἀμνός* 'lamb' (from *agwnó-s*): OEng. *lanian* from *ogwhno-* (Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 1, § 704, anm.).



sense of *\*od-sthi-* would be quasi 'ess-bein', i. e. a marrow bone. The same *-sthi-* is found in Skr. *sak[s]thi-* 'thigh' ('keule') with prius *sak-*: *secat* 'cuts' (Fay, PAOS. 31, 412). In Latin *co-stae* 'ribs' we have the record of the observation of the 'con-stantia' of these bones, cf. OBulg. *ko-sti* 'bone', with a generalization somewhat more advanced than Germ. *gerippe* 'skeleton' (: Eng. *ribs* 'costae') exhibits.

68. To the root *sthā* I also refer the group of words represented by στήνιον στήθος 'breast', Skr. *stānāu* (dual) 'mammas', Av. *fstāna-* 'nodus, nipple', mod. Pers. *pi-stan* 'mamma', Arm. *stin*; cf. *stant papillae* (Lucilius),—*mammas* (Pliny). Starting with the form *\*pəstāna-* (from IE. *p(ə)t-tāxna-*) for the Indo-Iranian group, Johansson (IF. 14, 324) has brought these words into connection with ON. *spine* 'teat' and Lith. *sp'nỹs*, integrating and disintegrating the letters of his equation—all in conformity with the laws of analogous changes—with a skill of which any analytical geometrician might be proud. Prellwitz<sup>1</sup> has adjusted all this, s. v. στήθος, to a start-form *\*pstē(i)n-dhos*. But none of these clever manipulations inspires confidence. How in the world did the Indo-Europeans come to such a designation as this?—for *pst-*, save in the onomatopoeia of sneezing and the like, is quite asyllabic. For the breasts of the human female the designation as (*ex*)*stantes* leaves nothing to desire. Originally the sense may have been something like 'knot, knob, protuberance', as in Lith. *stavaris*, e. g. In view of this notandum we may dismiss from consideration ON. *spine* and Lith. *sp'nỹs* as belonging to the root *sphēy-* 'tumere', cf. Skr. *pīvaḥ-sphākā-* 'pingui tumens', *sphīta-s* 'gequollen (of grains), regen-schwanger' (of a cloud swollen with rain), *sphā-ra-s* 'pustule', *sphi-gī* 'hip' (cf. on ὀσφύς, § 53);<sup>1</sup> cf. also σπι-θ-αμή 'span' (in accent like παλα(ι)στή,

<sup>1</sup> Or is ὀσφύς to be identified with *sphi-gī*? Then we must operate with a root *sphēy* | *sphōw* (see Fay, AJPh. 25, 371). Derivatives of this root seem to have meant not only 'largus' (in the Latin sense of 'copious, generous'), but also (like Spanish *largo*) 'longus' and 'latus' (cf. Lat. *spa-tium*). From substantivized 'longus' comes Skr. *sphyaś* 'holz-span, opfermesser', cognate with the posterius in Lat. *sece-spi-ta-* 'sacrificial knife': *spatula* and σπάθη. [Prellwitz has lately suggested (KZ. 44, 358) the identification of *-spita* with σπάθη, but of course *spatula* is the nearer term]. Here the word actually designating the cutting instrument has been ousted by the adjective 'largus', cf. e. g. Span. *larga* 'mace' (in the game of billiards). It is as though in Eng. *long-bow* or *small-sword* the posterius had been omitted. Also cf. *sharpes*, *betweens*, *blunts*, designations of three sorts of needles; *middles*, 'side-meat,



in suffix like *παλάμη*). We have the sense of 'largus', i. e. 'copiosus' in *sphi-rá-s* 'fat' (of the 'belly'), *páyah-sphāti-* (AV. 19, 31, 10)<sup>1</sup> *pīvah-sphākā-s* 'von fett strotzend'.<sup>2</sup> Why refuse to see that a start-form *\*sphēy-no-* 'swelling', with the legitimate weakenings of *ē(y)*, accounts phonetically and semantically for ON. *spine*, Lith. *spėnỹs*? This start-form also clears up Av. *fštāna-*, mod. Pers. *pī-stan*, as from *(s)ph(i)-stāna-* 'strotz-stehend'. The loss of the *i-* in the Avestan form will be due to the use of *p(i)-stāna-* in composition, cf. the compound *vr̥dva-fšna-* 'altimammus', wherein *fšna-* is a reduction of *fštāna-* (*ā* as in Skr. *stāna-*).

69. But *στηθος* and Skr. *stāna-* still have their difficulties, the former in its common Greek *η*,<sup>3</sup> and the latter in its deaspiration; yet *στηθος* shows how the deaspiration of *stāna* may have come about, and the *η* of *στηθος*, which meant rather 'chest' than 'mamma', may be due to association with *τήθη* and its sept, cf. *τίθος* 'mamma', : the root *dhē(y)-* 'to suckle'. Siebs (see KZ. 37, 294) might even derive *στη-* from *dhēy-*. For *στη-θος* there are various start-forms to reckon with, as e. g. *st(h)ā-stho-s* (reduplicated). Or *στη-* may be nominal (cf. *στέαρ* 'fat', Skr. *ghṛta-st[h]āva-a-s* [AV. 12, 2, 17] 'ghee-drops'—with non-contiguous deaspiration ?), governed by *-θος-* 'faciens, dans'.

70. Other words meaning 'breast' exhibit *-st(h)-* as a posterior. Thus we have in Greek *μα-στός/μα-σθός* (Doric), but Homeric *μα-ζός*. For the first pair I think at first blush of 'mamma stans' as perhaps giving the correct clue to the derivation, but further facts need to be taken account of, viz: (1) Homeric *μαζός* from *μα-σθός*, whose *sd* varying with *-st(h)-* in *μαστός* suggests

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bacon'; *middlings*, 'a sort of bran'; *tops*, 'plated buttons'. Such omissions characterize technic language. In Greek *φάσ-γανον* (§ 67) the prius may be from *(s)phās-* 'long': Skr. *sphy-d-s* 'long[-knife]'. With *sphyd-s* 'holz-span' OHG. *spahha*, with a different determinative, may be compared also Greek *σφάζει* (from *sphā-g-*) 'sacrifices' (lit. 'uses a long[-knife]').

<sup>1</sup> Whitney properly renders in his translation by 'fatness of milk', after having joined Roth in their edition in emending to *gāya-sphāti-s*, doubtless because of *gāya-sphāna-* 'den hausstand mehrend' (RV.). Böhtlingk in PW<sup>3</sup>, is curiously misleading when he enters "*gāyasphāti-* f. AV. 19, 31, 10, wohl fehlerhaft für *payah-sphāti-*".

<sup>2</sup> The root *sphē(y)-* can hardly be different in the last resort from the root found in Lat. *optimus* (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v.).

<sup>3</sup> Herwerden, Lex<sup>3</sup>, s. v. quotes only literary instances which, if the word was taken up from Homer, after its disappearance from actual speech, can prove nothing.



that the prius must be a word to suit the postures indicated by 'sedens' and 'stans'; (2) the other parts of the body indicated by Skr. *māstaka-s* 'head, skull, point, peak', *μάσταξ* 'mouth', cf. *μύσταξ* 'upper lip, moustache' (see § 66), all names of 'projecting' parts of the body. The entire group is cognate with the words Lat. *mentum* 'chin' (cf. *mentula* 'membr. vir'.) and Germ. *mund* 'mouth'; cf. also Lat. *mont-* 'peak'. Their prius was either *mṇt-* or *mṇ-* (cf. Lat. *e-min-et* 'projects'), though *μύσταξ* has at least the vowel of Skr. *mū-kha-m* 'mouth'.

71. The name of the 'breast' attested by Goth. *bru-sts* also had a posterius *-stho-s*. The root was, in a weak stage, *bhrū-* (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *de-frūtum*), and meant 'swelling', cf. Mlr. *brú* 'belly', *bruinne* 'breast'. Here also belongs Skr. *bhrū-s* 'brow', Av. *brv-at-*, ὀ-φρύς. In Latin *frons* 'forehead' we have the continuant of *\*bhrōw-nt-*, whence pre-Latin *\*frōwent-*, *\*frōwont-*, *frōnt-*. For the suffix *-nt-*, replacing *-ast-* (see § 53), cf. οὖ-ατ-α 'aures', ἡπ-ατ-ος 'iecinoris'.

72. In Latin *crī-sta* 'tuft, top-knot' we have a locative prius *krī*<sup>1</sup> 'in capite', unless the *ī* is a reduction of the *-āy-* stem attested in *κραϊπάλη* 'head-ache' (lit. 'splitting'<sup>2</sup>), *κραῖ-ρα* 'tip, point', (Fay KZ. 41, 208). With *crī-sta* cf. Av. *srvi-stāy-* above (§ 45).

73. In Latin *crinis* 'hair' the prius is *crī-* 'in capite' + *sni-s* 'positus, iacens' (: *sinit* 'lays', *ponit* 'lays off'?). The posterius is found also in Skr. *kapu[t]-ṣṇi-kā* 'haar-buschel', cf. *u-ṣṇi-ṣa-s* 'head-band' [by discatination from *[kap]u[t]-sni-ṣa-s*?] and may come from the root *snā(y)-* 'nēre, nexere, nectere'. For the sense and the locative prius note Skr. *ṣirasi-ja-* 'head-born', *ṣirasi-ruha-* 'head-grown', whence 'hair'.

74a. In Skr. *pr̥thu-ṣṭu-/pr̥thu-ṣṭu-ka-* (RV.) 'latam-cristam-habens' the posterius *st(h)u-* (with deaspiration) was named from its upright or 'standing' position. In English we similarly allocate 'top' to a hair growth in the word *fore-top*, used of the mane of a horse topping his forehead.

74b. Lat. *intestinum*: Skr. *antastyam* (Āit. Br.) and *antah-sthā* (Ç. Br.) 'die im innern befindlich belebende kraft'. For the first pair of these, proethnic *entax[r]-sthī-* is a very probable start-form, cf. Av. *antarə-šta-* of the space between sky and earth, which, like *antah-sthā-*, shows recomposition with *antar-*. As in

<sup>1</sup> I see no good reason to question Bartholomae's a priori belief in a locative in *-ī*, but on this point I am expressing my convictions elsewhere. This case in *-ī* is alive in the Slavic languages (see Brugmann, Gr. <sup>3</sup>, II. 2, § 162, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the gloss of Hesychius, *κραϊπάλη* ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς χθιζῆς μέθης κεφαλαλγία.



πρόσθιος etc. (§ 6) the Greek correspondent ἐντόςθια preserves the aspirate. The -*sthū* of Skr. *vani-sthū*, one of the intestines, has already been put in the right light (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *vensica*).

#### THE HAND AND FINGER GROUP.

75. At this point it seems expedient to explain some of the words in this group, and chiefly Skr. *aṅgú-stha-s* 'thumb' (= on hand standing, see § 61), *\*tri-stho-s* 'tip-standing' (of the mid-finger, § 31), *ksw-ek(s)-stho-s* 'co-ex-stans' (of the second thumb in the digital count, see § 36), and *παλα(ι)στή* 'palm' (§ 61). Brugmann's list in IF. 18, 129 sq. contained, besides Skr. *hástā-s* 'hand' and *gābhastī-s* (see also my discussion of these words in PAOS. 31, 412, where deaspirated -*st(h)o-s* and -*st(h)i-s* were interpreted as elements of composition), the following: (1) OBulg. *grŭ-sti* 'hand-full': Russ. *gorst'* 'hollow hand': (2) OHG. *fust*: OBulg. *pęsti* 'fist' (see on Av. *puxda-*, § 32); (3) Lith. *pĩr-szta-s*: OBulg. *prŭ-sti* 'finger' [lit. = quasi 'prae-stans', cf. § 65]; (4) Alban. *gl'isht/g'isht* 'finger' [from *gwl-st(h)i-s* 'stachel-stehend': Lith. *gelūñs* 'stachel', cf. Pedersen in KZ. 39, 393]. To these should be added the sept of Eng. *wrist*: Goth. *\*wristi* from *\*wrih-sti-* (see Kluge<sup>6</sup>, s. v. *rist*) and Skr. *muṣṭi-s* 'fist' from *\*muk̐-sthi-s* with aspiration lost according to § 42 a. With *muṣṭi-s*: Av. *muṣti-* Lat. *mucro* 'point, blade' belongs, and the pair *pūgnus* 'fist': *pūgio* 'dagger' makes the comparison entirely probable (pace Charpentier in IF. 29, 398, who prefers a start-form *\*mut-sti-s*: Lat. *mūto* 'membr. vir.', a meaning also found for *muṣṭi-s*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It seems strange that the etymology of Latin *mūto* has not been cleared up before now. It cannot be separated from the word *moetino* (ablv.), Lucilius, ap. Non. 11, 1, cf. also Priap. 72, where *mutin(i)o* (ablv.) = 'pēne'. Accordingly *u* is from *oe* as in Lat. *murus*: *moenia*. The low use of *stake* (see § 64) in our time fixes the relation of *moetinus*: Skr. *me-thī-s* 'stake'. So when the later Frontinus is cited for the spelling *moeta* = *mēta* we do well to conclude that he spelt correctly. From the use of *moetae*, which were probably phallic symbols (see Fay, AJPh. 26, 191, § 30 b), as goal-posts and termini, i. e. as measures of a race-track and of boundaries, confusion with *mētior* 'I measure' yielded the current form *mēta*. For the date when the hypocoristic spelling *multo* was established we must wait for the materials of the Thesaurus, and then only inscriptional evidence would give certainty, not the MS. evidence of Porphyrio ad Horatium, S. 1, 2, 68. As a historical problem we know not when in the four to five hundred years that intervened between Lucilius (and Horace) on the one side and Porphyrio on the other the change from



## NAMES OF ANIMALS AND THEIR STALLS.

76. Note was taken above of the sense of 'stall' (§ 14), and ἀκοστήσας (§ 50) explained as from \*ἀκοστος 'in vinculo stans'. In English, *stud* which meant 'stall' has given rise to *stud-horse*, again shortened to *stud*. Still earlier, *steed* 'war-horse' was developed from the same root, cf. *stallion* from *stall* (cf. ἵππo-στα-σις and σταθμός), and see further Kluge, s. v. *stute* 'stud-mare'. These words, as well as Lith. *stódas*, implied a 'herd' of horses. What reason, then, to question the interpretation given above (§ 14) of *sunista* as 'herd of swine'? The *st* of OHG. *hengist* is also, then, a confix, cf. *hangisto* in the Lex Salica. The prius, *hangi-* or *hangi(s)-*, will then be cognate with Lat. *cingulum* 'girth', and the compound is comparable with \*ἀκοστος above. In either compound the prius may have designated a sort of halter, cf. ἡ ἐπὶ φαρνίδια φορβεῖα (Xenophon) and ἡ αὐλητικὴ στομίς (gloss of φορβεῖα, Hesychius). The differentiation of animals as 'stalled' (= τροφίαι) and 'grazing' (= φορβάδες) was ever so early an economic condition (see on *pecus* = 'tied' TAPA. 41, 34<sup>1</sup>). Thus Skr. *gr̥ṣṭi-s* 'heifer, heifer with her first calf' may be from \**g(h)ṛd(h)-sthis* 'in caulis stans', with prius: Av. *garəda-* 'caverna'. The same form is also cited for 'boar' with a lexical variant \**ghṛ-ṣtis*. Could a stalled boar (think of the household pig in rural Ireland) be meant? Still, with Virgil's *sus horridus* before us we must feel like connecting the prius with the root \**gher(s)/gher(s)* 'to be rough; to scratch'<sup>1</sup> (v. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. vv. *ēr* and *frendo*: it is quite unreasonable to refuse to unite two 'roots' of such meaning). With *gr̥ṣṭi-s* 'heifer', if from \**g(w)hṛd(h)-sthis*, we may unite Lat. *forda/horda* 'pregnant heifer', if from \**g(w)hṛd-zdhā*. I derive Goth. *fra-sts* 'progenies' from \**pro-sthi-s* whence also, *mut. mut.*, πορ[σ]τις 'heifer', cf. the counter terms πρό-βατον 'sheep' and Lat. *prōles*, *sub-oles* of children and young animals going before or under their drivers or begetters. By transfer to plants of some word like *suboles* the conditions arose under which the root written as *al-* 'nutrire' (in Lat. *alo*, cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v.) grew up beside the root written as *el* 'ire' (ib. s. v. *ambulo*). With *suboles* of 'twigs' and of the

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*mutto* to *mutto* may have taken place. As a phonetic question, folk Latin *mūccus* for *mūcus* and *glūtto* for *glūto* are parallel cases (see further Vendryes, *Intens.*, §§ 126 sq. and § 10). [In CIL. XIV, 1940, *muthunium*].

<sup>1</sup> Lucilius 333, *scaberat, ut porcus contritis arbore costis*, justifies this notandum for 'boar' from another side.



'hair', cf. Xenophon's use of ἀραβαιρεῖν to describe the growth of climbing plants and of the hair.

77. Besides the names of animal stalls already discussed in another connection (§ 14) attention must be called to Goth. *awistr* 'sheep-stall'. After all that has been said, Bezzenberger's comparison of *-str* (KZ. 22, 278) with Skr. *stara-s* 'stratum,' Lat. *torus* 'couch', but above all with Lith. *strajė* 'straw; stall', especially 'horse-stall,' leaves nothing to desire. The sense of 'straw' is immediately discernible in OHG. *bol-star*<sup>1</sup>, ON. *bol-str* 'cushion' with prius: OSwed. *bul-in* auf-gebläht (v. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. 2, 1, p. 347); cf. the posterius with the sense of Lat. 'storia' in Goth. *huli(s?)-str*<sup>2</sup> 'cover', etc. In Goth. *ga-nawistrōn* 'sepelire' we have to recognize *\*nawī-str* 'cadaveris storia' (i. e. 'operculum'). For the propriety of this analysis of *awi-str* cf. further male *substernere* pecori (Pliny) and pullos *substernere*; and for *ga-nawistrōn* cf. σπῶμα 'pavement' and 'viam sternere'.

#### SERVANTS AND MASTERS.

78. First of the words in this list I mention the pair already treated in another connection (§ 6), viz: *abhi-ṣṭi-s* 'hülfe, förderung', but *abhī-ṣṭi-s* 'helfer, beistand' (both = Lat. 'opera'). The definition 'bei-stand' (cf. Fr. *assistant*) makes for conceiving the posterius as *-st[h]i-s*, and the appearance of *-st(h)ā-* in further words of this group should leave no doubt, as e. g. in *ni-ṣṭha-s*, used in the plural for 'dependents', i. e. 'servi'. Skr. *upa-sti-* (or *ūpa-sti-*) also means 'servant', and that this is for *\*upa-sthī-* scarcely admits of doubt when we note *upa-sthāyaka-s* (Buddhistic) 'servant' and Av. *upa-stā-* 'bei-stand, hilfe'. By discomposition (but see 43a) from *abhi-ṣṭi-s* and *ūpa-sti-s* we have *stī-n* 'clientes', even though it picked up all the significance attached to it by Ludwig on RV. x, 148, 4 (vol. v, p. 220) as "die bezeichnung der gesamten ansässigen und besitzberechtigten bevölkerung"—in contradistinction to the *upastī-*, or plebeian class. With *sti-pā-* 'protector of the *sti-*', used of Agni and Mitra-Varuna, cf. *abhiṣṭi-pā-* (RV. 2, 20, 2) used of Indra as protector

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in RV. *pra-stard-s* 'straw, seat on grass'. A Roman *lecti-sterneum* is directly suggested by the ritual passage (TS. 1, 3, 2) *prastare-ṣṭhā barhi-ṣṭha devā-h*, whence we may infer a *\*barhi(s)-ṣṭha <r>*- cognate with *bol-star*.

<sup>2</sup> Closest of kin is Lat. *colustra* 'biestings', but originally 'cream' = 'cover' of the milk', cf. Skr. *pi-yūṣa-m* (with both meanings) lit. = 'milk-soup' (*-yūṣa-m*: Lat. *jūs* 'soup'). In *colustra* we have a tautological compound = 'cover-cover' (see Fay in KZ. 45, 112, § 4).



of his 'assistants', i. e. servants and followers. Certainly it was with no etymological purpose in mind that Whitney (Gram<sup>2</sup>, 1250 b) defined *nare-ṣṭhā-s* (with *rātha-s* 'chariot' in RV.) by 'serving-a-man' ('man-serving'), but the definition makes for understanding *st(h)i-* as 'servant'. [Here see § 100].

79. In the light of *abhi-ṣṭi-s* 'opera' the analysis of *πενέ(ς)-στης* as 'domi interioris stans', i. e. 'domesticus' is not open to any reasonable challenge. Like *πενέ[ς]-στης*, but with an additional *ko-* suffix, is Lat. *domesticus*, wherein *domes-* may be modelled on Lat. *penes-* (/ *penu-* / *peno-*), or it may be genitive (with local force; cf. *ἀγρώ(σ)-στης* 'ruri-stans', and see § 28) of monosyllabic *dom-*—unless the start-form was *\*domo-sticus*. Homeric *ἀλφη-στής* has a locative prius, *ἀλφᾶ(y)* 'at wage', cf. *ἐλεφαντι-στής* 'elephant-driver' (Aristotle), which is, however, rather too late to be matched with Skr. *rathe-ṣṭhā'*—'in curru stans' (of one military arm<sup>1</sup>) [see also § 102]. But Homeric *ἀκοντι-στής* 'javelin-thrower' obviously equals 'in iaculo stans' (cf. *ἀκοντι-στύς* 'in iaculo stantia': the root-form *sthewā-*), and is parallel with Skr. *rathe-sthā'*. Both terms will have designated members of distinct arms of the military service. True, we are habituated to deriving both from *ἀκοντιδ-* supposed to be found in the verb *ἀκοντίζω* 'iaculor'. A corresponding trio of words is found in *δαρίζω* 'I chat with', *δαριστής* 'a familiar friend', *δαριστύς* 'fond discourse'. But *δάριζε* is of pellucid analysis in Z 516, ὅθι ἢ δάριζε γυναικί ("where he had dallied with his wife", Lang, Leaf, Myers), viz.: as a compound of *δαρι* (loc. to *δαρ* 'socia, uxor') + *ίζω*<sup>2</sup> 'I sit', and the original first sense of *δαριστής* (*δαριστύς*) must have been 'apud socium stans' (. . . 'stantia'). In signification, *δαρος* 'col-loquium' (: *ser-mo*) may be earlier than *δαρ* 'colloquens'. Having this analogical pattern for *ἀκοντίζω*, we need not assert formal analogies as found in *ὀπλίζω* : *ὀπλιστής* (late), *σχιστός* : *σχίζω* (root *σχιδ-*), *ἐριστός* : *ἐρίζω*.<sup>3</sup> [See also § 102].

<sup>1</sup> See for 'stare' in military contexts Lewis and Short, s. v. *sto* I B 3; Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ιστημι* A; PW<sup>1</sup>, s. v. *sthā*, 3. For *stare* of servants cf. *neque pueri eximia facie stabant* (C. Gracchus, ap. Gell. 15, 12, 2), considered in the light of Horace's *ad cyathum statuatur* (C. 1, 29, 8).

<sup>2</sup> Probably shortened by haplology in the pre-Greek from *\*ῥαρ[ι-σ]ι-σδω*.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious to note that *αἰχμητής* 'spearman' may have started, if Prellwitz<sup>3</sup> has correctly derived it from *aiḡsmā*, as *\*aiḡsmā(y)-sthā-s* 'in pilo stans' whence, with *s-* dissimilation in the posterius *-[s]thā-s*, *αἰχμητής*. In *αἰχμητά* we have a nominative of the *agri-cola* type (from *-sthā-*).



80. In Lat. *media-stinus*, the name of a servant of mid degree, the earliest form of record seems to be *mediastrinus* (Lucilius and Cato ap. Non. 143, 4-8). But the earlier form I believe to be, in this case, the less original. If the *r* was not foisted upon the word by imitation of the *-aster-* of *oleaster* (? a rustic way of saying *olea sterilis*)—cf. *parasitaster*, a pejorative of *parasitus* in Terence—it may have got into it proethnically, cf. Av. *raθaē-štar- raθaē-šlā-*, Skr. *savya-ṣṭhār- / savya-ṣṭhā-*, wherein like Sommer (IF. 11, 17 sq.) I see the modification of *-sthā-* in the direction of the *-tor-* suffix. Similarly a *\*medhyā(y)-sthā-* may have given *\*medhyā(y)-sthor-*. I suppose original Lat. *mediā-stinus* 'in media (parte) stans' to have been affected, possibly, by this *\*media-sthor-*. As *mediastinus* describes a servant by his relative rank, OBulg. *ogni-stī*<sup>1</sup> 'mancipium' describes him by his special function as fire-builder (so, in substance, Miklosich). For another possible interpretation of *ogni-* see Fay, KZ. 45, 122.

81. As a counter term to *πενέ(σ)στης* we have Skr. *apnaḥ-sthā-s* 'gutsherr'<sup>2</sup>, with a reintroduced *h* (from *s*); add Elean *τελε(σ)-στᾶ* 'magistrate'. So OBulg. *staro-sta* 'village-head' may be neither a superlative as Miklosich seemed to think (Wtbch., p. 320), nor an abstract (cf. Ital. *podesta* from Lat. *potestas*, Eng. *majesty*, the *authorities*) as Brugmann teaches, but a compound of *staro-* (neut. *-es* stem) quasi 'firmum' + *st(h)ā* 'sistens'. In Homeric *θεμιστεύω* we have a verb from *\*θεμ(σ)στεύς* 'fas-stator'<sup>3</sup>, and as Schulze has already surmised (see KZ. 42, 242, fn.) the flexion of *θεμιστός* (gen.) is to be explained by composition of *θεμ<σ>-* with a posterius from *sthā-*. Productive as the ending *-εύς* was in Greek, no mere productivity seems quite to account for pairs like *ἄριστοι* and *ἀριστῆες* 'principes', *ἄγχιστος* and *ἀγχιστεύς* 'proximus heres'. Here, where the superlatives have *-stho-* (see § 43), their co-ordinates have *-sthāw-* (cf. Skr. *sthāvarā-s*, § 4), and in the *η*-dialects their plural ended in *-στη(ν)-ες*. From *βασι-λῆες*: *βασι-λεύς* (*-lēw-s*, see Class. Quart. 5, 119; IF. 29, 417) pairs like *ἀριστῆες*: *ἀριστεύς* were developed. Germ. *fürst* 'princeps' and

<sup>1</sup> Here *-stī* is of transitive force; see §§ 81, 105.

<sup>2</sup> The rendering *opi-plenus* were perhaps more accurate. To the Roman scholars (cf. e. g. Servius ad Aen. 1, 646) *plenum esse* was a current definition—accurate, too, to all intents and purposes—for *stare*. In Aen. 6, 300, *stare flammae* (for this is the MSS. reading) is for *plenum esse flammae*; cf. exx. in § 81, fn.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps 'fas-canens', see § 17 for *st(h)u-*.



Skr. *pra-stha-s* 'Vordermann' both = *prae-stans*, while Av. *fraē-šta* 'nuntius', with prius = Lat. *prae-*, came to mean 'one who stands for another, his representative', unless *-šta* has causal force here (cf. exx. in § 19).

82. Like *apnah-sthā-s* 'gutsherr' is Latin *scele(s)-stus* which every student of Plautus knows to mean 'scelerum dominus, scelera sistens/scelerum compos, scelerum plenus'. The same analysis suits *honestus*, *modestus*, *robustus* (but see § 51), and secondary *mōlēstus* 'mōlem sistens'. It is not clear whether in Skr. *sthā-pati-s* 'loci dominus' the prius means 'locus', i. e. 'stand, stop, halt; settlement' (see § 14) or corresponds with Skr. *sti-* 'clientela' in meaning. The type of *scelestus* is represented in Greek proper names like *Θυέστης* 'sacra sistens', later = *δοιδυξ*. The late words *ἀρεστής/ἀρεστήρ* are probably translations of Lat. *placenta*. [The proper names *Μενεσθεύς* (on *-εύς* see § 81), *Μενέσθης*, *Μενέσθιος* show *θ* not *τ*, and are all compounded with *μέγες-* 'vis', as *scele(s)stus* with *sceles-*. Formally cf. Skr. *mana(s)sthas* 'in corde habitans'].

83. In Latin *sospes* I also recognize a *sti-* to correspond with Skr. *sti-*, while the ending *-pet-* is from *-pat-*: Skr. *pā* 'protector' (in *sti-pā* 'protector of the *sti-*'). I derive *sospet-* from *swo-sthi-pat-*<sup>1</sup> 'protector of one's own *sti-*'. This accounts for *sospita* as the title of Juno, cf. above on Agni and Mitra-Varuna as the *sti-pā*, on Indra as *abhiṣṭi-pā* (§ 78). For the dialectic form *seispita*<sup>2</sup> (Juno) it is necessary to write *\*swoi-sthi*, not *\*swo-sthi*. This dative *swoi-* corresponds with the prius in Av. *xvaē-pati* 'himself' (cf. vulgar 'his self'), which forms a nearly precise counter-term to *\*swoi-sthi-* 'sui-clientela'; also cf. OPers. *uvāi-pašiya-m* 'sui-possessio'. In these compounds the dative (for I agree with Foy in so regarding the Iranian prius) acts the rôle of a possessive, or seems to. It is not a little curious that in English, also, the complexes like *him-self* exhibit a dative prius. So much for *sospes* in its active sense of 'saving'. For the passive sense of 'salvus' it seems expedient to derive from *\*swo-stho/i- + potis* = '(of)-welfare-possessed', cf. with *\*swo-stho-* Skr. *sva-stha-* defined by 'in seinem natürlichen zustand sich befindend . . wohl auf, gesund' (see § 11), and Lith. *savi-stas* 'independent, self-directing,

<sup>1</sup> Possible also is *\*swo-sthi-p-* 'welfare-protecting' with metathesis to *\*swo-spilh-*. Cf. the later metathesis in Alb. *ḡtepi-* 'domus' from Lat. *hostipium* (?).

<sup>2</sup> I pass without comment over the derivation of *seis-* from *sid(o)s*.



self-reliant' (lit. 'selbst-stehend'), cf. Lat. *liber(s)tus* 'frei-stehend' (§ 29). A possible division of the pre-Latin start-form is *swo-sthapoti-s* 'sui potens', with posterius = Skr. *sthā-pati-s* (§ 82).

#### INHABITANTS, WANDERERS, STRANGERS.

84. The current interpretation of *caelestis* as 'in caelo stans' (cf. Skr. *divi-stha-*) is not open to doubt, in my opinion, however insoluble the debate whether *e* is long or short. If, with some investigators, we explain the *ē* of *lēvis* and *lēvi* (pf. of *lino*) as from *ēi caelē-* would be normal from *\*caelei*, but I am rather inclined to think the *e* of *caelestis* dialectic. In any case, as a conceptual opposite to *terrēs-tris*<sup>1</sup> (*-es-* stem + *-tri-* 'faring', see Fay, AJPh. 31, 409)—cf. Ital. *cilestro* 'caerulean'—its *ē* was liable to reduction to *ē*. As for *agrestis* it can never be determined whether it corresponded in its posterius to *caelestis* or to *terrestris*. That *terrestris* was highly productive is shown by *silvestris*, *campestris*, *vallestria*, *lanestris* (cf. *campestre* 'leather apron'), and it is even hard to decide whether *palustris*<sup>2</sup> started from *\*palud-tris* 'marsh-faring' or came by irradiation from *terres-tris* 'dry-land-faring'. In *pedestris* and *equestris* we have adjectives pertaining to subdivisions of the *exercitus terrestris* (Nepos; also *proelia t.*)—a combination possibly attested by Accius when he writes in highly metaphorical language *terrestris pontus strages conciet* (ap. Cic. N. D. 2, 89); cf. *pedestres navalesque pugnae* (Cicero), wherein *pedestres* has replaced *terrestres* (but Cicero has *terrestris archipirata*). Direct derivation from *\*pedet-tris* 'footgoing-faring' *\*equet-tris* seems most unlikely.

<sup>1</sup> The sphere of original usage of *terrestris* is shown by its application in Plautus to *pecudes* and *sus*. By the time of Cicero *terrestris* and *caelestis* had become fixed contrasts in the natural history classification.

<sup>2</sup> The influence of *palustris* has given to *lustrum* 'haunt, place of wandering' the sense of 'bog, swamp', but *lustrum* is from the root found in *ἐλεῖθω* 'eo' + *tro-m* (as in Skr. *sthā-trd-m* 'standort'—the comparison of which with Lat. *ob-stāculum*, OEng. *stodl* 'postis' (Brugmann Gr. II. 1, p. 341) is purely gratuitous). In *lus-trum* the posterius may have meant quasi 'erratio' (: the root *ter-* 'to fare', generalized into something like 'haunt'). Cf. also *lustrum* (Nae-vius) 'errator', and *lustrum* 'erro'. Skr. *sthā-trd-m* is a counter term to Lat. *lustrum*. [Certainty as between *-tro-* and *-tlo-* in words of this meaning is not to be reached, cf. Lith. *bū-klà* 'residence', Lat. *ambulācrum* 'promenade' (both with *-tl-*), but Lat. *cas-trum* 'fundus' (with *tr-*). The *-tl-* forms would show association with the sept. of Germ. *stelle* 'locus'.] *Illustris* is from *\*in-lux-tris*.



85. Other inhabitants are designated by *ὄρε(σ)-στιάδες* (Homer) 'mountain-dwelling', wherein we have a syncretism of *-sthi-s* (as in *caele-stis*) and *σταδ-* as in *στάδ-α* 'stagnantem' (aquam), see § 5. In *ἀγρῶ(σ)-στης* 'field-dweller' (Soph. Eur.) the prius is a local genitive (§ 28).

86. The posterius is entirely obvious in a word like *μετ-ανα-στής* 'land-louper' (see Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 262), wherein the sense of 'wanderer' comes from the preverbs (cf. Skr. *pra-sthāv-an-*, § 14). It is equally impossible, because of the intrinsic semantic appeal of the explanation (§ 3), to refuse the explanation of Lat. *hostis* 'stranger' (see Fay, Class. Quart., 1, 28) as from *[e]gho(s)-st(h)i-s* 'extra-stans'.<sup>1</sup> Nor do I pass over Walde's objection that *eghs* (whence *ex*) has a palatal and *hostis* a pure guttural, but that is because the *e-* has palatalized<sup>2</sup> the *gh* of *eghs*. Certainly a difference between a *k̂-* and a *k-* can no longer be urged against a derivation sound in all other respects, at least not by a scholar who uses the language used by Walde<sup>3</sup>, s. v. *acus*. For the division *ho(s)-stis* OIr. *gall* 'hostis' may be pleaded, for which Stokes-Fick (p. 108) surmise derivation from *\*ghas-los* i. e. *\*ghos-lo-s* = 'ex' + a suffix (?) *-lo-*. Perhaps this *-lo-* belongs to a root *lēy-* 'lie' in Skr. *lī-nas* 'anschmiegend, anliegend, geduckt', cf. *lē(y)-gh-* in the kin of *λάχεια* <'low'> lying' (ap. Prellwitz<sup>3</sup>, s. v.). For the pair *\*ghos-lo-s* 'out-lying': *gho(s)-stis* 'out-standing' cf. Skr. *aṅgū-li-s* 'finger' (=on-hand-lying): *aṅgū-ṣṭha-s* 'thumb' (= 'in manu exstans', see Fay, AJPh. 31, 479). The applicability of these names will have rested in the use of the raised (standing) and depressed fingers in counting (see § 31<sup>1</sup>).

87. Let us apply these observations to Skr. *ātithi-s* 'guest' Av. *asti-š* 'geselle, genosse' (i. e. 'comer'), and assume that, as in *hostis*, the posterius was *-sthi-s*, and write the two start-forms (1) *\*atisthi-s* and (2) *\*atsthis*, wherein *ati-* and *at-* are root-nouns:

<sup>1</sup> Greek *ξ-έν-φος* is similarly 'extra-in-habitans'. What theory of mere coincidence could explain such conformity of definition to analysis? The yielding in *-φος* of the *es-* to the *o-* stem (cf. *ὅ* and *τὸ σκότος*; *ἄγγελος*: Skr. *dāṅgiras-*; the OBulg. cases as collected by Leskien, Hdbch.<sup>3</sup> § 48) need not surprise us in a language where compounds in *-es-* frequently match simplices in *-o-*. [Or is *ξ-* in *ξ-έν-φος* from *ξF*, prevocalic form of *ξv-* 'co'-, § 36<sup>1</sup>?]

<sup>2</sup> After Brugmann's fuller treatment (Grundriss 2, 2, 823) I am now quite willing to admit the *ḡh* of *eghs*, but that carries no proof of *ḡh* in *ghos-*, nor perhaps even in *\*eghos* (see § 12 fn.).



the Skr. root *at-* 'errare'. In *ati-* I see a locative 'in erratione', and the derivation of 'guest' from 'in erratione stans' leaves nothing to desire. As in the case of *ξ-έν-For* 'ex-in-habitans' and *ho[s]-stis* 'extra-stans' the definition is too apt to be referred to coincidence. The second start-form *\*atsthis* may have originated from the first in composition (cf. Bartholomae in IF. 7, 70) and *átithi-s* is found in RV. in four compounds. But *\*atsthi-s* would have two sense elements, *at-* 'errare' and *-sthi-s* 'stans', and according as one of these elements outweighed the other (cf. § 12) the forms (3) *\*asthi-s* (cf. on *asthi* § 67) and (4) *\*atthis* would result. Now all four of these forms might have had a contemporary vogue, for language changes do not occur overnight, and the reaction of (4) *\*at-this* on (1) *\*ati-sthi-s* would have yielded what has survived in Skr. *dti-thi-s*. Perhaps *\*ghosthis*, conceived as *\*ghos-this*, played a part.

#### REMAINDERS.

88. Lat. *pestis* 'pestilence' is from *\*per-st(h)is* 'persistent', and was first an adjective qualifying something like *morbus*, cf. Eng. *epidemic*.<sup>1</sup> In social usage, e. g. *quaedam pestes hominum* (Cicero, Fam. 5, 8, 2), the sense of 'persistent' may still be felt. The form *pesestas* (Festus, 258), if not a mere dittography for *\*pestas*, may be a blend of *pessum* + *\*pestas*.

89. Lat. *lōcusta* | *lūcusta* 'locust'. This tree-dweller is named from *lō(w)-co-* 'grove' (: *lēw-* 'caedere', v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s. vv. *luo*, *lucus*) + *-sta* 'habitans'.

90. The analysis of Lat. *astus* as *ak-* + *st(h)ū-s* yields a definition approximately = 'acutē-stantia'. Here *-st(h)ūs* is a root-noun from the *sthewā-* form of *sthā*, while in *a-stūtus* we have a participle to the same root. In ὠτακουστής 'listener, spy' we have ὠτα (acc. of specification) + *\*ἀκου-στης* quasi 'astutus': that is to say that *\*ἀκου-στης* has in its prius a correspondent of the stem (?) of *acū-tus*, *acū-men*. The complex will equal 'sharp-standing-as-to-the ears', and *-ακου-στής* is only a somewhat preciser *acutus* (cf. *aures* | *capripedum satyrorum acutas*, Horace, c. 2, 19, 3). Query: Is the verb ἀκούω anything different from Lat. *acuo*, save that ὠτα had been lost from its phrase use? The present ἀκούω no more proves *\*akou-sy-* than βασιλεύω proves an *-sy-* flexion. Per-

<sup>1</sup> I have lived under conditions where an epidemic was usually described by the euphemism "the prevailing",—in derision of a diagnosis supposed to be "official".



haps the *-oũσ*-sept has been derived from (*a*)*k̂-ōw-s-* 'sharpen' by some process of apocope due in part to gradation. A medial stage of this would be indicated by Goth. *h-au-s-jan* 'to hear': κ-ο(*F*)έω. [Cf. Hom. *μη-κούστησε* 'non-audivit'].

91. Latin *crusta* (: κρύσταλλος 'ice') contains in *cru(s)-* a cognate of *cruor* 'clotted blood' and *crudus* 'hard' (of unripe fruits); or else of *cor(n)u* 'horn': Av. *sr-v-ī* (§ 45), the *u*-stem being parallel with the *es*-stem of the *κέρas*-sept (cf. § 51). The complex meant 'hard-' or 'horn-standing'.

## ADDENDA.

92. For the posterius *-ster-* in Lat. *passer* (§ 13) cf. OHG. *lī-stera* 'thrush', quasi 'leim-streuend', from his plastered nest.

93. OIr. *arsa(ī)d* 'vetus', from *paro(s)-stāti-s* (Fick-Stokes' p. 37), cf. on Skr. *purastāt* § 15. Lith. *at-stū* 'longe' (i. e. 'dis-stans').

94. Lat. *gurgu-stium* 'hovel', prius *gr̥gr̥dho-*: Av. *gar̥da-* 'cave-hut'; *-stium* as in Skr. *pa-stī(y)a-m* (§ 16).

95. [19] Skr. *pada-stha-s* "zu fusse gehend", eig. stehend" (P. W.): cf. *pat-tis* 'foot-soldier', possibly with recomposition (cf. § 13) giving *d-t* for *-st-*. For loss of aspiration see § 42 a. We have the same formation (prius *pēd-*) in Lith. *pė-szczias* (*-sthyo-s*) 'pede-iens'. Skr. *mārga-stha-s-* in (recta) via stans. OHG. *lī-sta* 'seam' is cognate in both its parts with Ger. *leiste* (§ 64), and both with *leisten* 'foot-track'.

96 [44]. Skr. *bhr̥-ṣṭis* 'top' had an original prius *bhr̥ḡh-*, cognate with *br̥hānt-* 'altus'. For the loss of *ḡ* and retention of *s* see § 12. Lith. *kūp-stās* 'hill, tuft': *kup-rā* 'hump'.

97 [43]. Of the connection of the Greek superlatives with stems in *-εσ-* I had caught sight in AJPh. 31, 411, § 23. Note the explanation by haplology of *ἐλέγχ[εσ]ι-στος* 'in culpa stans', *κέρδ[εσ]ι-στος* 'devoted to gain', *κῆδ[εσ]ιστος* 'dearest' (= 'in cura stans'), *κύδ[εσ]-ι-στος* 'in gloria stans'; cf. the proper name *Μηκ[εσ]ι-στεύς* 'Longissimus'.

98 [45]. Lith. *rañ-stis* 'prop, stay'—prius in Skr. *rāmate* 'festmacht'. Perhaps to Lat. *restis*, if from *\*remstis*; cf. *ra-stas* 'beam' (pace Schleicher, Hdbch. p. 115). Homeric *πλατάνιστος* for *πλάτανος* 'plane-tree' may owe its *-στος* to some other vegetal growth (§ 47), unless *-στο-s* = 'stalk', as in *aḡva-ttha-s* (?). By irradiation from *aḡva-ttha-s* (45 fn.) we have Skr. *kapi-ttha-s*



'monkey-tree', *kula-ttha-s* (prius : *kú-la-m* 'copia' ?), the name of a pod fruit.

99 [47]. Note the posterius in *κρά-στις/γράφ-στις* 'green fodder'.

100 [78 sq.]. SERVANTS AND MASTERS : *ἀγορα-στής* 'market-servant, buyer'.<sup>1</sup> Av. *hāvi-šta-* 'camillus' was literally 'in pre-mendo (sc. "soma") stans'. For the infinitival *hāv-i* cf. Skr. *vāhi-ṣṭha-s* (AJPh. 31, 411, § 20). Precisely the same explanation accounts for the so-called superlative *γāj-i-ṣṭha-s* (§ 43) as for the later *yajña-stha-s* "mit[einem] opfer beschäftigt" (PW.<sup>2</sup>; for the rendering 'beschäftigt mit' cf. PW.<sup>1</sup>, vii, 1280, 3). As a part of speech, *hāvišta-* is like Lat. *lanista* (l. s. c. 412, § 24 a). Lexical Sanskrit has *pārṣva-stha-s* 'ad latus stans' and *doh-stha-s* 'ad brachium stans' as names of servants. Mr. *foss* 'servus' is from *υπο-σθo-s*. It is not necessary to mention transparent formations like Skr. *parame-ṣṭhīn-* 'praeses', *tri-ṣṭhīn-* 'auf dreifachem grunde stehend', but *Διοσγενισται* may be given as a representative of the names of members of innumerable Greek commissions and guilds. Hence, by irradiation, a word like Hesychian *ἐθμισται* 'fellow countrymen'.

101. Because of their formal likeness to a name like *ἀλφη-στής* (§ 79) we may note *Ἀλκη-στις* = 'in vigore stans'; (cf. *ἀλκηστής* 'piscis quidam'), *Ἀδρή-στη* (? 'in industria stans'), *Γεραι-στός* (a promontory, but also a town with secure harbor) 'in honore stans' (?), *Ὀγχηστός* (city on a ridge; also a brook in a gorge) 'in angusto stans' (for vocalism of *\*ὄγχα-* see Fay, § 19, fn.). Add. *κληιστός* 'in clave stans'.

102 [79]. A full, if not complete, collection of the Homeric words in *-ιστής* reveals their semantic range. Of genuine *-ζω* verbs—for *-ιστής* : *-ίζω* is a practical group—with *-ζ-* from *-γγ-* or *-δγ-*, Homer, as some one has recently remarked, shows next to no examples. Touching the analysis of *ἀκοντίζω* as *ἄκοντι ἵζω* cf. Σ 522 where *ἵζοντο* = 'insidiabantur', at least by connotation, and the same sense of the same verb is found in Ait. Br. 3, 14, where *tam mṛtyur . . asīdat* = *ei mors . . insidiabatur*. To be sure, *ἀκοντίζω* has gone on in its development of sequel meaning (cf. AJPh. 32, 414 fn.) from 'in (cum) iaculo insidior' to 'iaculor'. Most clear in its composition is *κελητίζειν* (O 679) = *ἐπὶ κέλῃτι ἵζειν*

<sup>1</sup> Is it that *ἀγόρασις* 'emptio' is from *\*ἀγορα-στις* with *-στυ/-σσ* -(so in Boeotian) */-σ-*? Alii alia dixerunt.



'to sit on a horse', used of a rider with a "good seat". It is but an accident that we do not find a \*κελητι-στής like ελεφαντι-στής (§ 79); cf. Vedic *hari-gṛhā-* 'on a sorrel riding'. By irradiation from κελητίζω and its sort came πειρητίζω, a doublet of πειράω. In ἀκοντι-στής, of one *experienced* with the javelin (§ 100), the posterius may have come to connote 'sciens' as also in κιθαριστής (§ 103), helped by αἰων-ιστής (§ 104); cf. ἐπιστάμενος μεν ἄκοντι (O 282). The group ληι-στής 'robber' : ληιστήρ/ληίστωρ (with *r* as in § 80) is to be analyzed exactly as Av. *hāvi-šta-* (§ 100), and ληίζομαι contains a posterius ἴζομαι; cf. the synonymous pair κεραιστής : κεραίζω and, by irradiation, πολεμιστής : πολεμίζω. Military terms under the influence of ἀκοντ-ι-στής are ἀσπι-στής (? prius a locative plural ἀσπ[ισ]ι) 'in scutis stans', κορυ[σι]στής 'in galeis stans', πελτα-στής (? prius πελτα(ι)ς- [cf. παλα(ι)-στή, § 15], or πελτα[ν]ς-, with transitive posterius, § 105; cf. δυνά-στης?). By irradiation, or from standing a bow up to string it, τανυστής 'bow-stretching'. We have -[σ]της, with σ originally lost by haplology (§ 79, fn.); in κορυνή-της 'club-man', μαχη-τής 'proeliator'; cf. φηλη-τής 'cheat'. On the other hand, τοξότης 'archer' has come by irradiation from ἵππότης, which is for ἵπ[πο]-πότης : Skr. *āśva-pāti-s* (VS. : as a proper name in Ç Br., cf. Ἴπποτα Νέστωρ), and is not an abstract ("your horse-ship", forsooth) any more than Lat. *equet-* is an abstract with *t* representing, thanks to an always compliant gradation, the -*ta* suffix of *senecta*.

103 [79]. A special paragraph among the -ιστής : -ίζω formations in Homer is due to the woman-and-song group. On ὀαρίζω see above (§ 79). Add κιθαρίζω κιθαρι-στύς 'cither-playing' (on -στύς as a musical term see § 20). Sitting and standing are equally suitable postures for the citharist. The prius κιθαρι- is either a locative or the *i*-stem, alone known to Homer. As in κρεμβαλια-στύς 'clapping for the dance' the prius may have been accusative or accusative and -στυς transitive (§ 105). In μακαρ-ίζω 'I make happy' the posterius is transitive, but μακαρι-στός (Hdt.) 'deemed happy' = 'in laetitia stans'. The prius of ὀρχη-στής | ὀρχη-στήρ 'dancer' was probably locative to \*ορχᾶ 'ordo'. In μνη(σ)-στεύω (see also AJP. 31, 417 fn.) the prius is a local genitive = 'apud feminam' \*στεύω 'I stand up to' (cf. vulgar "to set up to a woman"); note μνη-στής and μνη-στύς, both Homeric. Before leaving the verbs in -ίζω : -ιστής I may note that on this model ἀγορεύω (which might well mean 'to sit at



market', used of a buyer; cf. our 'to go [or be] on the market') has been fashioned to correspond to ἀγορα-στής (§ 100).

104. Finely isolated is οἰωνιστής defined by Capelle-Seiler for N 70 by 'der vogelzeichen kundig' (with θεοπρόπος). It is curious that no one seems to have suspected hitherto that οἰων- is gen. plur. = Lat. *avium*, and that -ιστής is for -φιστής, cf. ἰστωρ τινός (Soph.) = 'gnarus rei'. The note of skill contributed by -φιστής may perhaps have passed into words like ἀκοντι-στής (§ 102) and καθαριστής (§ 103).

105 [82]. The *scelestus* and *apnañ-stha-s* types are found in κηδε(σ)-στής 'affinis' (after κηδιστος, § 97), Ὀφειλε(σ)-στής quasi 'Auxilius', ἀργε(σ)-στής 'candefaciens' (sc. ventus). That in such words -στη- may be transitive (cf. ἰστημι) needs no special proof. In a word like ὑβρισταί 'insulters' perhaps we do well to start with ὑβρι[ν]-σταῖ; cf. the late example wherein Hesychius (Schmidt<sup>2</sup>, p. 390, 19), probably citing a scholiast, gives us Θησεύς, χαριστητής (i. e. \*χαριν-στητης = 'gratiam referens') ἀπάτης λαβύρινθος (Corrige, λαβυρίνθου) φυγῆς, a collection of genitives perfectly clear, albeit in condensed commentary style.

106. REMAINDERS. 1). χηρωστής, prius χηρω- (inst. = sociative, 'cum herede'; cf. for the *o*- stem the posterius in Skr. *bhāga-hara-s* = 'parti-hērēs'; for the sense, ἀγχι-στεύς, § 81) + σταῖ. 2). OIr. (*h*)iress 'glaube', from \**parei-sesta* (so Fick-Stokes<sup>4</sup>, p. 36). 3). OIr. *eross* 'puppis' from *parei-sosto-* (ib. p. 37). 4). OIr. *eross* 'height' from *pero(s)-stu-* (ib. p. 37). 5). Lith. *aik-sztis* 'campus' (*aik* : Lat. *aequos*?), *aik-sztas* 'spatiosus'. 6). Lith. *eiga-stis* 'gait' : *eigà* 'walk'. 7). Lith. *ap-stūs* 'abundant', quasi 'ope-stans' (§ 81). 8). Lith. *puiký-stė* 'splendor', abstract to *puikūs* 'splendens'. Certainly we should expect, mingled with the abstracts in -ti-, forms in *st(h)i-* (cf. Lith. *auge(s)stis* 'growth' : Lat. *augustus* in AJPh. 31, 417), as explained in § 7 fn. In gradation with *augestis* we have Goth. *wah(s)-stus* 'growth', whence Eng. *waist*, a part of the body.

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### III.—THE GENITIVES -οῦ AND -οῖο IN HOMER.

Though -οῖο is generally assumed to be older than -οῦ and to represent the main, if not the only, early epic usage, a glance at the poems is enough to show that such a view must rest rather on some pious wish than on any direct inference. As the text<sup>1</sup> stands, the two forms in the narrative of the Iliad<sup>2</sup> without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., are more or less on a par—439<sup>3</sup> -οῦ as against 492 -οῖο. Of the 439 -οῦ, 150 are found *in arsi*, and 107 of these come before a word beginning with a consonant<sup>4</sup>; the other 43 are followed by a vowel, but not all of these can be claimed as -οῖ, since 10 occur in the strong caesura, where elision is unlikely. There remain 289 *in thesi*; no less than 60 of these are found at the end of the line, and 2 others are followed by two consonants. Thus among the 931 genitives used there are at least 179 examples of monosyllabic -οῦ metrically fixed; and many of these—such as ἱξάγ' ὀμίλου, ἔκπεσε δίφρου, πολέμου δ' οὐ γίγνεται ἑρωή—are neither obviously modern nor easily removable. Provisionally at any rate, -οῦ must be accepted as part of the old language. The form remains metrically well established, even if we go so far as to take -οῦ as -ο', and -οῦ in the first four *theses* as -οο.

As will be shown presently, we can hardly take -οῦ and -οῖο in this way; but even if we could we should still be forced to assume two distinct genitives. The ending -οῖο clearly comes from -οοῖο, and contraction of vowels divided originally by -σ- is scarcely possible, at all events to the extent that would be needed

<sup>1</sup> The Clarendon Press text (recensuit D. B. Monro, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> The books B484-end, Θ, Ι, Κ, Ψ and Ω are tabled apart as "B<sup>2</sup>, etc.", and the rest of the Iliad is called "the Iliad without B<sup>2</sup>, etc." Between the narrative proper and the speeches there are in general so many differences both of metrical and of linguistic convention that separate treatment is always needed—see *Classical Quarterly*, 1908, April, pp. 94 seq., and 1912, Jan., pp. 44 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Neglecting E 21, Z 61, H 120, N 788; N 358, O 670, Σ 242, X 6, 313; also 10 occurrences of θυμὸν ἐκάστου.

<sup>4</sup> F is reckoned as a consonant.



to explain the sure instances of *-ου* (nearly 1 in 5).<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions prove that the Attic genitive is a contraction. The Homeric *-ου* may conceivably be the same; but if so, it must come not from *-ο(σϵ)ο*, but from *-ο(ϛ)ο*. Even then there may be some difficulty in explaining why, as against other analogous forms<sup>2</sup>, *-οο* is nearly always contracted.

For, as a matter of fact, *-ου* is nearly always monosyllabic. Outside the exceptional scansion like *ἀδελφείου κταμένοιο* there is only one reason for attempting to resolve *-ου*. The introduction of *-οο* would convert a number of fourth-spondaics<sup>3</sup> into greatly preferable dactyls. But any such attempt recoils on itself, and really spoils rather than helps the versification. For instance, in the *Il.* without B<sup>2</sup>, etc. (narr.) the resolution of *-ου* (types *Μενελάοο*, *φαεινόο*, *δίφροο*, etc.) would remove 79 out of the 441 fourth-spondaics. So far, excellent; but unluckily there are in the same narrative no less than 51 lines where *-ου* is shortened in the fourth-dactylic (types *πολυδαιδάλου*, etc.), so that if *-ου* is to reckon as *-οο*, 51 elisions must be added to the 105 which the text already gives in this break. Reducing the fourth-spondaics by 2 in 11, we shall increase the bucolic elisions by 1 in 2—a distinctly poor bargain. Elision such as of *-ο* is everywhere kept down, and in an important verse-pause could occur very seldom, if at all.<sup>4</sup> A similar point is to be seen in trochaic *-οϛ*. In the *Il.* without B<sup>2</sup>, etc. (narr.) *-ου* is shortened 6 times in the weak caesura (E 338, N 211, P 611, 697, Σ 575, T 384), but only thrice in the fifth trochaic (Λ 328, M 447, P 277). It is surely very odd that *-οο* should add 6 to the 26 good examples of elision in the weak caesura, but only 3 to the 275 in the fifth trochaic; whereas, if *-οϛ* is taken as a shortened vowel or diphthong, the occurrences of the scansion are closely in accordance with the general metrical chances (*Il.* without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., narr.—3d-troch. shortenings 112, 5th-troch. shortenings 66). Lastly, the decisive fact is this: The general

<sup>1</sup> I. e. at the very lowest, and on the most extreme assumptions; really it is far commoner.

<sup>2</sup> Instances like the verbs in *-άω* do not help here; there may really have been a conjugation in *-αμ*.

<sup>3</sup> Especially Π 647; in later work (narr. Θ 120, ψ 323; speeches T412, κ492, 565, λ 90, ι65, μ 267) the molossus is no great matter. P 572 shows that molossal words, like the others, really took *-ου*.

<sup>4</sup> Of course, this applies in full force only to narrative, though even in the speeches the bucolic is very well treated.



nature of the verse puts some premium on words which scan as a dactyl (e. g. δῖφροο), or better still, as an admissive dactyl (e. g. ᾤμoo). Any common words of this kind will be often used,<sup>1</sup> and a fair proportion of the instances will stand after the fourth diaeresis. If -oo really existed, it is a quite unthinkable paradox that for the whole of the two epics the dactylic scansion can only be proved once—in a late speech (§ 239). From all this we can draw a plain inference. The genitive in -ου is original in Homer; it was really used, and was pronounced as a monosyllable. It has nothing to do with -oo and still less with -οιο, but was most likely the diphthong -ου, not -οι, or -ει, as can be seen from the dislike of short scansions, which are rarely employed except in open cretics such as θρόνου, etc. Against this view of -ου there are only two apparent objections. The Attic contracted -ου is sure to be felt as a disquieting difficulty, though for the question of Homeric use the fact is extrinsic and not at all *in pari materia* with direct metrical evidence. Intrinsic, and therefore much more important, is the high percentage of fourth-spondaic -ου, which by itself would strongly suggest a dibrach form. The puzzle, however, is not quite so easy. To get any solution at all the Homerist will find that he 'must take the matter pretty deep'. At all events, the abundance of fixed -ου, and the absence of certainly resolved scansions, should warn us that we cannot get, and therefore ought not to need, any help from -oo.

Between -ου and -οιο there seems to be no easily traceable difference of function. That the local use ('sphere-within-which') always takes -οιο,<sup>2</sup> can hardly be more than an accident. The earliest example is πεδίοιο, and for this type of word the general rule is against -ου in any combination; the local use of -οιο in other types may sometimes (as in νεοίοιο) be due to direct imitation, and sometimes to metrical convenience—e. g. ὁδοίο replaces κέλευθον when πρήσσοντε shifts to πρήσσωμεν. Again, phrases like ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο prove nothing as regards the syntax of -οιο; they illustrate a principle which has become merely scansional. But though the sense of the endings cannot be distinguished, there can still be seen a difference which in a way is grammatical. The ending -ου is, as the text stands, greatly preferred with pronouns. In

<sup>1</sup> It is just this consideration which makes the rarity of type χεῖρεσι so fatal to the assumption of an early dative in -εσι (side by side with -εσσι).

<sup>2</sup> H. G<sup>2</sup>, p. 143.



the *Il.* without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., there are 38 narrative occurrences of τοῦ *in arsi* and 29 *in thesi*; τοῖο has at most 7 instances.<sup>1</sup> It is true that in the text τοῦ is often possible; but against this must be set the fact that it is hardly ever necessary—for instance, τοῖο δ' ἄρα κλ. (πρ., στ., etc.), does not occur, and τοῖο γάρ is not found till K 57 (a speech); the only reliable examples of τοῖο in narrative are τοῖο ἀνακτος, τοῖο γέροντος, where the use of the article is presumably Odyssean. The same leaning to -ου can be seen in other pronouns. The relative οἷο<sup>2</sup> does not occur, and the possessive οἷο appears only once in the *Iliad* (Γ 333). The genitives ἄλλου, κείνου, οἷου,<sup>3</sup> τοίου, τοιούδε, τοιούτου, τοῦδε and τούτου have no corresponding long forms; and αὐτοῦ is thrice as common as αὐτοῖο.<sup>4</sup>

In nouns and adjectives -οιο is the normal use, except where it conflicts with a metrical rule. Every reader of Homer must have been struck by the fact that the ending is never dovetailed—that is to say, there are no<sup>5</sup> phrases such as χαλκοῖο στεροπή, θυμοῖο κρατεροῖο, λοῖο πτερόεντος, δῖστοῖο στονόεντος, δι' ὅμοιο στιβαροῖο, ἀπ' ἄντροιο γλαφυροῖο, κυδοιμοῖο κρυεροῖο, Ὀλύμποιο νιφθέντος, ὁμίλοιο προπάροιθεν, though *a priori* these would seem to be true and even laudable scansion. In the same way, hiatus after -ου *in thesi* is far too rare<sup>6</sup> to let us think that -οι' appeared in old work. Taken together the two facts show that though with nouns and adjectives -οιο was the regular genitive, yet its prerogative was strictly tempered to the general needs of the verse. Whenever a word naturally gave -οιο, this form

<sup>1</sup> A 493, Δ (261 τοῖο δ' ἐπ' Ἰφιδάμ.), 322, 620, Π 472 μέν, 505 δ', 587, Φ 255.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ H 325, I 94; A 6, ε 4. Speeches—Θ 295; K 244, Ξ 345, P 21, X 425, Ω 744 (?), α 161, (344), (δ 726), π 142, ϕ 155, ω 52; N 778, Φ 196, Ω (106), 638, 766, (δ 160), θ 539, κ (279, 493), λ 168, ξ 379, σ 181, τ 223, ϕ 303, (318), ω 310; also B 138, (Γ 87, H 374, 388), Σ 171, (Ω 212), β 27, 90, (γ 140), (ξ 204, π 188), ρ 103, τ 596, ψ 18. Where οὐ τε stands in generalizing clauses, the τε is needed by the sense, and οἷο cannot be substituted.

<sup>3</sup> The gen. sing. masc. (neut.) of ὅσος or τόσος happens not to be used.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖο—A 360, 500, E 170, I 193, P 300, Ω 126, η 143; also N 159, Φ 582, (speech α 207). The 'false' prepositions generally take αὐτοῖο, for a metrical reason, e. g., αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε (πρόσθε) gives overlength, whereas πάροιθ' (πρόσθ') αὐτοῖο gives true scansion.

<sup>5</sup> In the whole of the two epics the single exception is I 126 = 268 (speech); but ι 393 and ϕ 98 must be considered.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Iliad*, only E 666, (Θ 120), K 505, Π 226, (Ψ 219, 431), Ω 122, 578; speeches (Z 463), O 23, Ψ 441.



was preferred to -ου, and the preference went so far that actually *Οὐλύμποιο*<sup>1</sup> was normal as against *Ὀλύμπου*. But in any word that would give -οιο (e. g. *δοστοίο*) the ending -ου has a prescriptive right. In early work this rule seems to have been quite absolute; we may be sure that if combinations like *δι' ὧμοιο στιβαροίο* had been used a fair proportion of them would have been preserved, if only because they often have no obvious metrical equivalent.

The rejection of -οιο, then, may be taken as a fact; but it is at first sight a fact rather hard to understand. In a word like *δοστός* the ending -οιο gives, it is true, an open antispast; and this consideration might lead us to expect a preference for -ου. But it does not explain the total rejection of -οιο. *Ὀλύμποιο* was often iktuated; why was not *δοστοίο* sometimes dovetailed (*δοστοίο πτ., στ., etc.*)? Especially in words like *μηρός* the principle seems fantastic; *μηροίο* is regular, and there are a great number of shifts which would naturally give *μηροίο* (either *μηροί'* or *μηροίο κρ.* etc.). The whole thing must surely point back to a time when there was for nouns in -ος a third termination still in living use. Let us suppose that in some early epic period—earlier than any represented in our text—the ending -όφι, perhaps already on the down grade, was yet part of the living language, and was still used freely, at all events with prepositions. At once all the puzzling facts of -ου and -οιο fall into line. Except with pronouns, the ending -οιο was preferred, and in such types as *αἰγίοχος, χωόμενος, ἡπειρος, ποιητός, δαίος, κολεόν, Πρίαμος*, it was the normal use. But in forms like *δοστός* there was metrical interference: *δοστοίο* would give a spondee which must be felt as gratuitous,<sup>2</sup> since -όφι, possible at any rate with prepositions, would give the required dactylic scansion. The

<sup>1</sup> So too *μεσσαύλοιο* (Λ 548, P 112, 657), as against *μεσαύλου* which does not occur. The converse treatment, viz. a form so iktuated as to preclude -οιο, is late and very rare (Λ 631, κ 389); *κουλεού* is not found; *δηιού* stands only once in narrative (P 189), but the speeches give four occurrences (H 119, 174, T 73, Φ 422); in Π 9, *ἀπτουμένη έανοίο καλ έσσ.* may be read.

<sup>2</sup> Avoidance of the gratuitous spondee was an important principle, which we can see illustrated in many ways—e. g. the rigorous taboo of augmented forms like *ἤκουσε*, the subtle treatment of forms having interchangeable -σσ- and -σ-, and the restriction of dative in -εσσι from stems with which it would give a spondee. (To this last rule there are many apparent exceptions even in the narrative of the *Iliad* without B<sup>2</sup>, etc.; in B<sup>2</sup>, etc., and in the *Odyssey* -εσσι becomes quite free). The treatment of *ἄνῃρ, ὕδωρ*, and the difficulty in *Οὐλύμπω*, and the rarity of scansions like *ἰδαλζων*, all exemplify the same thing.



occasional need for constructions rejecting *-όφι* would not be enough to bring in *διστοῖο*, for in reserve there was always *διστοῦ* which at the end of the line could still dodge the spondee. The same principle obviously applies to types *λοῖνος* and *ῥῥμος*.

We must suppose that this was the original state of things, but in the earliest period represented in our text there is already a difference. The *-όφι* case is evidently on its last legs; and its primitive use, seen here and there as in *πλάγχθη δ' ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός*, is for the most part disappearing<sup>1</sup> except where a change was metrically impossible. Still, in the verse as we have it, the older tradition has left three clear traces—the prohibition of *-οιο*, the massing of certain types of *-ου* and *-ων* (*ἐκ δίφρου, δι' ὤμου, ἐξ ἵππων, ἀπ' ὤμων*) in the fourth spondaic, and the curious fact that the so-called *-οο* was always dovetailed—a restriction which seems to have come about in the following way: Words like *ἀδελφεός* cannot take *-οιο*, so that when a genitive was needed, *-ου* was practically forced; *-φι* would not often be suitable with this type of word,<sup>2</sup> though no doubt when a dovetailing combination was to hand, the ending might be used, and indeed apparently was used in *περιβῆναι ἀδελφεόφι κταμένοιο*. In any but the earliest periods this phrase would be sure to provoke some change, because of the agreement of *-όφι* and *-οιο*.<sup>3</sup> When *ἀδελφεοῦ* was substituted, it is likely that the *-ε* took false length (such as is seen in *σφείων*). After the substitution had taken place, *ἀδελφειοῦ κταμένοιο* became regarded as authorizing 'a special 'epic' treatment of *-ου*. The formula is 'open cretic, followed by two consonants', and

<sup>1</sup> The corpse-like *-φι* is however galvanized to a sort of secondary life in *-ηφι*. The use apparently is on the rise; in late narrative *-ηφι* is transferred from nouns to pronominal adjectives (*ἐτέρηφι*, Π 734, Σ 477, X 80, *δεξιτερῇφι* Ω 284); in speeches the case extends to true adjectives—*φαινομένηφι*, *κρατερῇφι*—and now we are well on the way which is later called Wardour Street. The narrative of Δ shows only *οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῇφι*, where, though the syntax is a modernism, the position of *-φι* (closing the line) probably represents the vanishing point of the old use. Similarly, in the Odyssey *-οιο* steadily drifts to the end of the line.

<sup>2</sup> *-φι* perhaps could not be elided (but see Π 734), and in old work positional *-ν* was avoided, except with back-leaning words (e. g. *δέ* or *τε*). There is a special reason why *ἀδελφεόφιν δέ* and analogues should not occur.

<sup>3</sup> *ἀπὸ πλατέος πτυόφι* and *αὐτοῖσιν δχεσφι* were tolerated, but they are not on all fours with *-όφι -οιο*.

<sup>4</sup> All the other narrative instances are so much later than E 21, that they may very well have been modelled on it.



the rule is faithfully observed in narrative, except in B 731, where *κλυτὰ τέκνα* would have been expected, but the Catalogist may have heard the phrase *ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο* without the -τ-. With this exception, two consonants or their equivalent are found to follow all the narrative examples,<sup>1</sup> three of which are *ἀδελφειοῦ*, while the other six have -ι-, the vowel which makes false length least difficult. In the speeches<sup>2</sup> matters are very different. All traditional rules are greatly relaxed here, and the style is much more open to innovations. For instance, the late scansion *οἶος* undoubtedly has its home in the speeches, and this fact is important for the question of the genitive, since -οῖο now becomes at any rate conceivable. It is a curious chance, to say the least of it, that any phrase which apparently necessitates -οο should always occur in a speech, so that -οῖο is a quite possible explanation, enabling us to understand examples like B 325 and ξ 239, which *a priori* cannot, and in fact do not, find any parallel in narrative.

These special scansions, then, seem no real obstacle to the view here advocated. Nor need the ictuation *Οὐλύμποιο* be any more fatal, though at first sight it looks troublesome. *Οὐλύμποιο* gives a spondee just as much as *Ὀλύμποιο*. How is it that the former is regular, while the latter is forbidden? The question is not hard to answer. While -φι was still in living use, there grew up a sort of rule against -οιο. Presently -φι disappeared and with it those dactylic scansions which had been the cause of the rejection of -οιο. But -οιο was not introduced into epic verse—that would have been sacrilege. Instead, various other spondaic scansions make their entry, and among these we may regard *ἐκ δίφρου*<sup>3</sup>, *ἐξ ἱππῶν*<sup>3</sup>, and *Οὐλύμποιο* as the most typical.

As has been said, whenever the choice lies between -οιο and -ου *in arsi*, the former is preferred. Indeed, -ου is at first extremely rare with nouns and adjectives, and some of these seem to refuse it altogether; e.g. neither *Ὠκεανός* nor *αἰγίοχος* give any certain instance.<sup>3</sup> Relatively the commonest occurrence of -ου is in type *οἴου*, where no doubt the use has been affected by *οἴνου*—

<sup>1</sup> B 518, 731, E 21, Z 61 = H 120 = N 788, N 358 = O 670 = Σ 242, X 6, 313.

<sup>2</sup> B 325, α 70, Z 344, I 64, I 440 = N 635 = Φ 294 = σ 264 = ω 543, O 66 = Φ 104, O 554, κ 36, 60, ξ 239 (? add Π 208, i. e. *δου πρότερόν γ'*).

<sup>3</sup> There may be one example of each in the speeches (Ξ 246 and ι 275), but both are followed by a vowel.



at least it is noticeable that type χρυσόιο (where the first syllable cannot so easily get into arsis)<sup>1</sup> is much less often changed to χρυσ|οῦ. The general relation of -οιο to ου in all types can be seen at a glance from the following tables:

## A) -οιο- 1) Narrative.

	Il. (not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.)						B <sup>2</sup> , etc.						Odyssey.					
	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.
πατροκασιγνήτοιο . . . . .			1															
ἀναχαζομένοιο . . . . .			1															
περιφαινομένοιο . . . . .						1												
ἐξελκομένοιο . . . . .			1															1
ναυσικλείτοιο . . . . .																	1	
type κvanoπρῶροιο . . . . .						1						2					3	1
type ἀποκταμένοιο . . . . .			3		5												6	
καταφθιμένοιο . . . . .											1							
type ἐνζώνοιο . . . . .			2		9				1		1	1						
type πολυφλοίσβοιο . . . . .			1		8						4						2	
type αἰγιόχοιο . . . . .		2	18		3	61			6			18			12		6	50
type χωμένοιο . . . . .		2	4			22			2			3			7		1	25
σπερχομένοιο . . . . .								1										
type ἡπείροιο . . . . .		2	5		5	12			9			5		1	3		3	14
Οὐλύμποιο . . . . .			7			4			1			2			2			
type ποιητοῖο . . . . .		3	6			5						2			1		1	7
Σπερχεωῖο . . . . .			1						1									
type ἀλίοιο . . . . .			9	1	8	7			4		2	4			1		1	5
type κολεοῖο . . . . .			36		26	49			7	1	5	9			24		17	25
type Πριάμοιο . . . . .		1	29		9	15			7		3	2			9		1	3
type αὐτοῖο . . . . .			7						4						2		1	
type οἶνοιο . . . . .		2	16		2				13		4				11		2	2
θείοιο . . . . .			1		1	7			2			1						12
type χρυσοῖο . . . . .			15		12						4	2			4		6	
type ἐοῖο . . . . .		1				5			2			3						1
type βιοῖο . . . . .			3			26			1	1		11				2		25
Κρόνοιο . . . . .						1												
type τοῖο . . . . .	3		1		4		2		1		4				1		7	
Totals . . . . .	3	13	167	1	92	216	2	1	61	2	28	65		1	77	2	58	171

<sup>1</sup> χρυσόιο is metrically preferential as against |χρυσοῦ. Compare στήθεσφι and Τρώεσσι, which are metrically preferential as against στήθεσι and Τρωσί. A word like |χρυσοῦ has only one good place, viz. the beginning of the line.



## A) -οιο (cont.)- 2) Speeches.

	Il. (not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.)					B <sup>2</sup> , etc.					Odyssey.				
	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.	2d troch.	3d troch.	(4th troch.)	5th troch.	End of line.
type περιφαινομένοιο .....					2										...
type καλλιπλοκάμοιο .....				1	1										3
type κυανοπρώριο .....															10
type ἀποκταμένοιο .....		1		3					2			2		1	...
type καταφθιμένοιο .....		1												2	...
type ἐϋζώνιο .....		3		6										3	...
type πολυφλοίσβοιο .....				4					2					3	...
ἐριτίμοιο .....						(2 in 9th hem.)									...
type αἰγινόχοιο .....		11		1	46		5		2	17		1	12	8	72
type χωμένοιο .....	1	4			12		2			3		1	10	1	18
type ἡπείριοιο .....	1	2		3	3					1		9		5	12
Οὐλύμποιο .....		4			2					2					...
type ποιητοῖο .....	1	4		3	1	1	3		1			2			...
type ἀλίοιο .....		2		7	3		2		3	1		2		9	8
type κολαιοῖο .....	1	30	3	25	47		3	1	9	6		16		21	25
type Πριάμοιο .....		13		23	11		6		3	1		11		10	3
type αὐτοῖο .....		1										4			...
type οἶνοιο .....		7		1			2	1	2	1		16	1	12	2
θείοιο .....				1	2				1					2	13
type χρυσοῖο .....		2		6	1		1		2	3		1	4	1	8
type ἐοῖο .....	1				1					1		3	3		13
type βιοῖο .....		2			15			1		16		7	6		22
Κρόνιοιο .....					2		1								...
type τοῖο .....	1	1		4			1		2					5	...
Totals .....	6	88	3	88	149	1	26	3	29	52	6	98	8	90	201



## B) -ov a) in arsi.

	Il. (not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.)						B <sup>2</sup> , etc.						Odyssey.					
	Narr.			Speech.			Narr.			Speech.			Narr.			Speech.		
	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.	Before cons.	Hiatus in strong caes.	Other hiatus.
περιτελλομένου	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
type χρυσηλακάτου	I	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
type ἀποιχομένου	I	I	..	5	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	I	I	I
περιπλομένου	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..
type δίζυροῦ	2	I	I	I	..	2	3	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	3
type πολυκμήτου	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	I
type αἰγιάχου	6	2	4	I	..	3	2	..	..	..	I	I	II	2	..	6	..	8
type χωομένου	5	3	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	4	I	3	13	5	4
type φθεγγομένου	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	3	I	..
type ἡπείρου	4	..	3	I	..	..	2	I	..	I	..	I	I	..	2	9	4	4
Οὐλύμπου	?2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
type Πατρόκλου	I	..	2	I	..	..	2	I	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..
type ἁλίου	I	..	3	I	I	I	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	I	I	7	I	..
type κολεοῦ	II	..	8	9	I	7	3	I	2	4	I	I	19	I	4	8	..	4
type Πριάμου	4	I	3	5	I	I	2	I	..	..	..	2	I	..	..	6	2	..
type αὐτοῦ	3	..	..	2	..	..	I	..	2	I	..	..	3	I	2	5	I	..
type οἶνου	II	..	2	4	I	..	3	I	..	7	..	..	3	..	..	12	..	..
type χρυσοῦ	3	2	I	I	2	..	2	..	I	5	..	I	I	..	I	6	I	I
θείου	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	2	..	2	I	..	..
type ἐοῦ	2	..	2	..	..	2	3	..	2	2	..	2	I	..	..	5	..	2
type βιοῦ	8	..	2	7	..	2	3	..	I	4	..	..	7	..	2	12	..	5
type Κρόνου	4	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	I
οὐ	I	..	..	3	..	..	I	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
type τοῦ	39	..	..	14	..	I	II	..	3	6	..	2	19	..	4	33	..	..
τοῦδε	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..



## B ) -ου (cont.) b ) long in thesi.

	Il. (not B <sup>1</sup> , etc.)					B <sup>1</sup> , etc.					Odyssey.				
	Narr.					Speeches.					Narr.				
	1st thesis.	2d thesis.	3d thesis.	4th thesis.	End of line.	1st thesis.	2d thesis.	3d thesis.	4th thesis.	End of line.	1st thesis.	2d thesis.	3d thesis.	4th thesis.	End of line.
ἀστυροῦ	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
χαλχοπαρήου	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
type Πρωτεσιλάου	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
type Πατρόκλου	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	5
type Μενελάου <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	27	4	..	..	..	11	4	..	..	10	3	10
type Ὀλύμπου <sup>2</sup>	..	..	..	24	22	..	1	..	14	7	..	..	7	5	27
type αἵτου	1	1	..	14	11	1	1	..	5	6	3	..	2	1	20
type αἶνου	15	2	..	11	15	9	2	..	2	3	5	2	..	4	25
type σκήπτρου	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
τοιούδε	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
οἱ	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	6	1
type τοῦ	5	6	15	4	..	2	4	3	3	..	2	5	3	1	13
οφού	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
τοιούδ'	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..

## C) -ου- a) dactylic.

	1st dact.	2d dact.	3d dact.	4th dact.	5th dact.	1st dact.	2d dact.	3d dact.	4th dact.	5th dact.	1st dact.	2d dact.	3d dact.	4th dact.	5th dact.	1st dact.	2d dact.	3d dact.	4th dact.	5th dact.	1st dact.	2d dact.	3d dact.	4th dact.	5th dact.
type πολυδαίδαλου	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	..
type Περικωπίου	..	1	..	2	1	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4	..
type ἐκασβόλου*	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	10	..	..
type ἀγρίου	4	1	..	7	3	1	1	..	3	1	1	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	2	..	4	2
type φασγάνου	5	4	..	2	3	15	1	..	4	3	4	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
type βλημένου	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
όδοῦ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
type λόχου	2	..	..	8	..	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	..	1	2	..	6	..	..	1	3	7	10
type θρόνου	..	1	1	6	..	..	2	1	3	1	..	2	1	3	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	3	6	..
οἱ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
type τοῦ	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	4	..	..

<sup>1</sup> Including all types of ∪ ∪ — —.<sup>2</sup> Including all types of ∪ — —, but θυμὸν ἐκάστου is neglected (Il. without B<sup>1</sup>, etc., narr. 10 occurrences).<sup>3</sup> Including all types of ∪ — ∪ ∪.



## C) -οῦ (cont.) b) trochaic.

	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	4th troch.	5th troch.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	4th troch.	5th troch.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	4th troch.	5th troch.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.	4th troch.	5th troch.	1st troch.	2d troch.	3d troch.
type <i>ἑταίρου</i> . . . . .	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	I
type <i>Μενελάου</i> . . . . .	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..
type <i>Πατρόκλου</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
type <i>αὐτοῦ</i> . . . . .	..	I	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
type <i>οἶνον</i> . . . . .	6	..	3	..	2	3	I	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	I	4	..	3	..	I	4	..	..
type <i>σκήπτρον</i> . . . . .	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>οὐ</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
<i>τοῦ</i> . . . . .	..	I	..	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	..

As has been explained, *-ov in thesi* has come about naturally in the historical course of the versification, and is therefore the normal use ; but *-ov* in fair competition with *-οιο*, i. e., *-ov in arsi*, is at first rare, though it is gradually rising, as may be seen from the following abstract (*οὔ*, *τοῦ*, *τοῦδε*, and *οἶο*, *τοῖο* are neglected ;<sup>1</sup> except in the strong caesura *-ov* before a vowel is reckoned as *-οι'*) :

		Narrative.				Percentage of fixed -lov.		Speeches.				Percentage of fixed -lov.
	-οιο.	-lov before a con- sonant.	-lov before a vowel in strong caesura.	-lov before a vowel elsewhere.			-οιο.	-lov before a con- sonant.	-lov before a vowel in strong caesura.	-lov before a vowel elsewhere.		
Il. (not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.) . . . . .	483	67	10	33	13.		328	47	6	19	13.2	
B <sup>2</sup> , etc. . . . .	152	30	5	12	17.5		113	28	2	9	19.7	
Odyssey . . . . .	301	62	6	19	17.5		398	97	16	36	20.9	

The increase in B<sup>2</sup>, etc., and in the Odyssey is very well marked. The speeches of the Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., seem at first sight to rival the oldest narrative treatment of the genitive ; but the ap-

<sup>1</sup> The two instances of *Οὐλύμπου* in narrative are not considered ; they have been attacked on other grounds, and can easily be removed. But *κατ' Οὐλύμπου τόδ' ἰκάνεις* in speeches is different—*κατ' Οὐλύμποιο ἰκάνεις* can be substituted, and is very likely right, but the hiatus and the gratuitous 5th trochaic *-οιο* are as sure a mark of late work as the double difficulty in *Οὐλύμπου*.



pearance will be found to be quite illusory. In the speeches all trochaic caesurae are relatively more plentiful, and hemimerals are rarer, than they are in narrative, so that there is much less pressure on -οιο. The general treatment of -οιο in the speeches shows an odd difference which may be very important, and like so many things in the handling of this case, may really point back to a primitive condition of the verse. The speeches show the long genitive placed much more in the fifth trochaic. Thus in the Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., the speeches have -οιο actually as often in the fifth as in the third troch. (88 -οιο in 2218 fifth-trochs.; 88 -οιο in 2959 weak caesurae), but in narrative the 3707 weak caesurae give 167 occurrences of -οιο, while the 2703 fifth-trochaics only give 92.

Let us suppose that in early verse the fifth-trochaic was a minor scansion,<sup>1</sup> perhaps even avoided except in as far as it was made indispensable by the needed bacchiacs and amphibrachs which are otherwise troublesome to manage. The consequence is obvious; the only regular appearance of -οιο in the fifth trochaic would be in combinations like πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης (preferred to θαλάσσης ἀτρυγέοιο, εὐρυπόροιο) and ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο, κρατεροῖο βιοῖο, etc. Actually these types seem at first to have been the only regular ones.<sup>2</sup> For instance, it is an odd fact that out of 84 occurrences of words like αἰγίοχοιο (Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., narr.) only 3 are found in the fifth trochaic—A 49<sup>3</sup>, Γ 5, Τ 1. Yet scansions like παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο or καὶ αἰγίοχοιο are so natural that *a priori* they would have been expected everywhere. Again, nothing could seem more inevitable than κατ' Οὐλύμποιο<sup>4</sup> καρήνων, but the phrase is never so placed; and in fact type ἡπείροιο out of 35 occurrences (Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., narr.) gives only 5 in the fifth trochaic, as against 12 in the third troch.; and as many as 16 at the end of the line. Types χωομένοιο and ποιητοῖο are of course metrically debarred from the fifth trochaic;<sup>4</sup> even in the Odyssey they have only two narrative examples (ρ 333, χ 455). Whether type κολοοῖο was at first tolerated in this position is uncertain; in the narrative of Δ

<sup>1</sup> This is well borne out by the narrative statistics for Δ and for Π, and by the facts of the syllabic aug. (Classical Q., 1912, p. 107).

<sup>2</sup> κασιγνήτοιο πεσόντος is indecisive (-ον ἐριπόντος).

<sup>3</sup> A shift from γένετο κρατεροῖο. In the Odyssey, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο at last establishes itself.

<sup>4</sup> Originally the strong caesura unsupported by the 4th diaeresis or (secondarily) by the hephthemimeral was much disliked; and there are hardly any words (ὅ, τὸ) which would bring in χωομένοιο after the weak caesura.



there is no instance, and all the examples in Π (narr.) are oddly unlucky.<sup>1</sup> To the general avoidance of fifth-trochaic -οιο in narrative there is only one clear exception, viz., type χρυσοῖο, which out of 27 occurrences (Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc.), has 12 so placed. The cause lies in the two initial consonants; type |χρυσου cannot stand well except at the beginning of the verse, whereas types |οἶνον<sup>2</sup> and |ᾠμον can also stand at the end; hence there is a heavier incidence of -οιο in words like χρυσός, and an extra place is given to the long genitive, to make good the missing place of the short genitive. Something of the same kind can be seen in στήθεσσι (i. e. -εσφι) and Τρώεσσι, which are normal, because στήθεσι and Τρωσί have only one good place (first in the line); but scansion like τεύχεσσι and πάντεσσι are highly irregular,<sup>3</sup> since τεύχεσι has three good places and πᾶσι might have four.

If the reader is satisfied that, though it cannot be traced in the speeches,<sup>4</sup> there was originally some avoidanee of fifth-trochaic -οιο, he will be better prepared for a fact which must otherwise seem irrational. In narrative there is shown an extreme dislike of -οιο followed by a particle. The Iliad without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., gives only 5 narrative examples — (Λ 261), Π 472, 505, where τοῦ may be read;<sup>5</sup> ο 626, which proves nothing,<sup>6</sup> and X 398, a late shift from ἐκ δίφρου δ' (and this in its turn from ἐκ 'δ ἱππων—so ἐς δίφρου δ' = ἐς δ' ἱππους).<sup>7</sup> In the rest of narrative there appear:

| τοῖο δ' Ψ 385, 452; <sup>4</sup> | τοῖο δ(έ) Ψ 597, Ω 18.

Χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος (?) B 672, Τιτάνιοί τε B 735.

λίνοί τε I 661, γόιοί τε δ 801, Σάμοί τε δ 845.

<sup>1</sup> Π 502 is a speech-resumption; Π 589 is in the difficult simile; Π 679 is a shifted speech-line (so giving irregular -εν); Π 787, 855, are of course late. The number of other narrative instances must not be taken as decisive—the crossing of πολέμοιο and πτολέμοιο may have obscured the principle.

<sup>2</sup> Type οἶνοιο in 5th troch. is rare in narr.: Σ 245, Τ 44, Ψ 387, 859, Ω 2, 349, ν 100, ψ 32. In speeches it is commoner—E 887, I 625, Ω 655, θ 156, ι 93, 102, 246, λ 350, ξ 170, ο 468, π 75, σ 366, τ 321, 527.

<sup>3</sup> τεύχεσσι narr.: Ψ 131, ω 496; πάντεσσι narr.: Σ 521, θ 21, π 161, χ 131, 247, and ν 432.

<sup>4</sup> In the speeches (and in late work generally) the 5th troch. becomes an important caesura, as can be seen from the occurrence of hiatus, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The question is whether τοῖο could be used in old work; if it could be used, no doubt it could be followed by a particle.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνέμον δ' ἄρ δεινός would give Wernecke's scansion, and so would be just as bad as ἀνέμοιο δέ or ἀνέμον δέ τε.

<sup>7</sup> No doubt δῆσε δ' ἄρ' ἐκ δίφροιο is possible, though it is less probable here.



Clearly fresh scansion and fresh particles are making their way in; but the process is slow, and the number of instances inconsiderable, when we contrast the speeches:

τοῖο δ' A 380; τοῖο δ' ἀνενθεν X 333; τοῖό τε Δ 28, Z 283; τοῖο γάρ K 57, Υ 334.

Ἄδρήστοιο δ' ε- Ξ 121, Πατρόκλοιо δ' ἔλωρα Σ 93, νεκροῖο δέ Ω 137, Διωνύσοιο δέ ω 74;

Τενέδοιό τε A 38, 452, Πριάμοιό τε A 255, Γ 288, Δ 31, 35, πολέμοιό τε Θ 453, δῆμοιό τε ο 468, π 75, τ 527.

οἶνοιό τε υ 312, σίτοιό τ' . . . ἡδέ ι 87, κ 58, χρυσοῖό τε α 165, γόοιό τε ρ 8, φ 228, ω 323, θεοῖό τε δ 831, Σάμοιό τε δ 671, ο 29;

κασσιγνήτοιό γε Ξ 483, Πριάμοιό γε Φ 105, διέκ μεγάροιό γ' οἶω ρ 460;

γόοιο μὲν Ψ 157; ποταμοῖό περ Φ 185, καὶ ἐν θανάτοιό περ αἰση Ω 428, 750.

The rarity of such scansion in narrative must surely confirm our former inference. At first, owing to its trochaic scansion, -οιο stood normally in the strong caesura and at the end of the line; where it occurred in the fifth trochaic it was caused by the pressure of needed bacchiacs and amphibrachs—it did not itself cause them. Under such circumstances -οιο could never be followed by particles, since it either stands at the end of the line or in the weak caesura (where elision was at first impossible), or else it is drawn into the fifth trochaic by a bacchiac already existing as such (e. g. θαλάσσης). The reason of the thing must later have disappeared; but by sheer acoustic conservatism the tradition was, as we have seen, well maintained in narrative. Radical innovations, such as Σάμοιό τε,<sup>1</sup> have no doubt been transferred from the speeches, which are always undisciplined.

It has been taken for granted that except in the strong caesura, -ου *in arsi* before a vowel was really elided -οι'. The point cannot be directly proved,<sup>2</sup> but there is a fair probability that -οιο was still elided, or else that -ου was consciously regarded as legitimised by a following vowel. The conclusion gets at least some plausibility from an odd metrical fact. In the narrative of the

<sup>1</sup> Analogous facts are these—*a*) ἐπεσσί τε is rare and late (narr. K 542, τ 415; speeches I 113, δ 597, ι 376) and δχεσσί τε, τέκεσσί τε, etc., are not found; *b*) δλεσσε δέ (δ446 speech) has no parallel; *c*) type γέλασσε δέ is later than type γέλασσε at end of line, and much later than type δάμασσε δέ μιν.

<sup>2</sup> At least, not ἀνιδρωσί. The principles of hemimeral scansion seem to be intricate.



Iliad without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., whenever a word forming a spondee fills the gap between 7th and 9th hemimeral<sup>1</sup> (e. g. κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων, ξανθὸς Μ., πληγῆς αἶοντες, πρηνὴς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ), such a spondaic word either begins with two consonants, or else—well, or else practically it is (ἄναξ) ἀνδρῶν, for there is no other frequent instance. If ἀνέρων is theoretically impossible, nothing can be concluded here; even if the phrase were unique, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν is common enough and old enough to establish any scansion which it really illustrates. But it is a surprising thing that the phrase, though so common and so old, has hardly any analogues or imitations; and we may perhaps provisionally suppose that ἀνδρῶν here conceals ἀνέρων. It is not unlikely that the stem ἀνερ- was declined throughout; otherwise ἰάνερος (e. g. P 435) is hard to understand, and ἄνδρεσσι should not appear at all. The form gives a gratuitous spondee; and just as we see ἦλασε and ἔλασσε, but not ἦλασσε, and ὀππόσα and ὀπότσα, but not ὀππόσσα, so we should have expected to see ἀνδρίσι and ἀνέρεσσι, but not ἄνδρεσσι. We may therefore perhaps assume the possibility of ἀνέρων, and in that case the spondees in question become really interesting. In the narrative of the Iliad without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., a huge majority of them begin with two consonants, but the restriction is elsewhere dying or dead, as can be seen from the following abstract:

Spondaic words placed between 7th and 9th hemimerals:

	Il. (Not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.).		B <sup>2</sup> , etc.		Odyssey.	
	Narr.	Speeches.	Narr.	Speeches.	Narr.	Speeches.
A) 2 cons. ....	103 <sup>2</sup>	41	33	15	50	60
B) 1 cons. or vowel..	22 <sup>3</sup>	35	13	15	28	63

<sup>1</sup> i. e. when both hemimerals exist as true scansional breaks, and neither of them is modified by a forward-leaning word (ἐκ δίνης) or a back-leaning word (πολλὰς δέ).

<sup>2</sup> A 102, 130, 245, 285, 460, B 100, 369, 411, 423, 477, Γ 36, 118, 123, 145, 384, Δ 153, 183, 188, 210, 283, 311, 356, 368, 463, 480, 497, 519, E 8, 74, 91 (?), 158, 427, 500, 537, 623, 697, 780, Z 63, 320, H 93 (?), 107, 322, 405, 479, Λ 107, 125, 126, 153, 177, 238, 294, 532, 846, M 207, 286 (?), 392, 456, N 10, 215, 564, 654, 763, Ξ 31, 41, 150, O 543, 574, 577, Π 3, 285, 310, 413, 508, 579, 600, 752, P 6, 18, 55, 67, 113, 124, 300, 578, 618, 673, 684, 747 (?), Σ 250, 310, 322, 390, (591), 612, T 282, 367, Υ 41, 173, Φ 118, 435, X 467, 469, 470.

<sup>3</sup> (A 35), A 307, 441, 585, B (143?), 169, Γ (119), 375, (380), Δ (472), (E 54, 446), Z 304, 312, H 317, 366, Λ 255 (?), M 397, N 536 (?), Ξ (346), 430 (?), O 525, 632, Π 175, 180, 602 (?), (P 658), Σ 526, T 359, Υ 68, (279=Φ 69), Φ (246), 526.



In the above table the reckoning is made by occurrences ; if distinct words (or combinations) should alone be counted, these figures must be substituted :

	Il. (Not B <sup>2</sup> , etc.).		B <sup>2</sup> , etc.		Odyssey.	
	Narr.	Speeches.	Narr.	Speeches.	Narr.	Speeches.
A) 2 cons. ....	36 <sup>1</sup>	17	19	10	26	37
B) 1 cons. or vowel. .	17 <sup>2</sup>	25	13	12	17	44

It will be very difficult to get sure exceptions in the oldest narrative ; ἦδέ in Λ 255 (ἦδὲ πτολέμοιο) may really be forward-leaning, and there is the same doubt about ἰθύς in Π 602 (μένος δ' ἰθύς φέρον αὐτῶν). In the narrative of E and P there are no clear instances of spondaic words so placed unless they begin with two consonants. The half line Διὶ μήτιν ἀτάλαντος may perhaps seem enough to disprove the principle suggested ; but there is a curious uncertainty here. Long -ι- in this declension may very well be a primitive form, but for some reason it always occurs in late work (e. g. βλοσυρώπις), and generally in connection with speeches (βοῦν ἦιν, βοώπις). Also, if Διὶ μήτιν ἀτάλαντος is to be an old narrative phrase, we may fairly ask why does it not appear in old narrative ? Precisely the same question applies to θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος. Both expressions are really native to the speeches ; and, like τόξων ἐὺ εἰδώς, have later been transferred to narrative.

'Well', the reader will say, 'provisionally, and for the sake of peace and quiet, the principle may be granted. But what is to be the reason of it, and how is it to bear on -ου and -οιο ?' The reason is simple enough ? Spondaic words beginning with two consonants are scansionally troublesome. If they are not restricted to the beginning of the line, they must be placed across a diaeresis (κρείων) ; otherwise, besides necessitating two spondees, they will give either a dovetail *in thesi* (e. g. Η 189 γνῶ δὲ κλήρου) or

<sup>1</sup> βρίση (?), Γλαύκον, γλῶσσαν, δριμύς, δεῖσαν δ', θνητῶν, Θρηκῶν (?), θρήνης, (κλειτήν), κληίς, κνίση, (Κνώσφ), κρείων, (κρειῶν), κρήνη, κτήσιν, ξανθός, πλείστοι, πλεκτήν, πληγῆς, πνοίη, πρηνῆς, πρηῶν (?), πρόσσω, πρῶτος, ῥίζαν, Σκαιοί, σκῆπτρον, σκώληξ, σκῶλος, σταθμούς, στῆθος, Ταῶες -ας -ων -σιν, Τρφαί, φθογγῆς, χλωρόν, χρυσέος, ψυχάς. The phrase ὅτ' ἐπιβρίση is reckoned as ὅτε τε βρίση, and (ὡς τε) πρῶν ἰσχάνει as πρῶν ὕδατ' ἰσχει.

<sup>2</sup> αἰχμῆς (ἄνδρα, ἄνδρας τ', ἄνδρῶν), (ἄτος), (οὐ βουλῆς), (ἐκ δίνης), (ἡρᾶθ' ὁ γερ.), ἦδέ (?), θείου, ἰά, ἰθύς (?), ἰφι, καί μιν, καὶ οἷσ', (καὶ σπλάγχυν' ἐ-), καλή, (κοίλας), κοίρη, λαμπρόν, μήστωρ, μήτιν, (ιηός γ' ἐ-), (ὑπὲρ νώτου) οὐ πω, οὐ τι, (παῖς ἦν), πείραν τ', (τὸ πρίν γ' ἐ-), χερσί.



else over-length (e. g. *καὶ Τρώων*). With words like *ξανθός* the case is much the same; once within the line, they will not scan well except across a diaeresis—for instance across the fourth diaeresis, because though it is late in the line for a spondee, a dovetail<sup>1</sup> in the hephthemimeral is a primary scansion, and was especially liked. Words such as *δῖος* or *αἰνός* have no analogous difficulty; in any but the fourth foot they can take their natural place—viz., with the first syllable *in arsi*. Hence we find regularly *ξανθός Μενέλαος* or *(βοήν) ἀγαθός Μενέλαος*, but not *δῖος Μενέλαος*, nor even *αἰνός Πολύφημος*.

At last we get back to the elision of *-οιο*. We have seen that *-ιον* was originally avoided, and also that a spondaic word not beginning with two consonants could hardly stand between 7th and 9th hemimeral. It is not likely that both principles would be neglected at once; and it can scarcely be an accident that when spondaic genitives like *ὑπνου* and *θείου* are placed before the 9th hemimeral, they are followed either by a back-leaning word (which practically removes the break in question—β 358, ι 97, λ 110, μ 137), or else by a vowel—κ 519, γ 279, φ 69, 526, β 259, δ 839, φ 244, and perhaps ψ 16, 22. If *θείου βασιλῆος* (δ 621, π 335) does not represent *θείοιο ἄνακτος*, it gives final emphasis to the fact that the genitive of *θεῖος*—presumably because the use of the word is Odyssean—hardly ever shows a strictly normal scansion—I 214, κ 315, π 798. Except in these three lines, *θείοιο* stands either in the fifth trochaic (π 230)—an arrangement which in the Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., has only two narrative parallels (τ 44, ζ 245)—or else it stands at the end of the line.<sup>2</sup> This last use is quite irregular, since a bacchiac (or molossus) could originally stand at the end of the line only if it began either with a vowel or with two consonants (*ὑσμίνης, πλήξιππον*). In the Odyssey exceptions become very common, and give several other instances in *-οιο* (narr. β 431, ε 265; speeches θ 232, ι 196, 346. It is fair to conclude that in the narrative of the Iliad (not B<sup>2</sup>, etc.), *θείοιο* is an importation from a later style, especially as a well-marked feature of that later style is the uneasy conviction that *-οιο* stands most safely at the end of the line (Il. without B<sup>2</sup>, etc., narr. 44 per cent.; Odyssey,

<sup>1</sup> e. g. *κίε ξανθός Μενέλαος*.

<sup>2</sup> Narr. B 335, I 218, Λ 806, Ν 694, Ο 333, Ρ 199, Τ 279, Υ 145, β 394, γ 398, δ 799, ε 198, ο 63, 554, π 53, ρ 3, υ 248, 283, φ 189, 432: speeches Ο 25, Τ 297, β 233, δ 682, ε 11, λ 238, ο 313, 347, ρ 230, 402, σ 417, υ 298, 325, φ 74, ω 151.



narr. 55 per cent.). Terminal *θείοιο* has probably supplanted *μεγαθύμου*,, for, as the reader will see from the tables, there is a puzzling shortage of this type at the end of the line.

In the *Iliad* the relation of -οιο to -ου is still a rational problem ; in the *Odyssey* it degenerates into a mystery. The ending may thus afford a high satisfaction both to unitarians and to those who take a different view. Unitarians see how in his latest manner Homer triumphantly freed himself from painful conventions, the legacy of that unrecorded versification which he could not claim to be 'all his'. Other people see—but there is no need to detail what they see. Some hint may be given by the present jottings, elementary enough, but even so perhaps *φωρὰντα* to separatists.

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IV.—NOTE ON SATYROS, LIFE OF EURIPIDES,  
OXYR. PAP. 9, 157-8.

The use of magic in affairs of the heart is almost as old as Cupid himself, and—to judge from cases now and then reported in the daily press—as little in danger of lapsing into innocuous desuetude.

But the value of magic in this important department of human activity was flatly denied at a very early date. The most famous example in the surviving literature of Greece and Rome is the *Andromache* of Euripides. In this play *Andromache* is accused by *Hermione* of using love-potions to alienate the affections of her husband, *Neoptolemus*. She denies the charge, and, among other things, says in substance that in this particular case the plaintiff can blame no one but herself, inasmuch as the only love-potions capable of holding one's husband, the only love-potions any woman needs for that purpose, are not loveliness of face and form, but loveliness of mind and heart. The passage in question—I borrow Dr. Way's version—is as follows (205):

οὐκ ἐξ ἐμῶν σε φαρμάκων στυγεῖ πόσις,  
ἀλλ' εἰ ξυνεῖναι μὴ 'πιτηδεῖα κυρεῖς.  
φίλτρον δὲ καὶ τόδ' · οὐ τὸ κάλλος, ὦ γύναι,  
ἀλλ' ἀρεταὶ τέρπουσι τοὺς ξυνευνέτας.

Not of my philtres thy lord hateth thee,  
But that thy nature is no mate for his.  
That is the love-charm : woman, 'tis not beauty  
That witcheth bridegrooms, nay, but nobleness.

Of course, we are not to suppose for an instant that *Andromache* sets no value on beauty. On the contrary, she is fully alive, if not acutely sensitive, to the value of it, not only because she is a woman and (at least spiritually) a Greek, but also, and above all, because her opponent is *Hermione*. Her emphatic distinction between outward and inward beauty is not offered as a mere truism in a general way. It has a special application here, a peculiar sting of its own. This is because the plaintiff herself was, beyond all question, a woman of surpassing beauty. All her literary creators unite in telling us so. And do we not know,



too, that she was the daughter of Helen—not to mention the fact that her father was none other than Menelaos, the fair-haired King Arthur of the Homeric epic? But although Hermione inherited much of her mother's beauty, she inherited little or none of her mother's charm. And, like other women in the same situation, she is quite aware that in some way or other her loveliness of form and feature is not adequately seconded by loveliness of mind and heart. Bitterest of all, it is now brought home to her that her victim is also quite aware of it. She deserves a great deal of sympathy. Nevertheless, those of us who are old enough to have observed the part played by temperament in everyday life are probably thankful that we shall never be obliged to live with her.

With Andromache, on the other hand, the balance inclined in the opposite direction. I suppose we must acknowledge that she was not as beautiful as Hermione, or Helen, or some others; indeed, Ovid insinuates—the criticism, however, is purely subjective—that she was too big, that her proportions were too ample. But we are all willing to swear that she *was* beautiful, just the same. Everyone loves Andromache. In fact, the college-boy as I know him—at all events, the college-boy with sufficient taste and intelligence to read Homer and Euripides—is generally ready to stand by her to the last ditch. Only the other day I overheard one of them say to his fellows with great emphasis, 'I just tell you, boys, Andromache was a good sport!' May we not hope—for there are many links between Hellas and Hesperia—that some other friend of hers, some immaterial but kindly ghost, was standing near at the time, and that he has since told her what he heard? If so, and if she ever succeeds in grasping the entire meaning of that compendious but expressive phrase, it ought to warm her heart—even in the realm of dust and shadow.

Like so much else in the dramas of Euripides, the thought expressed by Andromache in the lines I have quoted above is echoed throughout the later tradition, not only of comedy, but also of elegy, of didactic poetry, and even of philosophical discussion.

For example, about a century after Euripides, Menander says (646, K), in a fragment quoted by Stobaios, that—

ἐν ἐστ' ἀληθὲς φίλτρον, εἰγνώμων τρόπος.  
τούτῳ κατακρατεῖν ἀνδρὸς εἰώθεν γυνή.



The one and only genuine love-charm is  
 A temper sweet and reasonable. With this  
 A wife can rule her husband as she will.

It is quite clear, of course, that we are not dwelling here on the higher levels of language and emotion. Nor ought we to expect it—this is comedy, not tragedy. As it stands, too, this more prosaic echo of Andromache's thought is merely a wise saw. But this is because it has been divorced from its original context. We should have quite a different impression of this passage, if we knew the immediate circumstances by which it was suggested, and what turn was given to the old question of love and magic in which it was originally imbedded. Which, by the way, was the speaker—a man or a woman?

However that may be, 'a temper sweet and reasonable' is a precious possession—to anyone. Indeed, one of Menander's own characters says in another place (Monost. 241) that—

*θεοῦ πέφυκε δῶρον εὐγνώμων τρόπος.*

God gives the temper sweet and reasonable.

But this should by no means discourage those of us who have reason to suspect that we have not received the gift. There is another saying which assures us that—

God helps those who help themselves.

About a century and a half later, the Roman comic poet Afranius, who is known to have been deeply indebted to Menander, says (Frag. 378 R.) that—

*Si possent homines delenimentis capi,  
 Omnes haberent nunc amatores anus.  
 Aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio,  
 Haec sunt uenena formosarum mulierum:  
 Mala aetas nulla delenimenta inuenit.*

If one might capture men with magic philtres,  
 Lovers would swarm round every toothless crone.  
 A dainty body, youth, obliging ways—  
 These be the philtres handsome women use:  
 Old age has none of these—and these are all.

This, too, is merely a fragment, a fragment, however, which was quoted not for its content, but only to illustrate a lexical peculiarity. The original statement of the three necessary qualifications is—

*Aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio.*



*Morigeratio*, which I rendered 'obliging ways', clearly connotes such modern terms as 'tactfulness' and 'adaptability'. It will be observed that character, as such, is less important than it was in Menander. The speaker is intensely, one might almost say brutally, practical. I suspect that one reason for the difference was because, unlike Andromache and Menander, he was not thinking of the family circle, but rather of those women whose only hold on their lovers is their power to please. Note, too, that we are looking at the old idea from a new angle. The speaker uses it not as a piece of good advice to lovers, but to illustrate the utter hopelessness and futility of old age in affairs of the heart, another theme upon which Antiquity itself rang all the possible changes, and which appeared again with wearisome regularity in the poets of the Renaissance.

Lucretius says nothing of magic. He does not believe in it; moreover, he is an Epicurean philosopher, seriously and intensely interested in the exposition of his system. But he evidently belongs here, and he emphasizes even more than do his predecessors the things that every plain woman should know. Dryden's version is spirited, but not Lucretius. The woman strongly suggests an English country girl of the seventeenth century, and the husband a rakehelly blade of the Restoration drama, rather than the straightforward Romans whom Lucretius has in mind. I therefore give Munro's prose (4, 1278)—

Nec divinitus interdum Venerisque sagittis  
Deteriore fit ut forma muliercula ametur.  
Nam facit ipsa suis interdum femina factis  
Morigerisque modis et munde corpore culto,  
Ut facile insuescat te secum degere vitam.  
Quod superest, consuetudo concinnat amorem ;  
Nam leviter quamvis quod crebro tunditur ictu,  
Vincitur in longo spatio temen atque labascit.  
Nonne vides etiam guttas in saxa cadentis  
Umoris longo in spatio pertundere saxa ?

Sometimes too by no divine grace and arrows of Venus a sorry woman of inferior beauty comes to be loved; for the wife sometimes by her own acts and accommodating manners [*morigeris modis*] and by elegant neatness of person readily habituates you to pass your life with her. Moreover custom renders love attractive; for that which is struck by oft-repeated blows, however lightly, yet after long course of time is overpowered and gives way. See you not too that drops of water falling on stones after long course of time scoop a hole through these stones.



The comparison is a favorite with Lucretius. But one of my feminine friends wonders whether, if it takes so long in proportion to win a man, the man himself would not be too far gone by the time the process was completed to repay one for one's trouble.

Tibullus, who died young and was never married, is willing to stake his all upon personal beauty. When his Delia was accused of winning him with love-philtres, he replies (1, 5, 43) that—

Non facit hoc verbis, facie tenerisque lacertis  
Devovet et flavis nostra puella comis.

'Tis not with words of magic, but with her dainty arms,  
Her golden hair, her features, that Delia weaves her charms.

'That is a new proof', remarks the inimitable Jérôme Coignard when these lines are quoted against him in an argument, 'that women are the sworn foes of knowledge. Hence, the wise man ought to beware of having anything to do with them at all'.

We now come to the poet Ovid. Ovid is not blind to the value of beauty. At the same time, he is keenly alive to the fact that it cannot last. In the two passages, however, with which we are concerned, he has assumed for the moment the didactic attitude, and, like every good teacher, he is quite aware that pessimism is never instructive. And then, too, his nature—he was married three times—was inherently buoyant and hopeful. In his poem, therefore, 'On the Care of the Complexion', after dilating on the importance of attending to one's personal appearance, he says to his class of girls (De Med. Fac. 35) that—

Sic potius vos urget amor quam fortibus herbis,  
Quas maga terribili subsecat arte manus;  
Nec vos graminibus nec mixto credite suco  
Nec temptate nocens virus amantis equae:  
Nec mediae Marsis finduntur cantibus angues,  
Nec redit in fontes unda supina suos,  
Et, quamvis aliquis Temesaea removerit aera,  
Numquam Luna suis excutietur equis.  
Prima sit in vobis morum tutela, puellae!  
Ingenio facies conciliante placet.  
Certus amor morumst: formam populabitur aetas,  
Et placitus rugis vultus aratus erit;  
Tempus erit, quo vos speculum vidisse pigebit,  
Et veniet rugis altera causa dolor.



**Love** courts you still for these things, not for those herbs of power  
**That** some old witch has gathered at some uncanny hour ;  
**These** extracts, brews, and simples should all be cast aside,  
**Hippomanes** is useless, it never should be tried :  
**They** tell us that the Marsi can burst a snake with song,  
**They** tell us streams run backward—they lie, or tell us wrong  
**And** though those frantic cymbals should cease forevermore,  
**The Moon** would still move onward as safely as before.  
**No**, ladies, mind your manners—they are your surest arm ;  
**Your** mind must help your beauty, if you would always charm.  
**Love** fired by that is lasting, your beauty must give place  
**To** time, and ugly wrinkles plough up that pleasing face ;  
**'Twill** worry you to note them, your glass will vex you sore—  
**Another** cause for wrinkles—for worry brings you more !

It will be observed with what skill the Beauty Doctor has adapted the old theme to his special purpose.

Again, on another occasion—this time as a professor in the Art of Love—he gives the following excellent advice to his male students (*Ars Amat.* 2, 99)—

Fallitur, Haemonias siquis decurrit ad artes  
 Datque quod a teneri fronte revellit equi ;  
 Non facient, ut vivat amor, Medeides herbae  
 Mixtaque cum magicis naenia Marsa sonis :  
 Phasias Aesoniden, Circe tenuisset Ulixem,  
 Si modo servari carmine posset amor ;  
 Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis :  
 Philtrea nocent animis vimque furoris habent  
 Sit procul omne nefas ! ut ameris, amabilis esto,  
 Quod tibi non facies solave forma dabit !  
 Sit licet antiquo Nireus adamatus Homero,  
 Naiadumque tener crimine raptus Hylas,  
 Ut dominam teneas nec te mirere relictum,  
 Ingenii dotes corporis adde bonis !  
 Forma bonum fragilest, quantumque accedit ad annos,  
 Fit minor et spatio carpitur ipsa suo :  
 Nec violae semper nec ianthina lilia florent,  
 Et riget amissa spina relictæ rosa ;  
 Et tibi iam venient canes, formosæ, capilli,  
 Iam venient rugae, quæ tibi corpus arent :  
 Iam molire animum, qui duret, et adstrue formæ :  
 Solus ad extremos permanet ille rogos.  
 Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes  
 Cura sit et linguas edidicisse duas ;  
 Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus, Ulixes  
 Et tamen æquoreas torsit amore deas :



O! quotiens illum doluit properare Calypso  
 Remigioque aptas esse negavit aquas!  
 Haec Troiae casus iterumque iterumque rogabat,  
 Ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem;  
 Litore constiterant: illic quoque pulchra Calypso  
 Exigit Odrysii fata cruenta ducis;  
 Ille levi virga (virgam nam forte tenebat)  
 Quod rogat, in spisso litore pingit opus.  
 'Haec' inquit 'Troiaest', (muros in litore fecit)  
 'Hic tibi sit Simois; haec mea castra puta!  
 Campus erat', (campumque facit) 'quem caede Dolonis  
 Sparsimus, Haemonios dum vigil optat equos.  
 Illic Sithonii fuerant tentoria Rhesi;  
 Hac ego sum captis nocte revector equis'.  
 Pluraque pingebat, subitus cum Pergama fluctus  
 Abstulit et Rhesi cum duce castra suo;  
 Tum dea 'quas' inquit 'fidas tibi credis ituro,  
 Perdiderint undae nomina quanta, vides?'  
 Ergo age, fallaci timide confide figurae,  
 Quisquis es, atque aliquid corpore pluris habe!

Try no Thessalian potions, give no hippomanes;  
 'Tis labor lost for suitors to turn to aids like these;  
 Not all the magic simples Medea's self could give,  
 Not all the Marsian ditties, can make a passion live:  
 The Colchian had kept Jason, the Wanderer's willing arms  
 Had still encircled Circe—were love the thrall of charms;  
 Eschew them all! For philtres are worse than merely vain:  
 They hurt the understanding, they drive a girl insane.  
 If you would charm, be charming—a thing which, be assured,  
 No face, no form, unaided, has ever yet procured;  
 Though you be fair as Nireus, whom Homer loved to sing,  
 Or Hylas, whom the Naiads hid in their woodland spring.  
 If you would keep your sweetheart, nor wake amazed to find  
 Some morning she has left you—you must improve your mind!  
 A fragile thing is beauty, and with increasing years  
 It must, perforce, diminish—until it disappears;  
 The violet and lily are soon enough out-worn,  
 The fairest rose will wither—and leave an ugly thorn;  
 And you, my handsome fellow, your hair will soon be gray,  
 And seams and hateful wrinkles—they, too, are on the way:  
 Build up your mind, for beauty some solid prop requires,  
 And that alone stands by you until your funeral fires.  
 Take pains to be accomplished; a gentleman will find  
 Both languages are needful to cultivate the mind:  
 Ulysses was not handsome, and yet 'tis evident  
 That goddesses adored him—the man was eloquent!  
 How oft when he was leaving, Calypso prophesied



A sea too rough and stormy for any boat to ride :  
 How oft she craved his story, how oft he told the tale,  
 Yet with such art he told it, it never once grew stale.  
 Once on a time she asked him—as many times before—  
 To tell the death of Rhesus. They stood upon the shore.  
 So, with a stick—he held one, it happened, in his hand—  
 He pictured out his story upon the hard, wet sand.  
 ‘ Now here was Troy ’, he told her, and traced the walls, ‘ and where  
 You see this line, the Simois. My camp was over there.  
 Here was the field ’—he drew it—‘ where Dolon and his host  
 Guarded the Thracian horses ; we slew them at their post.  
 And there, the tents of Rhesus ; and this would be the track  
 I followed with his horses that night, when I came back ’.  
 Here, while he still was drawing, a billow by mishap  
 Smote city, camp, and Rhesus—and wiped them off the map !  
 ‘ Now, look you ’, cried the goddess, ‘ how can you hope the sea  
 That whelms such names as those are, will let you go scot-free ! ’  
 So, lovers, ’tis with beauty ; and hence, I bid you seek  
 For things of greater value than just a fine physique.

Ovid, like Afranius, is not thinking of the family circle. The students whom he is addressing are the gilded exquisites of the Augustan Age, and the whole poem is really a masterpiece of satire upon the subject with which it professes to deal so seriously. But the humorous and observant Ovid is never so wise, never so well worth remembering, as when he has a twinkle in his eye, and the advice he gives here may be taken to heart by men of all classes and periods. It will be seen, of course, that this passage is merely a rhetorical expansion of our old theme. The poet assumes the conventionalized attitude of the professor and speaks *ex cathedra*. The ironical exaggeration of this didactic attitude is seen in the sly emphasis upon a systematic arrangement and development of topics. For the same reason his pronouncements are purposely axiomatic and familiar, his illustrations purposely traditional and commonplace. The Homeric motive, for instance, of helping out one's story with illustrations, which Ovid himself uses elsewhere, not to mention Tibullus, Plutarch, Macrobius, and doubtless others, was discussed as early as Aristotle. With us the Grave Digger in Hamlet is the classical example of the man who cannot tell a story at all without the aid of diagrams. Doubtless, too, the motive of the waves washing away whatever one writes upon the sand was familiar enough, but, so far as I can remember, this is the earliest appearance of it in the surviving record.



The passages I have quoted are quite enough to show that the value of magic in a love-affair as compared with natural advantages was a well-worn topic in the later literature of Antiquity. We see that it was announced from the stage, discussed in the boudoir, argued in the schools of philosophy, enlarged upon in the schools of rhetoric. It is probably safe to assume that, so far as literary influence is concerned, the fountain head was largely, if not entirely, Euripides. And this, too, despite the fact that earlier authors may have developed the theme.

On the other hand, so far as real life is concerned, it is certain that Andromache was not the first to make the plea that Euripides puts in her mouth. It springs naturally from her situation, a situation that must have begun to make its appearance not long after the first time a jealous woman undertook to remove a real or fancied rival from her path without resorting to personal violence. That was a long while ago, and since then the same situation has been repeated over and over again in all parts of the world. It was not at all unusual in the ordinary life of Antiquity, for in those days the profession of the *lena*, or go-between, included as a matter of course the brewing of love-philtres for her customers. It was common to administer them; still more common to believe—especially in certain nervous disorders, the causes of which were not visible to the popular mind—that they had been administered. Hence, perhaps, the legend of the death of Lucretius, and the contemporary explanation of the homicidal mania of Caligula. Such accusations are a commonplace of the elegiac poets, and in Greek testamentary law the modern plea of 'undue influence' was specified either as *ὑπὸ φαρμάκων* or as *γυναικὶ πειθόμενος*. And certainly during the long and relentless prosecution and persecution of witches in the Middle Ages more than one woman has found herself in the plight of Andromache, and—to save her soul from everlasting torment—has been burned alive.

But in our sympathy for Andromache let us not be unjust to Hermione. Hermione here is fairly representative of any mortal woman in the same position. The rôle of plaintiff in this suit is peculiarly trying. Whether she has made her charge in good faith or not, she has been cut to the quick in a most sensitive place, and she cannot reckon on the sympathy of the jury. The magnanimity of a woman capable of rising superior to such a situation would be little short of miraculous. She would deserve



to become an anecdote, and, as such, to be affected by all the peculiarities and privileges of an anecdote, as it wanders on from generation to generation.

We have just heard of such a woman. And, so far as I know, it is the first time she has spoken to the modern world. Our source is Satyros, a Peripatetic philosopher of the second century B. C., considerable fragments of whose Life of Euripides have recently come to light among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Vol. 9, pp. 128-170). In this work, which is in the form of a dialogue, one of the characters, Eukleia—during a discussion, it would seem, of the old question of Euripides' attitude towards the fair sex—says that once upon a time a certain woman was accused of winning the love of Hystaspes by means of philtres. Whereupon [the wife of Hystaspes] sent for her (p. 157)—

μεταπεμψαμένη δὴ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὅτ' εἰ[δεν] εἰσιούσης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, 'χαῖρε', φησὶν, 'γύναι' ψευδεῖς ἄρ' ἦ[σ]αν αἱ [δια]βολαί· σὺ γὰρ [ἐν] τῷ π[ρ]οσώπῳ τῷ σῷ καὶ τοῖς ὀ[φ]θαλμοῖς ἔχεις τὰ φάρμακα'.

But when she observed her stateliness, as she entered, and her beauty, she said, "Peace be upon you, woman. Truly, the charges against you were false; for you have your philtres in your own face and in your eyes".

A good anecdote. Just the sort of thing we might expect from the mother of a man like the great Darius. But not a new anecdote. Dr. Hunt's note that 'This anecdote of Hystaspes seems to be new' should be replaced, at least for the present, by 'This anecdote seems to be new—of Hystaspes'. About two centuries after Satyros told this story, we find it recorded in Plutarch's *Moralia* (141 B) that once upon a time a certain Thessalian woman was accused of winning the love of Philip of Macedon by means of philtres. Whereupon Olympias, the wife of Philip, sent for her—

ὥς δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθοῦσα τό τ' εἶδος εὐπρεπὲς ἐφάνη καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἰσυνέτως, 'χαιρέτωσαν' εἶπεν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς 'αἱ διαβολαί· σὺ γὰρ ἐν σεαυτῇ τὰ φάρμακα ἔχεις'.

But upon her appearance, seeing that not only was she fair to look upon, but that her conversation was refined and sensible, Olympias said, "Away with the charges against you; for you have your philtres in your self".

A good anecdote. Just the sort of thing we might expect from the mother of a man like Alexander the Great. To be sure,



since this beautiful and stately co-respondent parted with her somewhat uncritical Persian lover she had improved her understanding and can talk like a lady; but she is the same girl, and the story is the same story. But that Hystaspes was her first lover is as unlikely as that Philip of Macedon was her last. And when we consider the temperament of anecdotes, as such, we know that we shall never discover the identity of the original parties in this *cause célèbre*.

The truth is that all men in general, and the Peripatetics in particular, are devoted to anecdotes. And with reason, for when anecdotes are good, they possess all the advantages enumerated by Afranius—

Aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio.

But, unfortunately, the better anecdotes are the less they are treated with proper respect by their lovers. The trouble is that they are temperamentally prone to over-emphasize *morigeratio*. They are too obliging. Hence, like the Sultan of Babylon's daughter, in Boccaccio's famous story, they wander on and on from one to another. And, again like that errant and erring damsel, they turn up at the end as attractive as ever and as good as new. 'Bocca basciata', as Messer Giovanni himself remarks, 'non perde ventura, anzi rinnuova come fa la luna'. 'A kissed mouth is not impaired, rather renews itself as does the moon'. Good anecdotes appeal to us, not because they are true, or truthful, but because they never fail to have—

Aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio.

They fall in with our preconceived notions of what they ought to be.

This is eminently the case with our anecdote. It owed its continued existence and popularity not to its truth, as such—it is not at all certain that it ever was actually true of anyone—but to the fact that it is such a fine illustration of our notion, more or less well-founded, that a boy is the son of his mother rather than of his father. Hence, if we make GM = Great Mother, MF = Mere Father, and GS = Great Son, the formula for a great man should be—

$$GM + MF = GS.$$

Now, substitute for GS Darius, or Alexander, or Rameses, or Hannibal, or Caesar, or Charlemagne, or Tamerlane, or Napo-



leon, or any other man of the same type, call upon the ever obliging anecdote of Satyros and Plutarch (and doubtless others), and we have at once a fine passage for the section devoted to Conquerors in our 'Lives of Illustrious Men', and a striking commentary on Tibullus' distich in which he returns to our traditional theme (1, 8, 23)—

quid queror heu misero carmen nocuisse, quid herbas?  
forma nihil magicis utitur auxiliis.

Why dream the youth's undoing is caused by charms, by brews?  
No magic arts are practised that beauty needs to use.

It would be interesting to know just why this anecdote of Satyros drifted into his Life of Euripides. One may fairly suspect that the situation in the Andromache had something to do with it. But the text preceding our passage is too fragmentary to furnish a definite connection, and for the present at least it seems wiser to leave the matter as it stands. Of course, too, there was more than one Hystaspes. Xerxes, for example, had a brother Hystaspes, whose wife Rhodogune is mentioned by two of the late lexicographers. And, as it now stands, the text of our anecdote is so badly mutilated at the beginning that the more definite designation of our Hystaspes and also the identity of the speaker of the words I have quoted have completely disappeared. In other words, the only surviving term of our formula is 'Hystaspes'. The version of Plutarch, however, makes it quite clear that the original equation in the version of Satyros must have been—

The Wife of Hystaspes + Hystaspes = Darius,  
or rather—

The Great Mother of Darius + the Mere Father of  
Darius = Darius.

For here, it would seem, as for the most part elsewhere, Hystaspes is known to posterity only as a 'Mere Father'.

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## V.—TWO TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.

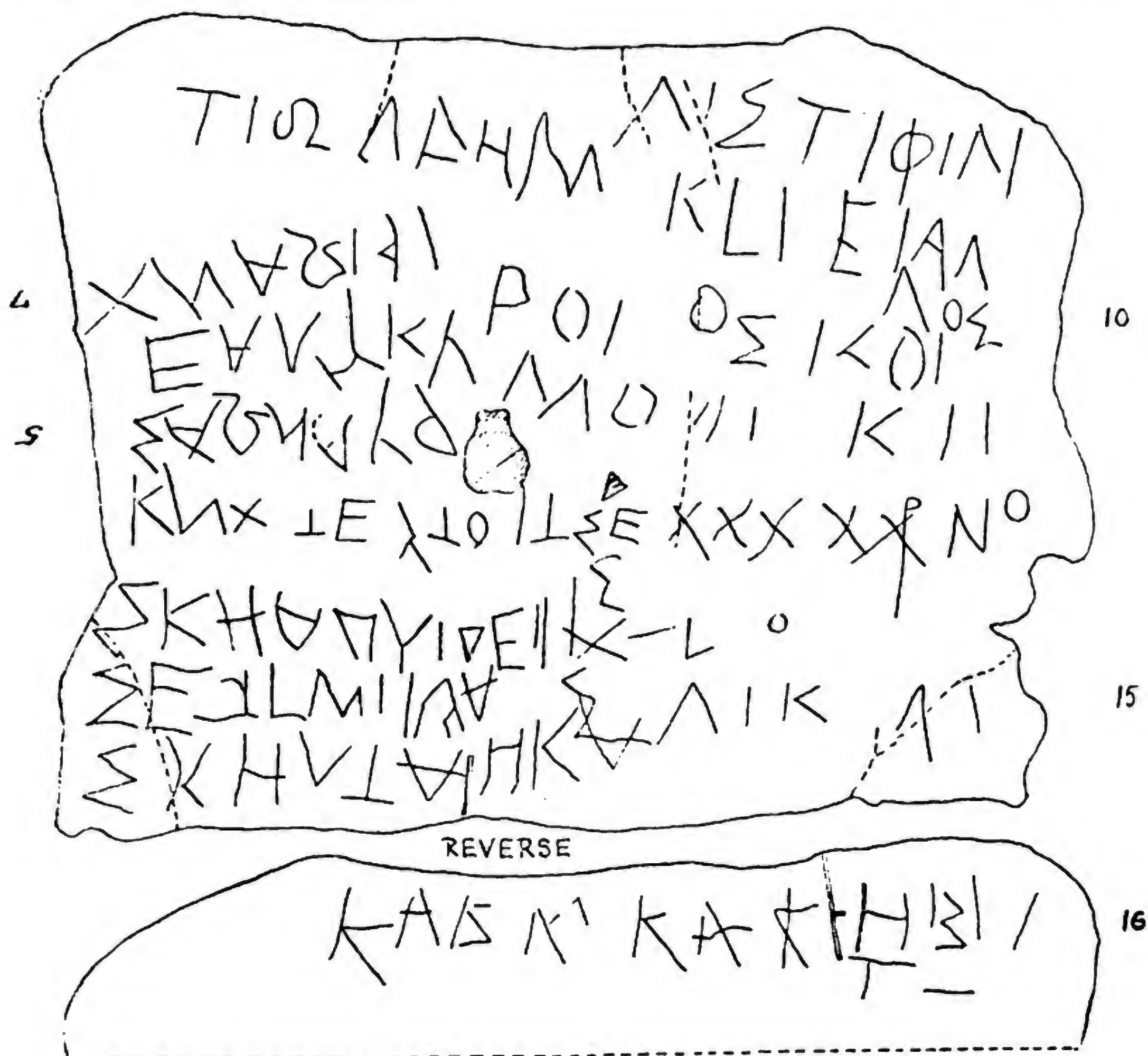
Through the courtesy of Mr. Charles T. Currelly, Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, I have been privileged to read two tabellae defixionum in the possession of the Museum. These were purchased by Mr. Currelly himself in Athens two or three years ago. This fact and certain textual features prove them to be of Attic origin. The chemical condition of the lead is such as would result from many centuries of exposure to atmospheric or soil conditions. This and the palaeography of the tablets compel me to believe that they are not modern counterfeits. Moreover, no counterfeiter would be so naively inconsistent in his errors as is the composer of one of the tablets (II.). Of the circumstances surrounding their discovery we unfortunately know nothing.

I. Leaden tablet, rectangular, 9.0 x 6.9 cmm., originally folded double and pierced with a nail; quite fragile, especially along lines of folding; inscribed on both sides with rude letters almost uniformly 7 mm. in height. The writing on the face is in two parts, one to the right, the other to the left, of the diagonal descending from left to right. In the first the letters begin at the right-hand margin and continue towards the left. In the second they begin at the bottom of the tablet without regular alignment of initials and run from left to right. That the first part was originally written first is proved by the fact that the several lines of the second part were so arranged as to fill in a left-over space. None of the groups of letters as they stand can be read as words, as in Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, I. G. III. 3, 55; 77; 88; 95 (cf. 81, 110–135). The confusion of the letters, added to their positive lack of legibility in places, makes impossible a convincing reconstruction of what was in the writer's mind. The deliberate purpose of such confusion was, in the event of the discovery of the tablet, to prevent detection of the author through a list of his enemies (cf. Wünsch, *D. T. A.*, p. 30, "ut lectorem fugiant").



ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.

CURSE-TABLET NO. I.



	A	ΑΚΗΙΑΤΑΗΚΞ	1.
		Ξ.ΑΝΙΝΠΞΞ	
15.	Αλκί[δη]ς	..ΑΙΔΙΔΑΗΚΞ	
	Ο	ΚΑΧΤΕΥΤΟΙΤΞ	
	ΟΝ ΧΧΧΧΧ		
	..Κ..Ο..Μ	Λυσάνωρ	5.
	Κόροι[β]ος	Εὐ(θ)υκλ(έ)α	
	Δημ[ο]τίων Κανλ(κλ)είδο(υ)ς	Χαιρίων	
9-10.			
8.	Φιλιστι[δ]ης		
	B		
16.	ΚΑΚ .. ΚΑΚΗΒ ..		



## A

- 1-4. It is impossible to discover the names latent in this riddle.
5. See Bechtel-Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*, p. 60.
6. Usually the nom. is used in defixional lists of names (see Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, praef. 1-li), but nom. and acc. are sometimes found together, as in Wünsch, *D. T. A.*, 22 and 29.
8. Perhaps *Φιλιστίδης* as in Wünsch, *D. T. A.*, 9, 6; 20, 4; 28, 3; Aud. 56.
- 9-10. *Δημοτίων* is read in Wünsch 42, 4, but without patronymic.
13. *Χαρακτήρες*: The resemblance of the fifth *χαρακτήρ* to the familiar Christian symbol is due to an accidental stroke of the metal writing-point. Can *χ* here be the symbol of Osiris in l. 6 of the defixio published by Audollent in the *Bull. Arch.*, 1910, pp. 137 ff.?
15. The letters are very indistinct.
- If these names be correctly deciphered, then *Ἀλκίδης*, *Εὐθυκλῆς*, *Καλλικλείδης*, *Κόροιβος*, *Λυσάνωρ*, *Χαίριων* appear here for the first time in defixiones.

## B

16. Perhaps some expression that gave significance to the list of names in A.

All the letters of the Attic alphabet have been employed except Γ, Ζ, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Ψ. Judging from the forms of these, our only indication of date, we can safely state that this tablet may have been written at any time during the fourth and third centuries B. C.

II. Leaden tablet, roughly circular, 9.1 cmm. in diameter, 5 mm. in thickness, thickly covered with litharge and hard crystals of lead carbonate, especially near the edges; originally folded double and written on one side only in rude, irregular letters varying in height from 6 to 2 mm.; in places the lead has been worn smooth and all traces of writing have disappeared. By far the larger part of the formula occupies all but a small arc at the left of the circle and is written in horizontal lines. The upper half of the small arc contains in horizontal lines the completion of a sentence begun in the larger body of the text, while the lower half is filled to the last millimetre with a variation of the formula previously used, but in this case written perpendicularly to the rest of the text.



ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.

CURSE-TABLET NO. I.



8	[δ]ύνα-	καταδῶ καταδῶ	1
9	μιν	'Αρισ[τ]οβούλο(υ)	2
10	καὶ σῶ-	..... το(υ)ς γλῶτ(τ)αν	3
11	μα 'Α-	κα[ὶ σῶμα] πόδας χεῖρας.	4
12	ριστοβού-	καταδῶ πόδας	5
13	λο(υ) ἀν(τι)δί-	καὶ [γλῶττ]αν	6
14	κο(υ).	οἰκ[ία]ν <πόδας>	7
		καταδῶ γλῶτταν	15
		καὶ σῶμα	16
		καὶ [πόδας δύναμ]ιν συν-	17
		[δίκου]ς μετὰ 'Αρι-	18
		στο[βούλου] πάντας τοὺς.	19
		[κα]τ[αδῶ πόδας]	20
		οἰκία[ν] γλῶτταν	21
		[χεῖρας σῶμα] δύνα[μ]ιν	22
		['Αριστοβούλου ἀ]ντ[ι]-	23
		[δίκ]ο(υ).	24
25	καταδῶ 'Αρισ[τ]οβού-		
26	βούλου τὸν ἀ-		
27	ντίδικον γλ-		
28	ῶτταν		
29	τοῦ[ς]		



1. *καταδω*: See also 5. 15. 20. 25; by far the commonest verb to denote the magic act of defixion. Only in Wünsch, D. T. A., 49a 3 is this word or a synonym repeated in the same line without an intervening word, and nowhere else in the first line; cf., however, Wünsch, D. T. A., 79, 12-13 and 119. Repetition of such expressions at intervals is common in Attic defixiones, but as a rule each mention introduces a new victim; but cf. Aud. 68, 108; Wünsch, D. T. A., 79, 1. 13-15; 90; 105, where the same person is in each instance involved. The monotony of the repetition in this tablet is duplicated only in the Johns Hopkins Tab. Def. (Fox, A. J. P., XXXIII, 1, suppl., pp. 16-31).

2. *Ἀρισ[τ]οβούλο(ν)*: Cf. 11-13. 18-19. 23 (conjectured); the first appearance of this name in defixiones. It is not found in Attic inscriptions till towards the close of the fourth century and gradually increases in frequency well into Roman times. For identification see 3.

*ο=ου*: So in 3. 13. 14. 24, but *τούς* in 19 and 29 (?). According to Meisterhans-Schwyzler (Gram. d. att. Inschr., pp. 6-7, nn. 22-23) *ο* for *ου* ranges from a very early period to the middle of the second century B. C., persisting much later in defixiones than in official documents where it virtually disappears in the latter half of the fourth century. It occurs in Aud., 1 a 33; 50, 2. 8. 12; 53 b 2; 62, 4; 63, 4; 68 a 10; b 4. 5. 7-8. 10; 69 I b 4; II b 4; 80, 41 (all but the first and the last are Attic and are assigned by the editor to the fourth century); Wünsch, D. T. A., 38, 5; 101, 4. 6; 102 a 8; b 12; 103 a 2. 3; 107 a; 138, 1 (these are assigned about evenly to the third and fourth centuries). Wilhelm, however, (Jahreshefte d. öst. arch. Inst. in Wien, VII, 1904, pp. 105 ff.) very convincingly locates in the fourth century nearly all those tablets that Wünsch locates in the third. His article supersedes those by Schwyzler (Neue Jhbr., 1900, pp. 244 ff.) and Ziebarth (Gött. Nachr., 1899, pp. 105 ff.). For final conclusions as to the date of our tablet see *infra* pp. 79-80.

3. . . . . *τος* or *το(ν)ς*: Probably the gen. of some patronymic like *Φιλοκράτης*, *Δημοκράτης*, or *Χάρης*. Nowhere in Attic defixiones does the patronymic follow the son's (or daughter's) name in the genitive (cf., however, Aud., 50, 5-6), and therefore we cannot say whether the article is to be employed here before the patronymic as in official inscriptions (Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *op. cit.*, § 86, 8, p. 224), or to be omitted. If the father's name is as long as either of the first alternatives suggested, the lacuna would not admit



the article; if it is as short as the second alternative, there is plenty of space for the article. Owing to the lacuna it is impossible to identify Aristobulus in any way.

γλῶτ(τ)αν: But correctly spelled in 15. This misspelling is very common in defixiones, e. g., Wünsch, D. T. A., 52; 56, 4; 57, 21; 61 a 2; 74, 3; Aud., 47, 2. 7. 9; 66, 2. Meisterhans-Schwyzler (pp. 95-96, n. 844) notes it in the fourth century and observes that from the third century onward it becomes very common in all classes of inscriptions.

4. καὶ [σῶμα]: Supplied on analogy of 10-11. 16. The range of bodily parts defixed is strikingly Attic (see Wünsch, D. T. A., and Aud., passim).

καί: Inconsistent use of the connective is characteristic of this vulgar department.

6. γλῶτταν: Cf. 3. 15. 21. 27-28.

7. οἰκ[ία]ν: See 21. This implies the destruction of the entire family, as οἶκον in the oracle in Herod. VI 86, 3. Cf. the Hebrew curse: "... It shall enter the thief's house, and the house of him that hath sworn falsely by my name, and it shall roost in the midst of his house and consume it, with its beams and its stones". (Zech. V 4, trans. by George Adam Smith, The Book of the Twelve Prophets, p. 302).

<πόδας>: Inadvertent repetition, as ἔργα, γλῶτταν (Wünsch, D. T. A., 53).

13-14. ἀν(τι)δίκον(υ): For similar accidental omission of a syllable see κα(τα)σχόντες (Aud., 74, 7); Ἀσ(τύ)ρονος (ib. 302, 1). The word is not rare in defixiones, as καταδ(η)νύ[ω] Διοκλῆ (ῶ)ς τὸ(ν) ἐμὸν ἀντιδίκον (Wünsch, D. T. A., 94, 2-3); παραλάβε[τε το]ὺς ἀντιδίκους (Aud. 18, 7); see also Strýd, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, pp. 55 ff., IV; Oliverio, Studi Ital. di Fil. Class., XVIII (1900), pp. 445 ff.; Aud., 302\*; and certain Latin equivalents in Aud., 93; 95; 96; 98; 101; 111-112; 133; 221; 226.

17. [πόδας]: Or perhaps χεῖρας (cf. 4).

17-19. συν[δίκους] . . . . . τοὺς: Perhaps συνδίκος (after Ἀριστοβούλο), as καὶ τὸς συνδίκος αὐτοῦ (Wünsch, Münchner Tab. Def., V, 5, in Arch. f. Rel., XIV, 1911, pp. 150-151). σύνδικοι are often mentioned in legal defixiones; e. g., καὶ τοὺς τούτων συνδίκον(υ)ς πάντας (id. D. T. A., 39, 20-22): καὶ σύνδικοι καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος [φίλος] α[ὐ]τοῖς (103 a 8-9). Or expressions of like content are used, as συμπρόντας (79, 11); συνηγόρους (95 b 23-24); καὶ τοῖς . . . . . βοη(θ)οῖς πάντας (94, 5-6); συμπράττοντα (37, 10); aduocatus (Wünsch,



Die Lamminae litteratae des Trierer Amphitheaters, 12, in Bonn. Jhbr., 1910, Hest 119, pp. 1 ff.). Cf. note on ἀντιδίκου(ν) supra.

19. πάντας τοὺς: A corrective afterthought to be read before συν[δίκου]ς.

20-22. [πόδας . . . . χεῖρας σῶμα]: These conjectures made on the basis of completer portions of the text satisfactorily fit the lacunae.

29. τοῦ[ς]: Here the text ceases abruptly; probably τοὺς συνδίκους was in the writer's mind.

In this tablet appear all the letters of the post-Euclidean alphabet except Z, H, Θ, Φ and Ψ. c occurs fourteen times, while ζ occurs but once (17). The form of Pi is that in which the cross-bar projects beyond the uprights. The joint appearance of c and Π on marble would ordinarily lead one to assign the document containing them to the second century (see Roberts and Gardner, *Introd. to Gr. Epigr.*, II, p. xvi; Wünsch, *D. T. A.*, praef. i). But this dating, while possible here, is scarcely probable in view of the occurrence of o for ου (see n. 2). The same difficulty is found in Wünsch, *D. T. A.*, 102 (where Γ is counted four times, but Π and Π three times each), and so sensitive to it is the editor that he calls the tablet "titulus ἀρχαῖζων", and with that dismisses the matter of date. But Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 112-113,) demonstrates that there is no real conflict between the palaeography on the one hand and the orthography on the other and locates the document in the fourth century. This argument I accept and in so doing locate our tablet in the latter part of the same period. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Π is the regular form in a papyrus written in the period 310-290 B. C. (see Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.*, 1911, pl. 3 and p. viii). Finally, one must constantly bear in mind in dating defixiones that owing to their nature their composition is likely to be marked by an incongruous mixture of archaisms and innovations.

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VI.—JULIUS OR “JULIUS”: A NOTE ON VERG.  
AEN. I. 286 SEQ.

Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,	286
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,	
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.	
Hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,	
Accipies securâ; vocabitur hic quoque votis.	
Aspera tum positâs mitescent saecula bellis;	291
Canâ Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus,	
Iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis	
Claudentur Belli portae; etc.	

Commentators in the early editions of the Aeneid assumed, for the plain reason that this passage names Julius, that it refers to the Julius Caesar whom we regularly know by that name, as the ancients did. Ever since the edition of Heyne, however, editors have generally explained the reference as wholly to Augustus, and this is the view of school-room orthodoxy at the present time. Nevertheless it seems on some accounts — in a political year — as if the recall might suitably be applied to this bit of commentary. In spite of the temerity of venturing to question a long-accepted and authoritative interpretation of so familiar a text, and in spite of the professional charm of the less obvious of possible explanations, it still seems as if the grounds of the received interpretation might usefully be subjected to doubt, as possibly they have not been by all the editors who have repeated the now traditional comment that the passage refers throughout — with an altogether exceptional use of the name Iulius<sup>1</sup> — to C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus.

There is of course no doubt that the lines 291 seq. belong to Augustus. As to the earlier ones, Heyne gives three reasons for concluding that Augustus is meant throughout the passage, rather than Divus Iulius:

“Nec terrarum imperium (v. 287) facile Caesari tribuitur, neque is spoliis Orientis onustus, neque ab eo pax restituta (v. 294). Contra Augusto illa ubique obvia”.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen (Staatsr. II<sup>3</sup>., p. 768) notes the fact that even from about the beginning of the fourth decade B. C. — during the Triumvirate — Octavianus discontinued the use of the names *C. Iulius* in favor of *Imp. Caesar*.



Of these, it is not easy to see why the universal imperium could not be ascribed to Julius Caesar, if not in the strictly legal sense, at least in a practical and complimentary sense, as a summing up of the world-wide conquests which were wonderingly enumerated not only by the great Julius's own contemporaries, but also by a writer like Ovid when the career of Augustus himself was far advanced; indeed, considering the completeness with which Augustus originally owed his place and power to his great adoptive father, to the fact that it was Julius who had created the public occasion for connecting the Julian gens with the name of Iulus at all, it would have been very strange if Julius had not been mentioned in this connection in just about this way. As James Henry in his *Aeneidea*<sup>1</sup> aptly remarked: "In a poem written for the glorification of Augustus . . . all mention of Augustus's uncle and immediate predecessor, the deified founder of the Julian race and dynasty, could no more have been omitted than could in these days be omitted in a poem in honor of the third Napoleon all mention of the third Napoleon's uncle and predecessor." In particular, the third of the three great victories by which Julius Caesar assured his final supremacy over his rivals in the empire was won at Munda in Spain; so there is an especial neatness in the *Imperium Oceano . . . terminet*, as applied to him.

The third of Heyne's three objections to the natural application of these verses, that the restoration of peace was by Augustus, not Julius, is no difficulty at all, but the contrary, as we shall see.

The second is more serious. *Spoliis Orientis onustum* fits the case of Julius somewhat less aptly than that of Augustus Caesar, certainly if one explains it, with Servius, as a reference to the brief campaign against Pharnaces, though even in that the famous epigrammatic brevity of the announcement of victory would give some point to the allusion. But there is perhaps another significance in the phrase. It does not refer to Caesar's return to Rome but to his reception in heaven. At about the time when Virgil was writing, presumably, this passage, Augustus was building the temple of the Divine Julius, and using for that purpose, it would appear, precisely some of the spoils which he had brought from the East upon his return in the year 29. He dedicated the temple in August of that year. We are specifically told of the beaks of the Egyptian war vessels which were mounted on the base of the temple,<sup>2</sup> and that Augustus consecrated *Dona*

<sup>1</sup> London, 1873, Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cas. L.I. 19; etc.



*ex manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris . . . quae mihi constiterunt HS circiter milliens*<sup>1</sup>; and Strabo<sup>2</sup> and Pliny<sup>3</sup> mention in particular as having been dedicated by Augustus in the temple of Divus Iulius the Venus Anadyomene of Apelles (from Cos), τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀναθέντος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ.

The various honors which were done by Augustus to the memory of Julius were of course prominent in people's minds; not only the temple of Divus Iulius but also that of Mars Ultor and the Basilica Iulia and the Curia Iulia, to say nothing of the elaborate obsequies and the popular interpretation of the famous comet<sup>4</sup> (Cf. *famam qui terminet astris*) had served to keep prominently in mind the thought of the Divine Julius, in whose divinity Augustus took so obvious an interest that it was the most natural thing in the world for the courtly poet to refer to this glorified restorer of the line of Iulus.

Certainly not without some interest in this connection, as illustrating at least the popular inclination to connect the name of Iulus with that of the great Dictator, is the story, however apocryphal it may be, related by Suetonius,<sup>5</sup> of the discovery at Capua of a bronze tablet on the tomb in which Capys the founder of Capua was said to have been buried. This discovery, he says, was a few months before Caesar's assassination, *cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad exstruendas villas vetustissima sepulchra disicerent, idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiabant*. The *tabula aenea*, he says, was *conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia*. "*Quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Iulo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur*." Suetonius cites Cornelius Balbus as authority for his account.

There is even a possible relevancy in the fact, considering that Virgil mentions Julius next after Romulus in this prophecy of the Julian line, that the right of asylum which the senate granted to the sanctuary of the Divine Julius is especially remarked by Dio to have been unexampled in the case of any god since the time of Romulus: ἀπηγόρευσαν δὲ μηδένα εἰς τὸ ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ καταφυγόντα ἐπ'

<sup>1</sup> *Res Gestae*, IV. 23 seq.; cf. Dio, LI. 22. <sup>2</sup> XIV. 2. 19. <sup>3</sup> *N. H.* XXXV. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* IX. 47; Suet. *Div. Iul.* 88; Dio. *Cas.* XLV. 7; etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Div. Iul.* 81.



ἀδεία μήτε ἀνδρηλατεῖσθαι, μήτε συλᾶσθαι· ὅπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενομένων, ἐδεδώκεσαν.<sup>1</sup>

But all of Virgil's passage, however, was of course intended to gratify the existing head of the Julian house. Early in this same year 29 B. C. Augustus had closed the doors of the temple of Janus, an enormously popular act which Heyne (as his third objection: *neque ab eo pax restituta*) with a rather inept superfluity says did not belong to Julius. For Heyne and the other commentators following his lead seem to overlook the evident meaning of *tum* in this place. It is not 'then, at the same time', but 'then, next afterward'. Julius, the Caesar whose name especially recalls that of the great Iulus and in whose deification as the founder or restorer of the Julian line Octavianus is so intimately concerned, shall be received in heaven glorified with the spoils of the East: he also shall be called upon in prayer. And then, afterward, he having gone to heaven and his apotheosis being a matter of official recognition and popular enthusiasm, and Augustus being now in power, the warlike age shall grow peaceful and the grim gates of war shall be closed. The meaning seems too obvious to justify a question.

The passage in the sixth book of the Aeneid beginning (vs. 791) *Hic vir, hic est*, offers no real inconsistency with this view. Ovid's famous account of the deification of Julius Caesar<sup>2</sup> is written in the very tone and manner that would be natural to Ovid writing a few years later in Augustus's principate with Virgil's present lines in mind with their natural interpretation. As in the Virgilian lines, Julius Caesar is made by Ovid the initial theme of his laudation, and presently (vs. 750 seq.) Ovid continues to the effect that none of Caesar's achievements is greater than his having been the father of Augustus<sup>3</sup>; and like Virgil he concludes the passage with a glorification of the latter. It would appear that commentators on the present passage of the Aeneid have been misled by an overemphasis upon one theory of the meaning of the words *spoliis Orientis onustum*, which even if it be correct is not necessarily conclusive, in spite of the admitted fact that the Augustan age was fond of expatiating upon Augustus's eastern conquests, and have neglected the natural conclusion that the two parts of the passage do not refer to the same person.

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<sup>1</sup> Dio. XLVII. 19. Met. XV. 745-870. <sup>2</sup> Note especially vss. 760, 761.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

- E. G. SIHLER.** *Annals of Caesar; A Critical Biography with a Survey of the Sources.* New York, Stechert and Co., 1911.  
*C. Julius Caesar; sein Leben nach den Quellen kritisch dargestellt.* Deutsche, vom Verfasser selbst besorgte, berichtigte und verbesserte Ausgabe. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1912.

The author of this work enjoys the distinction of having been the first to receive a doctorate in classical philology from Johns Hopkins University (1878). In a long career as an educator and writer, beginning with that date, he has lent an able hand to the work, in which a few Americans have coöperated, of placing the classical scholarship of the country on a sound basis and of making it respected by the rest of the world. Although competent to edit texts and compile vocabularies, Professor Sihler has preferably devoted his time to research in the history and civilization of Greece and Rome. The trend of his interest is indicated by a partial list of studies given in his Preface, p. viii. These publications, with others not there named, have won for him a reputation by no means limited to America. It is right, therefore, that the present volume, a product of his mature thought, be given respectful consideration; and it is no small compliment to American scholarship, as well as to the author personally, that B. G. Teubner has printed a German edition of the work. In this revision, prepared by the author himself, will be found a few corrections of errors and one or two other changes of slight importance.

In the sifting and presentation of his material Sihler has aimed to determine what actually happened, and where that is impossible, to give the reader a careful estimate of the probability in the case. Undoubtedly this is a sound principle of historiography. He desires, further, to leave the interpretation of the facts to the reader, repressing his own emotions, if he has any, and holding his personality in the background. But the result of such an endeavor, if successful, would be, not history in the best sense of the word, but rather a collection of data which might be used in historical composition. Without sympathy it is impossible to understand human character, whether present or past. The ideal historian, therefore, not holding himself aloof, much less taking a partisan attitude, enters into psychological relations with all his characters, so far as his material permits, and after the pattern of



the dramatist, presents in the tragedy of history a conflict of personalities and principles. It is fortunate that Sihler has not followed his own rule, for his interpretative suggestions constitute perhaps the most valuable feature of the book.

The crying evil in the historiography of the later Roman Republic has been the violent swinging of the pendulum of judgment between Caesar and Cicero. Generally the biographer or historian has not considered it a part of his function to do justice to both of these eminent men. A doubt may be ventured as to whether any modern authority on the period has been able to take so impartial an attitude as the author of this book. He is neither for nor against Caesar; but step by step he interprets the material with a fair mind, and in uncertain matters judicially gives the accused the benefit of the doubt. Early in the narrative he pays a pleasant tribute to Caesar's character (p. 58; German edition, p. 49): "A certain trait of Caesar stands out in the tradition of antiquity: he was charming and rarely winsome in his own circle. His friends worshipped him when he had become eminent, not, however, for his achieved eminence; for this never wins the hearts of men. No, in him there was a blending of traits and qualities which held the loyalty and deeper affection of his inner circle (Hirtius, Balbus, Matus, Oppius, Pollio) in a rare and unique manner".

In general his opinion of Caesar is more favorable than otherwise, not because he has predetermined it so, but because the facts seem to point in that direction. In treating of the alleged conspiracy of 65 B. C. and of Caesar's part in it, Sihler cautiously limits himself to stating that the young politician was in a receptive frame of mind. From the few known facts we may only infer that it was an unusually bold political intrigue, afterward fearfully colored by the red light reflected upon it by the Catilinarian conspiracy. Of complicity in the latter plot Sihler substantially acquits Caesar by setting down to revenge the insinuations against him offered by Catulus and Piso. The probability seems to be that Caesar and Crassus used Catiline as long as the latter limited himself to political agitation, but broke with the incendiary and assassin. The reader could wish that a few lines had here been given to explaining the constitutional question involved in the senatorial debate over the accomplices of Catiline. The interest of the work, however, centres mainly in individuals and in party politics. So, too, the agrarian law of Caesar's consulship is treated solely as a political and personal measure with no reference to its economic or social bearings. In this connection the author has made a slight misuse of the word *plebiscitum*, the distinctive feature of which is *tribunis ferentibus* (Gell. xv. 27. 4). The measures which Caesar as consul carried through the tribal assembly, accordingly, were not *plebiscita* but *leges*. This, however, is a technical detail.

A great part of the volume is devoted to the Gallic and Civil



wars—a mixed web of military and political threads. Any considerable contribution to existing knowledge of Caesar's generalship must be based on a careful examination of the battle-fields; but this work, too, lies outside the author's plan. It is relatively difficult for an American to study personally the topography of campaigns which extended over various provinces of the Roman empire. Here the practical thing would be for the author to lay aside his commendable attachment to the literary material, and make more use of good modern authorities,—not only Holmes, whom Sihler cites with approval, but also Stoffel ("Histoire de Jules César") and various other works. The critical exposition of Caesar's campaigns, leading to such an estimate of his generalship as may possess some degree of finality, is the task of the military expert. Recognizing not only this fact but also the general trend of interest toward the non-military aspects of history, the modern biographer of Caesar might be expected to abbreviate his account of the wars in order to make space for other matter. Doubtless many a reader would be grateful for information concerning the civilization of Gaul before the coming of Caesar, and concerning the effect of the conquest on the subjugated people and on the Roman empire. Similarly it might be assumed that the chief interest in Caesar's consulship and dictatorship would lie in the constructive work of the statesman. Here the leading inquiry would be, what were the needs of the empire, and how did Caesar try to meet them. Such a study of the man and his times would have its advantages and attractions.

It is not the function of the reviewer, however, to censure an author for what he has not attempted—particularly for not having written two volumes instead of one. His duty is rather to aim at an appreciation of actual achievement. Evidently the choice of material was determined largely by the desire to be helpful to readers of Caesar's writings; and to that purpose the subject matter of the book is most appropriate. The same object explains the annalistic grouping of events. This form of historiography, preferred by the ancients, has been abandoned by most modern writers because it does not adapt itself to the treatment of what is now considered the substance of history—to the presentation of the great movements in the life of a people. To the reader of Caesar's Commentaries, however, who is taking his first lessons in the interpretation of historical sources, the arrangement is admirably suited. The learner is here given the pertinent material in chronological order, and is expected, with the help of the author's suggestions, to exercise his mind in historical synthesis.

Among the salient features of the work must be reckoned the scattered comments on the ancient authorities and the more extended estimates at the close. Here, again, the author holds himself severely to his definite purpose, giving in condensed form



the information necessary for finding one's way through the literary material charged with conflicting views and improbabilities. He maintains that Sallust, in spite of private failings, was a true historian, sane in judgment and impartial in his treatment of character. Most of the opinion adverse to Caesar in the later historians is due, he supposes, to Livy, who in his lifelong narration of the vicissitudes of Rome reached the Civil War at about the age of sixty—too late in life to appreciate anti-republican conditions. For Suetonius Sihler expresses great sympathy. "He is no philosopher, no statesman nor judge of statesmen, not even a political writer, but, be it spoken with all due humility, he is at least a scholar". Acquainted with the writings of Caesar's admirers, he was swayed by those of the opposite faction, some of whom "were not content to gather evil reports and evil facts, but seem to have done their utmost to give an unfavorable interpretation to all acts that were open to more than one interpretation". Suetonius was evidently conscientious but lacked critical sense. On p. 61 attention is called to his discrimination in the choice of authorities for a certain event; yet this critical attitude is more apparent than real, for the authorities cited were evidently far less trustworthy than Livy and Sallust. On Tanusius, one of these authors, see Seneca, Ep. 93. 11. Within the field of rumor and gossip modern scholars are accustomed to accept and reject according to their several predilections. In discriminating between truth and fiction Dr. Sihler has shown admirable judgment. While much must be left to instinct and experience, a rule of criticism may be found useful for the first rough analysis: in the case of an author like Suetonius the student of history may begin his examination by rejecting, at least provisionally, everything that could not have been known to the public at the time of its alleged happening or that is not vouched for by trustworthy documents. This process of sifting will leave a substratum of facts on which the investigator may proceed according to his judgment to build his historical edifice. This suggestion is offered by the reviewer. Incidentally Sihler touches upon the futility of the German effort to restore lost sources. Long ago Holm vainly advised his countrymen to cease this fruitless toil and to devote themselves instead to a more thorough study of existing sources. Should they now feel constrained to give better heed to Sihler's wise words (German edition, p. 266: "Es liegt auf der Hand, dass man bei solchen Forschungen nicht viel über den Bereich des Möglichen, zuweilen in das Gebiet des Wahrscheinlichen oder des Plausibeln gelangt"), it would greatly narrow the choice of subjects for doctorate dissertations. Perhaps for that reason they will continue forever to hoe their barren field.

For Dio Cassius Sihler cherishes uncommon respect. Dio's long experience in the command of armies and in civil administration certainly contributed to his fitness for the historian's rôle.



But our author finds in his psychology the chief merit of his work. "When Dio deals with motives and designs, his favorite themes, we may rest assured that we are studying not a mere chronicler, but a political thinker, above all a keen psychologist and one who is not at all given to the idealization of human character . . . . As we become more acquainted with his character and personality, we feel that we have to do with a psychological critic of rather keen vision". This quality of Dio, so highly commended by Sihler, was as severely condemned by George Long ("Decline of the Roman Republic", iii. 131 f.). The latter contends that while making a display of his acuteness by pretending to penetrate men's souls and discover their motives, Dio really reveals his own superficiality in assuming that a man in the position of Cicero or Caesar could consistently follow a prearranged system of conduct. Long complains further of Dio's uniformly pessimistic interpretation of motives. It is possible that in the study of this author Dr. Sihler has made an advance beyond Long, and in that case the public will be glad to learn from him the facts on which his new opinion is based.

It remains to glance at the author's estimate of Mommsen, omitted from the German edition. The influence of contemporary German politics and of Hegelianism on Mommsen is vividly set forth in an appendix, and should be taken into account by readers of his "History of Rome". Many, however, will doubtless think Sihler's strictures excessively severe and even bitter. In fact it would be a mistake to regard his criticism as a final estimate of the entire work in question, much of which lies beyond the reach of baneful political prejudice. Although the earlier chapters have been outgrown by the progress of archaeology and kindred studies, and the treatment of the decline by the development of a fairer historical spirit,—of which Sihler is an exponent,—Mommsen's history as a whole stands incomparably superior to every other work of equal detail covering the same broad field. It is unfortunate, too, that among the scholars who are at present engaged in the study of the Republic and its antecedents, no one seems to combine the qualities of the historian in a sufficiently high degree to write a work that shall supersede Mommsen. The estimate, however, is amply justified as a protest, not only against certain pernicious tendencies of the work under consideration, but also against bowing down to intellectual idols, whether Caesar or Mommsen. "It is not wise, if one desires true vision, to approach a figure, no matter how great, on all fours". This utterance illustrates Sihler's powerful way of putting things. Mommsen and other eminent scholars have made themselves great by intellectual independence; and we can do them honor, not so well by grovelling in the dust before them, as by imitating their example.

A few slips of the pen and errors of typography might be pointed out, or suggestions made for the enlargement of the work



in various directions ; but after all has been said, the book remains, within its self-imposed limitations, a remarkable production, strong, stimulating, and fair. Within the field of classical biography there is, at least in English, no work that gives equal insight into the material and methods of the writer. From this point of view it has a unique educational value.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

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The Greek Bucolic Poets, with an English Translation by J. M. EDMONDS, Sometime Scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co. MCMXII. xxviii + 527 pp. Price, \$1.50.

This new edition of the Greek Bucolic Poets is interesting both because of its English translation—by which it has won a place in the Loeb Classical Library—and because of its treatment of the Greek text.

The text is very carefully edited, and Mr. Edmonds has not only adopted many of the emendations and conjectures of other scholars, but added a goodly number of his own. In Theocr. V 24 he prefers *ἐπισθε* to *ἐπειθε*, and explains *ἀμνόν* as “accus. of stake”. Such a construction with *ἐρίζειν* must be very rare—and his footnotes offer no parallel. And even if the construction is admitted here, it is surely unnecessary to write *τάδ' ἐρίσσεται* in the following line.

The translation is partly in prose and partly in verse. The songs of Theocritus' shepherds have all been rendered in verse, for the rather subtle reason that a “convention nowadays makes prose the suitable literary vehicle of dialogue or narrative, but there is no firmly-established convention of using prose to represent song”. And they are rendered in rhyme, on the ground that “a literary folk-song, if one may use the term, would be impossible in blank verse”. But Tennyson could write songs in blank verse in his English Idyls; and the term ‘literary folk-song’ would apply quite as well to the songs in Audley Court and The Golden Year as to the songs of Theocritus' Thalysia.

The metre employed is usually “the common ballad metre written long”—surely a most unsuitable metre in which to render the songs of the First and Fifteenth Idyls. For it needs some new definition of the term to call the Song of Thyrsis a ‘ballad’ (p. 6).

The translation affects a more or less archaic style, and sometimes indulges in rare or dialectic words—even in places where there is nothing especially archaic or dialectic about the original



Greek. The reader must be prepared for such expressions as 'Etna's pike', 'stirk', 'mullet' (= a kind of plant), 'even-peise', 'skilly', 'knaggy', 'meinie', 'lith', 'transmewed'. 'Cosset' may serve for *ἄρνα σακίταν*—especially when the translator explains the meaning of the English word—but there is no excuse for 'cosset bear's cubs' (*σκύμνως ἄρκτων*)—except the exigencies of metre. In Theocr. V 23 one speaker says, "There; my wage is laid", and another replies, "Thou fox! prithee how shall such laying fadge?" In XIV 34 'Aeschinas' says, "Then—you know me, Thyonichus,—I up and fetched her a clout o' the ear, and again a clout. Whereat she caught up her skirts, and was gone in a twink". And in II 100 poor 'Simaetha' is made to say, "And when so be thou be'st sure he's alone, give him a gentle nod o' the head and say", etc. "But and even as", p. 215, l. 13, may be dialect of some sort—or it may be a misprint. In Mosch. II 44, *χρυσοῖο* is left untranslated; at Bion, I 32, 'vales' is an unnecessarily free rendering of *δρύες*; at Theocr. I 134 'figs' is a bit of carelessness for 'pears'.

Mr. Edmonds is duly impressed by the latest rearrangement of the poems, but fortunately he has had the courage to retain 'the long established post-Renaissance order'. On p. xxii he repeats the traditional statement that Suidas called Moschus a pupil of Aristarchus—why do so many people translate this particular *γνώριμος* as 'pupil'? Of Theocritus he says, "It is at any rate certain that he did not die young; for Statius calls him *Siculus senex* (Silv. 5, 3, 151)". But, even granted that 'senex' is here applied precisely to an old man, and not merely to a man who lived in days of old, it is by no means clear that Statius is referring to Theocritus at all. The best modern editors of the *Silvae* think that he means Epicharmus, and at least one good scholar has maintained that he means Theognis.

Misprints seem to be fairly numerous—though there is nothing here to compare with Mr. Sargeant's delightful 'bibliography' in the same Library's Terence. In some cases the accent of a Greek word has been omitted or lost: *Ης*, Theocr. VII 1; *Ἐν ποκ'*, XVIII 1; *ται*, XVIII 4; *γεραιτερος*, XXV 48; *αὐτοφλοιον*, XXV 208; *δε*, XXVII 42; *ἀνιστατο*, XXVII 68; *παλιγκοτον*, Megara, 92. *Πόχ'*, Theocr. XI 62, and *πόκ'*, XXI 29, have unnecessary accents, and *σήραγγά*, XXV 223, has one more than it needs. *Κοῦδε* stands for *κοῦδέ*, Theocr. II 83; *έόντα* for *έόντα*, XVII 58; *ἄφαρ'* for *ἄφαρ*, XXV 146; *βόσκε* for *βόσκει*, XXV 185. The two parts of *τῶνδε*, XXVI 28, should be brought together, and so should the two parts of 'stanza', p. 25, l. 1. The final vowel of *Τυνδαρίδα*, Theocr. XVIII 5, should not be marked as short. P. 257, l. 4, has 'throng' for 'thong', p. 143, l. 17, 'bear's' for 'bears', p. 461, l. 12, 'rivers' for 'river'.

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Q. Orazio Flacco studiato in Italia dal Secolo XIII al XVIII.  
GAETANO CURCIO, Professore di Letteratura Latina nell'  
Università di Catania. Catania, F. Battiato, 1913. viii +  
238 pp. 5 L.

This is a very interesting book on the study of Horace in Italy, from the thirteenth century to the close of the eighteenth. It discusses the treatment and interpretation of Horace by editors and professional scholars—from the earliest printed edition down to the Bodoniana, from the commentaries of Landino and Mancinelli down to those of Petrini and Paolino. And it sets forth the influence of the Odes, Satires and Epistles on Italian literature—on Petrarch and Filelfo and Poliziano, on Pietro Bembo and Navagero and Antonio Flaminio, on Chiabrera and Testi, on Parini and Fantoni and Gozzi. It is an excellent piece of work, and every reader will wish the author to go on with the subject, and carry it through the nineteenth century.

On p. 44, among the early evidences of familiarity with Horace, mention might have been made of a very curious letter written by Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius II), November 13, 1444. It was written "ex oppido prugk" (Bruck-in-Steiermark), and addressed to 'Joannes Lauterbacensis'. The greater part of it is merely a paraphrase of the Second Epode, and it is certainly curious, whether or not the recipient was expected to recognize its source. I suppose it is now accessible in Rudolf Wolkan's new book, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, Vienna, 1909, but here is the part in question quoted, with a few corrections and changes of punctuation, from the Louvain edition of 1483, fol. c. 2:

Nunc illud te uolo scire, beatum mihi uideri qui uitam ab negotiis procul publicis sibi delegit, sicut prisca gens mortalium consuevit. Quis enim non felicem illum dicat, qui nullo fauore aut ere alieno obligatus paterna rura suis bobus exercet? Audi quam beatus sit. Nempe non truci excitatur classico, quo bellum petere ac pugnam iubeatur inire. Non horret iratum mare, forum uitat & litigantium iurgia, non uisitat superba diuitum atria, non fastigiosis curialibus est supplex; sed aut altas populos adultis uitium propaginibus maritat aut in secreta reductaque ualle errantes boues & armenta pascentia prospectat. Interdum ramos inutiles falce resecat ac feliciores inserit. Interdum mella que pressit puris recondit amphoris aut oues tondet lanasque recipit. At cum Autumnus decorum caput mitibus pomis per agros extulit, magno afficitur gaudio pira ex arboribus decerpens quas sua manu inseruit. Interdum purpureas uuas colligit et aut suspendit in usum hiemis aut mustum exprimit. Libet illi iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, modo in tenaci gramine. Labuntur aque ex altis rupibus, queruntur aues in siluis, obstrepscunt fontes manantibus limphis somnosque leues inuitant. Vt uero hybernus aduenit annus et ymbres niuesque dominantur, aut apros multa cane in obstantes detrudit plagas aut rara retia leui hamite seu furca contra edaces turdos suspendit aut pavidum leporem & aduenam gruem laqueo captat. Quod si publica (!) mulier illi fuerit—quales olim fuerunt Sabine siue de quibus sacra scriptura meminit, Sara, Rebecca, uel Rachael—que solibus perusta



domum seruet & dulces nutriat liberos, multo beatior fiet, cum illa in aduentum lassi uiri uetustis lignis sacrum extruet focum claudensque textis cratibus letum pecus distenta siccabit ubera & dulcia uina dolio promens dapes inemptas apparabit. Quis hanc non laudet & desideret uitam? Non me amplius Lucrina conchilia aut rombi uel scari nec ex quouis mari uel flumine quesiti pisces iuuerunt quam leta de pinguissimis ramis arborum oliua decerpta aut agna quam solis Pascalibus festis rustici mactant uel edus preceptus ab ore lupi. Nam quantum iuuat inter rusticales epulas, mitia poma & castaneas molles ac paruas & caseum, pastas oues uidere cum domum properant, intuerique fessos boues inuersum uomerem collo trahentes languido. Multa sunt ruris gaudia que nunc singula persequi non est epistolarum angustie. Ideo uale & hec ex multis pauca notans amorem ruris aliquando indue. Iterum uale mei ut soles memor. Ex oppido prugk die. xiii. Novembris Anno. M. CCCC. xliiii.

Baptista Mantuanus, too, could quote from both the Odes and the *Ars Poetica* in his *De Vita Beata* (printed in 1474).

On p. 44, l. 5, a line which Antonio Pessina (c. 1430) quoted 'from Horace' is somehow ascribed to Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 475; it really comes from *Ecl.* ii. 62. The line about Horace discussed p. 127 n. does come from Marullus; it occurs in an epigram *De Poetis Latinis* in the first book (in both the Rome edition, c. 1490, and the Florence edition, 1497). The *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, Florence, 1719-1724, ran in ten volumes, not nine (p. 93). Perotti's *Cornucopiae* was printed earlier than 1513 (p. 73); Mr. Henry Walters, of Baltimore, has two copies of it, both printed at Venice (by different printers) in 1490). And one of them is entitled: '*Cornu Copiae Emendatissimum: in quo Opere Multa Accuratissime Addita multaque emendata sunt*'.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

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A Parsing Synopsis of the 788 forms of the verb in St. Luke's Gospel from Leicarragas New Testament of the year 1571.  
By E. S. DODGSON. (London: Henry Frowde. 1912.)

The writer of this work, Mr. E. S. Dodgson, assuming, as he does throughout, the Monogenistic Theory of the origin of mankind, and believing that no language can have grown to maturity without having been influenced by other tungs, has applied these conclusions to his researches into the origin and development of Baskish. He is disposed to believe in the possibility that such remote languages as Japanese, Ainu, and Nahuatl in the modern world, and in the old world Etruscan, with its curiously *Iberian*-looking characters, may contain elements similar to Baskish. May not such resemblances, as exist, be not mere coincidences, but testimonies to a primeval union of the races? Words have no existence apart from the will and caprice of their



utterers, and regularity in their transmission would seem to be rather the exception than the rule, and, since they are transmitted orally, the importance of sound and intonation is greater than that of spelling.

Moreover the antiquity of man is greater than that of their languages, and we can only guess what the primitive universal tongue may have been like; but fragments of it may be found scattered through our modern tongues like veins of hidden gold.

The authors object in writing this synopsis is to enable the reader, who knows French and English, and has before him a copy of the Baskish New Testament of 1571, the German reprint of 1900, or Mr. Dodgsons edition of 1908, published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, of London, to read, as easily as a Bask of the time of Leizarraga might have done, the text of that beautiful translation.

The verbal forms, the backbone of the language, are arranged in alphabetical order. Each one is parsed in French, and translated into English, and each one is exemplified by quotations in full, showing how it influences the phrases where it occurs, and accompanied by the equivalent rendering in Calvins French translation of 1566, which Leizarraga and his four colleagues evidently collated very rigorously with the original Greek text.

The book, therefore, is a summary and an index, tabulating all that is necessary for a beginner to know as he approaches the study of this phenomenally interesting and remarkable translation. Though not a 'pons asinorum', the 'parsing synopsis' is so arranged as to help the reader to the most difficult summits of the language with the minimum of toil. To have the way made so easy is enough to tempt anyone to learn Baskish. Those moreover who have spoken Baskish all their lives might well read this book and find it most useful for reference; and, if regretting the modern decadence of their language, they turn their eyes to that happier period when Leizarraga was endeavoring, not without success, to revivify it; they will welcome the discoveries of a copy of Leizarragas work in the Ryland Library, and of Dr. G. Jerment (1804) as being the first British author to mention it, and of the fact that there was more than one edition of some parts of it in 1571. Some of Mr. Dodgsons notes are very interesting reading, but, in view of their setting, an index to them is hardly necessary. To give an example of them, it may be mentioned that on page 34 he overthrows the superstition that Hilargia (= the moon) means "the dead light". That would certainly be "Argi-hila"; and besides there is no proof that before the Basks accepted Christianity they believed the moon to be the "light of the dead". It is much safer, in Mr. Dodgsons opinion, to assume that, like many American tribes, they thought that the moon died monthly. The Maya word *paxaan*, meaning *broken, destroyed, finished*, is used in the astrological manuscripts with a very similar signification.



The "dead one" therefore would mean "the finished" (el finado), i. e., the completed month. Certainly 'hila' = the "dead one", also means "the month", and 'hila bethea' (lit: 'the full month') is constantly used in modern Baskish for "the month". The Basks then consider the moon as 'the month-light', though in the southern dialects it has an other name meaning 'the night-light'.

On page 4 there is a note on the word 'arrotz', which Mr. Dodgson considers to be connected with Greek *ἄλλος*, as used for example in *Odyssey* XXIII, 274, and translated by Liddell and Scott as "foreigner, stranger". Thinking also of such words as *ἄλλότριος*, *ἄλλογενής*, *ἄλλοδαπός*, *ἄλλοεθνής*, *ἄλλόφυλος*, Mr. Dodgson suggested that Baskish arrotz, used as the equivalent of 'foreign' in *Luke* XXIV, 18, might be regarded as derived from Greek, not necessarily in the Pelasgian epoch, but transmitted through the numerous and important Greek colonies in Spain, whose inscriptions exist to this day.

We must remember that 'forane' and 'alien' in English were both 'forain' words, derived from Medieval French, and yet have driven out such Old-English equivalents as *utacunda*, *utanbordes*, *utan-cumen*, *utcuma* and *utlic*. There is no other word for it in Baskish except 'er-beste-ko', and this seems to be of more modern formation, answering to the English 'outlandish'. There are, as Mr. Dodgson wittily says, many other such oddities in Baskish, which has lost even its native word for the colour 'green'. And as for the termination '-tz', other instances exist, derived from Latin and Greek words ending in *s*, e. g., *bihotz* (= heart) from *βίος*, *corputz* from *corpus*, *laphitz* from *lapis*, etc.

In conclusion we may say that no student of Baskish should fail to make use of this book and the previous volumes of the *Parsing or Analytical Synopsis*. Mr. Dodgson hopes to complete it, so as to cover the whole New Testament. He possesses the rest in manuscript; and it is much to be wished that he may find among the philological or other learned societies of Europe or America some help towards the publication of so valuable a work. No one who has honestly read Mr. Dodgson's very attractive book, or seen him at work upon it, can doubt of its eminent utility. We hope that the librarians of America will give it a hearty welcome.

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## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXVII (1912).

Pp. 1-10. De Graeco epigrammate sepulcrali Bonnensi. P. E. Sonnenburg. A study of IG XIV n. 2566, p. 676. The first line of the inscription should read: Θεσσαλονείκη μοι πατρὶς ἐπλετο, οὐνομα Δημώ. Perhaps the third line should be filled out by the words, καὶ ἄκυρον ἦν λάχος ἁμόν. The dog carved on the stone is not a symbol of Demo's fidelity, but the guardian of her tomb.

Pp. 11-19. Hiatusscheu bei Dionys von Halikarnass und Textkritik. H. Kallenberg. In an earlier article (Rh. Mus. 1907, p. 28) the writer has shown that Dionysius, in spite of his fondness for the interjection &, regularly omits it before a proper name which begins with a vowel, in order to avoid the hiatus. In this earlier study he took no account of the Roman names which begin with οὐ (= Lat. v), assuming that this was consonantal. But inasmuch as editors are apt to regard it as vocalic and to mark an elision before it, he now returns to the subject and deals with this special question. Dionysius cannot have regarded the οὐ as vocalic, for he freely uses both the interjection & and the article δ (nom., gen., dat.) before such Roman names. Neither did he regard it as a diphthong, for he often allows it to follow a vowel ending which is not capable of elision. Elision before such names is very seldom marked in the MSS. of his works, and it should not be marked in our texts. A similar law may be laid down for the editors of Polybius, Diodorus and Plutarch.

Pp. 20-47. Der Abaris des Heraklides Ponticus. P. Corssen. A contribution to the history of the Pythagoras legend.

Pp. 48-66. Zum polybianischen Feldlager. Th. Steinwender. A study of the distribution of horse and foot in the early Roman camp. It is illustrated by a plan, p. 62.

Pp. 67-93. Der Codex Bosii der Dicta Catonis. M. Boas. Scaliger's statement that 'in libro vetustissimo Simeonis Bosii' the distichs were ascribed to *Dionysius* Cato was based only on a misunderstanding of a passage in Vinet's edition of Ausonius. The most important readings in Scaliger's edition were taken from the edition of Pierre Pithou, which was itself based mainly on Par. 8093 βγ.

Pp. 94-106. Korinthische Posse. Charlotte Fränkel. A study of a krater in the Louvre (published by Dümmler, *Annali*, 1885,



Tab. DE). One side shows two men stealing a jar of wine, the other shows the manner of their punishment. The name *Ὀμβρικος* (= *Ὀμβρικός*) suggests that one of them is an Umbrian slave.

Pp. 107-111. Zu Demosthenes. J. M. Stahl. Textual notes: XIX 257 (read ὑπ<οπτ'> ἀκούσαντά τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον); XXII 51 (read τῶν τ' ἄλλων ἔνεκα <καὶ τοῦ δήμου>); XXIII 51 (read κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο = gerade in diesem Falle); XXIV 1 (read πρὸς ὑμᾶς <προ>εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀποτρέψομαι, and put a comma after προχειρότατον); XXIV 106 (read τοὺς ὄντας <κακουργοὺς> βελτίους ποιεῖ); XXV 37 (for εἰάν οὖν read ἰν' οὖν); XXXIV 23; XLI 23 (read καὶ μηδὲν σημεῖον ὑμῖν ἔσται ὅτι κτλ); XLI 25 (for ὁμως read ὁμοίως); XLV 48.

Pp. 112-134. Zu den philosophischen Schriften des Apuleius. W. A. Baehrens. Textual notes.

Miszellen.—P. 135. J. M. Stahl. Zum Hymnus auf den Hermes. At 187 for γέροντα κνώδαλον read γέροντα κώκαλον. Cp. Hesych., κώκαλον· παλαιόν, and Hom. Od. XIII 432, παλαιοῦ γέροντος.—Pp. 135-137. A. Brinkmann. Zu Xenophons Poroi. The part of Aristeides' Panathenaikos which is devoted to the praise of Attica is largely taken from Xenophon's Poroi.—Pp. 137-138. A. Laudien. Zur Ueberlieferung der Viten Plutarchs.—Pp. 139-141. L. Radermacher. Antiker Liebeszauber und Verwandtes. Note on Oxyrhynchus Papyri, II 219, especially on the words ἀλλ' ἐπιθεῖς λίθον ἑμαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν καθησυχίσομαι. Cp. the λίθος σωφρονιστήρ of the Heracles legend.—P. 142. G. Mercati and Eb. Nestle, Ὀξύρυγχος-Schrift.—P. 142. G. Krüger. Zu Bd. LXVI S. 632 ff. (Horat. Carm. 3, 17).—Pp. 142-146. E. Bickel. Iuvenaliana. Defence of the text, Sat. X 54.—Pp. 147-149. A. Werk. Bemerkungen eines Tierarztes zur Mulomedicina Chirionis.—Pp. 150-151. K. Schrader. Zu den klassischen Studien des Johannes von Salisbury. There are a few passages in the Policraticus which are derived from Florus, not directly but apparently through Jordanes.—Pp. 151-152. A. v. Domaszewski. Eine Inschrift des P. Suillius Rufus. A nameless inscription which may refer to P. Suillius (Tac. Ann. 4, 31). It was found at Antioch (B. C. H. XXVI 161 n. 2 = CIL. III n. 14165<sup>14</sup>).

Pp. 153-173. Varia. Franz Rühl. The writer infers from Pharsalia, VIII 208, that Lucan did not regard Horace's 'terrarum dominos', Od. I 1, 6, as in apposition with 'deos'. Textual notes: Capitolinus, Vita Pertinacis, 7. 9 (for 'senem quidem' read 'Severum quorum quidam'); Ib. 10. 9 (for 'nonnullarum' read 'novarum', or 'nonnullarum novarum'); Spartianus, Vita Severi, 17. 6; Pomponius Mela, III 47 (for 'plumbo' read 'plumbo albo'); Diodorus, XIII 3. 2; XVII 11, 5. Note on Herodotus' account of the Ionian revolt. Notes on Procopius, Bell. Vand. I 7; V 1.



Pp. 174-194. Straboniana. Beiträge zur Textkritik und Erklärung. H. Kallenberg.

Pp. 195-208. Vulgärlatein und Vulgärgriechisch. F. Pfister. An essay on the parallel development of vulgar Greek and vulgar Latin. The faulty use or omission of the article in N. T. Greek has its analogy in later Latin. 'Ολίος for ὀλίγος recalls such forms as *errens* for *erigens*, *maistri* for *magistri*. 'Από is used instead of a partitive genitive; so is *ab*, and more frequently *de*. Both *ἐν* and *in* are used after verbs of emotion. Both *ἐν* and *in* are used with the instrument. 'Από is used after a comparative; so is *ab*, and occasionally *de*. Both *εἰς* and *unus* are used with the meaning of the indefinite article. Ἐχειν and ποιεῖν govern a final infinitive; so do *habere* and *facere*. Both languages show a confusion of the relative and interrogative pronouns; in both languages the same verb or preposition may be used with different cases in the same sentence. Both languages show a 'nominativus pendens', a 'participium coniunctum' (instead of an ablative absolute), an accusative absolute, and a nominative absolute. Several of these phenomena have been wrongly classed as Hebraisms.

Pp. 209-225. Zu den neuen Carmina Latina Epigraphica. E. Löfstedt. Notes on some of the inscriptions in Engströms supplement to Bücheler's collection.

Pp. 226-239. Ein Einschiebsel in der Kranzrede des Demosthenes. J. M. Stahl. Sections 73-79 (as far as *τούτοις ἡναντιούμην*) are an interpolation—a forged text with forged documents.

Pp. 240-263. Die Schrift des Arztes Androkydes *Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων*. P. Corssen.

Pp. 264-275. Zu den philosophischen Schriften des Apuleius. W. A. Baehrens. Textual notes on the *Liber de Mundo*.

Pp. 276-301. Eine bisher unbekannte Aesopübersetzung aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Otto Tacke. Text of a translation of Aesop into Latin distichs written by Leonardo Dati, about 1428.

Miszellen.—Pp. 302-303. R. Schoene. *Ad Aeneam Tacticum*.—Pp. 304-305. W. Jaeger. Zu Aristoteles *Metaphysik* θ 9, 1051a 32 ff.—Pp. 306-309. Alfred Klotz. Vergils Vater. The Vita of the Scholia Bernensia was not taken directly from Donatus. Perhaps the word *figulum*, referring to the poet's father, is merely a corruption of *Virgilium*.—Pp. 309-312. E. Pilch. Zu Vergil's Arbeitsweise in den *Georgica*. The writer suggests that in *Geor. I* 50-59 Virgil has combined material which he drew from two different sources—Varro (50-55) and some unknown author (56-59). He finds evidence of a similar combination in the 'contradiction' between *Geor. I* 122, 'primusque per artem movit agros' (Iupiter), and *I* 147, 'prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram instituit'. That is, lines



121-124 plainly come from Hesiod (though Hesiod is not responsible for the statement that Jupiter invented agriculture, and, so, for the 'contradiction' to line 147), while line 147 is taken 'fast wörtlich' from Lucretius (V 14). As for Geor. I 185, he feels that, if Virgil had verified his references, or had known more than he did about farming, he would not have mentioned the 'curculio' as one of the plagues of the 'area'. In the second Georgic, lines 195-202 cannot be found in Varro, and 'therefore' must come from some other author. In the description of the young thoroughbred (Geor. III 75 ff.) lines 83-85—which apply to the full-grown charger rather than to the young colt—cannot be ascribed to Varro, and 'therefore' must be taken from some other (presumably poetical) source.—Pp. 312-316. W. A. Baehrens. *Zur Quaestio Eumeniana*.—Pp. 316-320. A. Elter. *Zu Ps.-Xenophons Staat der Athener*. Discussion of 1, 6 and 1, 10.—P. 320. J. M. Stahl. *Nachtrag zu S. 110 f.* The writer promptly withdraws his proposal to read  $\delta\tau\iota$  for  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$ , Dem. XLI 23.

Pp. 321-357. *Rhetoren-Corpora*. Hugo Rabe.

Pp. 358-390. *Zur Kritik einiger ciceronischer Reden (pro Caelio und de domo)*. Alfred Klotz.

Pp. 391-416. *Die εἰσφορά und ihre Reform unter dem Archon Nausinikos*. J. M. Stahl. Under the system established by Solon the property qualifications of the first three classes were in the proportion of 5 : 3 : 2, while their capital subject to taxation was as 5 :  $2\frac{1}{2}$  :  $\frac{5}{8}$  (or, 1 :  $\frac{1}{2}$  :  $\frac{1}{8}$ ). These ratios were not disturbed by the reform in B. C. 378-7. The only change made in that year, and that merely a formal one, was that the tax was, for convenience, reckoned upon only a fifth of the taxable capital.

Pp. 417-424. *Zum Abaris des Herakleides Ponticus*. A. Rehm.

Pp. 425-471. *Der leidende Hercules des Seneca*. E. Ackermann. A defence of the genuineness of the poem.

Pp. 472-477. *Orphica*. L. Radermacher. Notes on I. G. XIV 641, 1, 2, 3.

*Miszellen*.—Pp. 474-479. A. Körte. Ein Zeugnis für Menanders Heros. In Menander's Heros there is a slave, Davus. Perhaps the variant *Davusne* in Horace, A. P. 114 (*intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros*) means that some one knew Menander's play and thought Horace was referring to it.—Pp. 479-480. W. Bannier. Zu CIA II 707.—P. 480. Erich Krüger. Zu Vergils Arbeitsweise: ecl. X. 38 f. The sources of lines 38-39 are Asclepiades (A. P. V 210) and Theocritus (X 27-28).

Pp. 481-514. *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik des Aischylos*. E. Scheer. I. Die Adler Ag. 115 ff. Ch. 246 ff. In Ag. 145 for  $\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  perhaps read  $\tau\acute{o}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ . In Ag. 119 read  $\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$



ἐρικύματα φέρματα γέννας. II. Der Sturm Ag. 661–666. III. Parodos der Choeph. 61–74 Mordblut. IV. Der Zorn der Geister und die wilde Jagd Ch. 269–290.

Pp. 515–555. Zur Stilistik der älteren griechischen Urkunden. W. Bannier.

Pp. 556–568. Isidori Hispalensis 'Institutionum disciplinae'. A. E. Anspach.

Pp. 569–590. Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker. J. Mesk. The results of this study indicate that Paneg. X (II) and XI (III) are by the same author, and that there is a close connection between Paneg. V (VIII) and the speech of Eumenius, IX (IV).

Pp. 591–608. Politische Tendenzgeschichte im 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Otto Seeck. The Historia Augusta was all written in the reign of Honorius—the life of Clodius Albinus, toward the end of 409, the latest lives, perhaps in the second half of 410.

Pp. 609–630. Scriptio continua und Anderes. A. Brinkmann.

Pp. 631–637. Die Heimat der Phönissen des Euripides. P. Corssen. The writer examines, and rejects, Gilbert Murray's suggestion that the women of the chorus are Carthaginians.

Miszellen.—Pp. 638–639. J. M. Stahl. Nachtrag über die εἰσφοραί.—Pp. 639–640. M. Wallies. 'Οξύρυγχος-Schrift.—P. 640. K. Preisendanz. Anth. Pal. V 191. The διπλοῦν γράμμα is συ, σι. "Συ vertauscht ergibt vs. ὕς. So erscheint die entkleidete Hetäre, von der man ihrem Namen nach manches Schöne erwarten sollte!"

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PHILOLOGUS LXX (N. F. Bd. XXIV), 1911.

Second Part.

XII, pp. 321–352. A. Roemer, Aristarchea II. Continued from VII, pp. 161–212. Aristarchus and the πολύσημος λέξις in the light of our manuscript tradition. In spite of the confusion due to ignorance of the excerptors, it is clear that Aristarchus, in his ὑπομνήματα on the several books, in a given passage, emphasized by νῦν or ἐνταῦθα, the special meaning at that place of a word which had several meanings. On this theory, all passages which do not conform to this type, because they have been garbled by excerptors and scholiasts, should be restored to their original form.



XIII, pp. 353-396. J. Baunack, *Hesychiana*, I. Discussion of 50 words or word-groups presenting dialectic or other peculiarities or difficulties. Continued in XV, pp. 449-491.

XIV, pp. 397-437. C. Ganzenmüller, *Aus Ovids Werkstatt*. Continued from XI, pp. 274-311. Very full lists are given with some discussion of the verses in which Ovid repeats or copies himself. Though he copies, to an extraordinary degree, Greek and Roman writers, and often repeats himself, he has the art of repeating phrases with pleasing variations. These facts may be of practical value in the text-criticism of Ovid (cf. pp. 435-436) and in helping us discover the names of some of the persons to whom several of the epistles are addressed.

#### Miscellen.

8, pp. 438-442. K. Lincke. *Phokylides, Isokrates und der Dekalog*. The pseudo-Isokratic paraenesis to Demonikos is a collection of various exhortations to virtue reminiscent of Hesiod, Theognis, Phokylides and other poets. It is by some pupil of Isokrates who used the Nikokles as a model. As it is cited in the 3d cent. B. C. it points to an even earlier date for the didactic poem of Phokylides. The latter contains a genuine Pythagorean-Orphic nucleus. The opening words offer an independent religious code of morals, which bears comparison with Leviticus 19 and the decalogue. The poem is a monument of the influence of the Pythagorean ethics on the Mosaic writings.

9, pp. 442-445. E. Ströbel, *Zu Ciceros Reden in Pisonem und pro Flacco*. Additions to the critical apparatus in Clark's edition, vol. II (Oxford, 1909).

10, pp. 445-448. K. Meiser, *Zu Theophrasts Charakteren*. Emendations are proposed to: 1, 4; 4, 12; 5, 8; 6, 7; 7, 4; 8, 2; 14, 12; 16, 2; 20, 5; 23, 2; 28, 2; 28, 9; 29, 3.

11, p. 448. A. v. Domasgewski, *Ἰουλία νεωτέρα*. (1) The inscription from Anazarbus 94, v. 2, p. 38 of *Denkschriften d. Wien. Ak. B.* 44 (1896) is emended to: *εὐνοῦχος βασιλίδος Ἰουλίας νεωτέρας τ[ροφεύ]ς*. The lady is the daughter of Styrax and the Julia mentioned in Ditt. IGO n. 735, I and II. Perhaps King Philopator of Tac. Ann. I. 42 was her brother. (2) In Insc. p. 17. n. 59 (Heberdey and Wilhelm) read *ὑποδημ(ατο)υργός* some inferior official connected with the cult of the goddess.

XV, pp. 449-481. J. Baunack, *Hesychiana* II. Continuation of XIII, pp. 353-396. 50 additional notes.

XVI, pp. 492-498. S. Mekler, *Die Medea-Fragments des britischen Museums*. Text and critical notes. The best preserved passage, col. III 13 ff., apparently contains an attack by Medea on the family of the heralds in the style of the well-known Euripidean harangues, but Mr. Bell's revised readings offer no certain basis for supplying the lacunae.



XVII, pp. 499-502. A. Schöne, Zu Thukydides I, 36. The confusion in the text can be removed by transposing the words *μὴ δεξαμένου . . . ἐσόμενον* to a place after *τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ* and by putting *τὸ δὲ θαρσύν* after *ἐσόμενον*.

XVIII, pp. 503-510. J. Bergmann, Die Rachegebete von Rheneia. The text, together with a discussion, of a Bucharest gravestone inscription. It was written by a Greek Jew of the dispersion, who used the prayer-formulas current in the place of his abode, but called upon the one God in words and phrases from the Bible, as is almost always the case in Hebrew grave-inscriptions.

XIX, pp. 511-519. K. Lincke, Plato, Paulus, und die Pythagoreer. Traces of the influence of Plato's *Timaios* may be seen in the stoic and Christian schools and in the Pauline Epistles. Plato depicts the unity of the beautiful and complete Cosmos in the person of the Creator as a trinity: the father giving, space receiving, the child becoming. The Creator also assigns to the visible gods (the celestial star-souls) and the lower company of demons and souls their respective activities. Philo of Alexandria under Platonic influence represents other created powers and beings as coöperating with God in the creation of the world, and serving as mediators between God and man. The Pauline teaching also recognizes "principalities and powers", which are only in part kindly disposed towards men. Christ brought it about that neither angels nor powers can separate the Christian from the love of God. In the Gospels, especially Mark, the emphasis is put upon Christ's fight against the demons, and how they recognized and obeyed him. This becomes clear from the standpoint of the Pauline Christology, in which we have to do with an individual literary phenomenon, the most individual that has ever been, on account of the contrasts which the writer unites in himself, to the end that he may be to the Jew a Jew and to the Greek a Greek. He is Judaistic in his peculiar theory of grace: Greek, when, like Philo, he starts from the *Timaios* and other Platonic writings. Underlying the Pauline-Christian doctrine of redemption is Plato's *Phaidon*. The sayings "the prophet is not without honor save in his own country" and "they that are whole have no need of a physician" hark back to the Republic 489 a, b. In the Gospel according to Mark (worked over under Pauline influence) there are echoes of Platonic and other writings, especially Mark III, 11-VI, 56 (cf. Empedokles ed. Diels, frag. 111, 112, 114, 115). The writer did not wish the Messiah to be inferior to Zarathustra, Pythagoras, Empedokles and Plato.

XX, pp. 520-528. Fr. Poland, Zum griechischen Vereinswesen. I. The inscription in Pamphylian dialect (from Sillyon, CIG III 4342 C') sheds light on the origin of certain societies for the young and old in Asia Minor, which came more prominently



to the fore in imperial times. This inscription of the 4th cent. B. C. refers to the founding of a club-house for young men and old for the public welfare and the furtherance of peace. There is a clear Dorian influence. II. The Ostrakon Lamer (Z. f. aeg. Sprache u. Altertumskunde, 48, 1910, S. 168 ff.) enriches our knowledge of the activities of clubs in Hellenistic Egypt. The few lines of the ostrakon show a certain unity in the development of these Greek club-organizations.

XXI, pp. 529-538. W. H. Roscher, Das Alter der Weltkarte in 'Hippokrates' *περὶ ἐβδομάδων* und die Reichskarte des Darius Hystaspis. The former is shown to be the older, having been made in the 6th cent. B. C., before the capture of Miletus by the Persians.

XXII, pp. 539-548. G. Thiele, Martial III, 20. Read: an aemulatur improbi *logos* Phaedri. *logos*=*apologos* (cf. Sen. Consol. 8, 3.) *improbi*=audacious; used because of the political criticisms in Phaedrus' fables.

XXIII, pp. 549-560. O. Leuze, Die Darstellung des I. punischen Kriegs bei Florus. Florus' picture is true only in the most general points. This estimate holds for other parts of the work. Uncorroborated data found in Florus must always be looked upon with suspicion. His version may not be claimed for the "Roman annalistic tradition" without closer inspection, especially in the restoring of Livy (i. e. the Epitome) his work must be used with extreme caution.

#### Miscellen.

12, pp. 561-564. O. Crusius, *Διόνυσος κεχηνώς*. Zu Kallimachos Epigr. 48. The poem is an academic *παίγνιον*.

13, pp. 564-565. O. Crusius, Hesychius, *ἐς ἰωνιάν*. The meaning *εἰς κοπρῶνα* is probably correct. The dung-heap is called 'violet-bed' *κατ' ἀντίφρασιν*.

14, pp. 565-569. L. Straub, Ueber Thukyd. III, 84. The passage is certainly Thucydidean, notwithstanding the suspicions of the scholiast.

15, pp. 569-570. A. v. Domaszewski, Ein unerkanntes Fragment des Monumentum Apolloniense. A fragment belonging to the close of the third column and corresponding to Mon. Ancyr. Gr. 7, 9-21 was erroneously published as a municipal honorary inscription by Anderson in Jour. of Hellen. Studies 18 (1898) 100, n. 43.

16, pp. 570-576. M. Manitius, Ein altes Priscianfragment. In Ms. Parisinus 12960 (St. Germain 1110) f. 116-125, Saec. IX.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

‘Out of these convertites’, says melancholy Jaques, ‘there is much matter to be heard and learned’, and there is much to be learned from Professor JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, who is a convertite and whose great work on *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (Macmillan) is, as he himself says, a manner of palinode. In 1878 he made the outlines of J. H. H. Schmidt’s system known to such English and American scholars as were innocent of German by publishing a translation of Schmidt’s Introduction. For this *amabilis insania* in propagating Schmidt’s logaoedic theory he apologizes on the score of youth. Unfortunately, I cannot plead the same excuse, for six years before Professor WHITE, though apparently unknown to him, I had put forth in my Latin Grammar of 1872 a system of Latin versification based on Schmidt (A. J. P. XXVI 359; XXIX 368). At that time I had already reached the dead line of forty, but what they call the dead line of forty is really the ‘dangerous age’ spoken of by Karin Michaelis (A. J. P. XXXII 481), and I became enamoured of the system, so that when I undertook to edit Pindar I applied to Schmidt himself for his latest views on Pindar’s metres, and received from his generous hand (ἀφνειὰς ἀπὸ χειρὸς) the text of his unpublished Pindar, with his metrical schemes, as is duly set forth in the Introductory Essay of my edition. Shortly after my Pindar was published, Studemund, my charming Strassburg host of 1880, sent me his *Anecdota varia Graeca musica metrica grammatica*, and I remember it as one remembers one’s first chill; but I shook off the impression until other cold douches supervened, and, while I clung to the faith, I found that an advocacy of the logaoedic system required a knowledge of music such as I did not possess, and so I withdrew sadly from the metrical field and consequently from the Pindaric field, for in the robustness of my faith I had robustly insisted on the mastery of Pindaric rhythms as a preliminary to the appreciation of the poet (Pindar, I. E. lxiii). I cannot read Pindar without stress, and he who takes away stress and hold ‘e caelo deripit ille deos’, and I am left lamenting. Professor WHITE tells us ‘that the reaction against the logaoedic theory of Aeolic verse is very strong on the Continent; its waves have hardly as yet reached the shores of England and America’, but more than twelve years ago, in my *Oscillations and Nutations of Philological Study*, I made my moan about what those wild waves were saying:

Years ago one might have forefelt what was coming and some of us had to whistle our aforesaid equal bars to keep our courage up. It was with an



uneasy feeling that we noted the care with which the old metrists were resuscitated and no Westphalian or Schmidtian ought to be surprised to have the choriambi cantering over his head once more, to hear the triple watchdog growl of the molossus, or to see the banished antispast come back, the two long arms waving triumphant flippers at either end. . . . This special oscillation has prostrated many of us Greek scholars with deathly seasickness, and seasickness is apt to suspend all human sympathies. But we are not so immersed in our own troubles as not to note the oscillation that is going forward in other parts of the philological boat, as not to note the perpetual motion of the Saturnian, as not to note the 'Hebung und Senkung', the 'Senkung und Hebung' of Germanic metres, and the ups and downs of English metrists, Guest in one decennium and Schipper in another. It is metre and no end, μέτρον ἀμετρον, all over the face of the philological deep. (Compare also C. W. E. Miller on Masqueray A. J. P. XX (1899) 331).

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Of the three Graces of Greek lyrical composition, two are hopelessly lost, two that occupy the foreground of the First Pythian. The footstep of the dancer is not seen, the voice of the singer is not heard—footstep and voice that obeyed the quiver of the lyre's strings—and the lyre itself is mute. The stately epitrites have lost their stride. We cannot conceive dance without footfall, we cannot appreciate music without its heart-beat. Take away ictus, take away stress, and we cannot understand the immortal figure of Pindar's eagle, *ταῖς ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος*. Is there no ictus in *ῥιπή*? Well, if the ictus must go, let it go, but not without a last sigh; and sighing is rising and falling—a manner of ictus after all—and if the ictus is not to be allowed in verse, there must have been ictus elsewhere. Of 'Arbeit und Rhythmus', Arbeit alone is left, and I grant that there is no end of 'Arbeit' in metric, no end of work that we must respect in Professor WHITE's crowning achievement of a long life of study. But the truth is the truth, and if he is right, we must acquire a keener sense of proportion than we have ever had, or humbly acknowledge that we are of too gross a nature to cope with the subtleties of Greek art. And we must read as we never read before Archilochos' command: *γίγνωσκε δ' ὅλος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει*. There is no life of ups and downs, only a life of longs and shorts.

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For all that and all that I have had much joy out of the methods that Professor WHITE has renounced, and I have sought and fancied I had found the *ῥθος* of many measures in which it seems there is no *ῥθος* at all. True, it was a blow to me when Wilamowitz in his *commentariolum metricum*, took away all character from the Glyconic family (A. J. P. XVI 394). The character, it appears, must be sought in the music, which is lost, and what tricks the musical *tempo* can perform we all know.



Change the *tempo*, and Yankee Doodle becomes a dirge; and all our fancies as to the character of this metre and that are clouds like the old methods of interpreting Pindar, which, to quote the same high authority, have—thank God—vanished forever. When I read those fatal words, I rolled up my lecture on Sappho and thrust it into the columbarium in which repose my lucubrations on literary topics, for I had insisted at some length on the symbolism of Sapphic and Alcaic. Perhaps I shall be pardoned, if I reproduce the musings of thirty years syne, which prove so baseless to-day. And if all this egotism seems deplorable, let the reader—benevolent or malevolent—remember that the freedom of *Brief Mention* is all the reward I have for the dreariness of the editor's task (A. J. P. XXV 490).

Alkaïos and Sappho are figured together on a well-known vase—Alkaïos with sunken head, his lyre in his hand upright; Sappho with indignation had put her lyre under her arm—and in the famous picture by Alma Tadema the two singers are brought face to face. Mr. Wharton in his pretty book on Sappho has had the vivid countenance of Alma Tadema's Sappho engraved as a frontispiece, and the picture is one of the treasures of Baltimore. A semicircle of marble seats, veined and stained, a screen of olive trees that fling their branches against the sky, against the sapphire seas, a singing man, a listening woman, whose listening is so intense that nothing else in the picture seems to listen—not the wreathed girl in flowered robe who stands by her and rests her hand familiarly on her shoulder. Not she, for though she holds a scroll in her other hand, the full face, the round eyes, show a soul that matches wreathed head and flowered robe. She is the pride of life. Nor she on the upper seat, who props her chin with her hand and hides her mouth with her fingers and lets her vision reach into the distance of her own musings. Nor her neighbor whose composed attitude is that of a regular church-goer who has learned the art of sitting still and thinking of nothing. Nor yet the remotest figure—she who has thrown her arms carelessly on the back of the seat and is looking out on the waters as if they would bring her something. A critic tells us that the object of the poet is to enlist Sappho's support in a political scheme of which he is the leader, if not the chief prophet, and he has come to Sappho's school in Lesbos with the hope of securing another voice and other songs to advocate the views of his party. The critic seems to have been in the artist's secret, and yet Alma Tadema painted better than he knew. Alkaïos is not trying to win Sappho's help in campaign lyrics. The young poet is singing to the priestess of the Muses a new song with a new rhythm, and as she hears it, she feels that there is a strain of balanced strength in it she has not reached: it is the first revelation to her of the rhythm that masters her own. True, when Alkaïos afterwards sought not her help in politics, but her heart in love, and wooed her in that rhythm, she too had caught the music and answered him in his own music.

And here follows the analysis of a much earlier date:

The Sapphic strophe is the feminine complement of the Alcaic, and if you will examine the schemes of the two, you will see at a glance the resemblances and the differences. They are both logaoedic, different from the ordinary heavy dactyls and trochees in quantity, and in a sharper secondary stress on the part not under the chief ictus. These rhythms are much used in Greek whenever emotion rises, not above the prose level, but above the ordinary poetic level. They are the reigning rhythms in those portions of tragedy in which the agony has not been reached or has passed. They are the very rhythms for the quick Aeolian μέλος, with its rapid flight. Then the



number of bars are the same in the first two lines, and the mass of dactyls and trochees about the same. Take off the preliminary beat, and the measures are identical, except that the Alcaic pauses just before the end. But that preliminary beat makes all the difference. It gives the vigorous ascent, the manly preparation for the onset. . . . .

The man plunges into the Aegean Sea of passion, but he poises himself before he goes. The woman 'moveth altogether, if she move at all'. It is a symbolism of the fabled leap from the Leucadian rock.

Another great difference is to be seen in the further development of the stanza. Five bars constitute a restless measure, a measure which cannot balance itself. Indeed, four is by far the most common measure in Greek poetry—so common that some scholars have attempted to reduce all the tragic rhythms to fours. Both man and woman begin with unrest—indeed, the man is more restless than the woman, if one may judge by these impatient poems. But notice that the man overcomes sooner. In the third verse the manlier element preponderates, and the rhythm is in fours. True, passion returns in the last verse, and with redoubled force, in the quick waves of the two dactyls, but these are held in check by the quieter trochees, and the two restless fives are brought to calm by the more sober fours. It is the rhythm of passion that has been overcome. But in the Sapphic strophe the restless rhythm is repeated thrice, and there is no peace, except the peace of exhaustion. The little clausula at the end is a last effort to repeat the characteristic movement of the verse—is, as it were, the incomplete echo of the cry of yearning love, of passionate invocation.

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But however wedded one may be to the system represented by Schmidt, it must be confessed that in the domain of the non-melic verse it gives little help, and in the exact study of iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter, in anapaestic and dactylic verse, Professor WHITE's labours will be welcomed by all scholars, whatever view they take of fundamental principles. This is the line which Bentley and Porson and other English scholars opened up to an admiring world; this is the line on which I was taught to work by my German masters, and many an hour of my student life have I spent in just such labours as those by which Professor WHITE has earned himself an abiding place in the annals of metrical study. But those who have not learned to appreciate the exactness of Greek art, will turn away from these columns of figures, just as they underrate the value of statistical syntax, just as they are left cold by the mathematical formulae that control the proportions of a Doric column. The application of the infinitesimal calculus is a tribute to the finer artistic sense of the Greeks, and even the besotted slaves of the ictus can understand why certain combinations of shorts are forbidden, why the tripping tribrach must perform a manner of egg-dance, why tribrach and anapaest may not follow dactyl in the iambic trimeter, and why dactyls overlap forward when they overlap, and overlap backwards only when they fall from grace. Porson's law of the final cretic is one of the famous discoveries of what we may call the digital part of metric—*digitis callemus et aure*. The aural explanation, so to speak, is to be sought in



the greater unity of the verse, and if the rule applies only to tragedy, why that is one proof the more of the diversity of tragedy and comedy—a diversity which extends to origin as well as technique. And so we can understand why Professor WHITE, who insists so much on metrical traditions, has espoused the seductive *ἀγών* theory, suggested by Bergk, carried on by Rossbach and Westphal, and demonstrated by Zielinski and Humphreys. One remembers how this *ἀγών* theory was scouted at first because of the utter lack of traditional evidence. One remembers the bubbly-jock protest of Kock, when it was first promulgated (A. J. P. XV 258 where read 'Clouds'); and yet Professor WHITE, who holds us to the law and testimony of the metres, accepts joyfully the whole system and has himself brought up from the silent past an unrecognized actor in Greek comedy.

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Needless to say, no such fancies as the one I have recklessly exposed cloud the clear pages of such a wonderful record of work as Professor WHITE'S. But it would be doing him a gross injustice not to recognize amid the reserve, so characteristic of the man and his environment, abundant evidences of artistic sensitiveness. In discussing Merry's Aristophanes some years ago, I said that no commentator who neglects the metres of the poet can possibly reveal to the student all the fun (A. J. P. XXI 232), and I might cover pages with extracts from Professor WHITE'S book, in which the lion smiles at the comic effects produced by sequences of longs and shorts. To give a few specimens.

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P. 37, à propos of Lys. 256–65 = 271–80: 'the form admirably expresses the sentiment,—indignant but unavailing complaint of querulous old men in the strophe, and exultant but buffoon reminiscence of past glory in the antistrophe. Here, as in Av. 851 ff., metre is made the means of special comic effect'. Again (p. 44), 'the spoken trimeter approaches as closely as possible to the speech of the man of the street'; and (p. 57), 'When a verse is divided between two speakers into four parts the effect is so odd as to be in itself eminently comical, which is the poet's intention'. (P. 63), 'The melodramatic <παρακαταλογή> <iambic> tetrameter <catalectic> differs notably from the recitative both in use and in form. It is found only in debates, in which feeling runs high and the language is violent, often approaching Billingsgate'. (P. 149), 'With keen appreciation of the incongruity of form and content <Aristophanes> uses the heroic line in ordinary dialogue'. (P. 161), 'This constant shift of melody and the introduction of periods in other rhythms, especially in the last part of the lyric <Thesm. 1015–55>, are well



adapted to express Andromeda's agitation and anguish.<sup>1</sup> And when Professor WHITE contrasts the effect of the iambic tetrameter catalectic and anapaestic tetrameter, he unwittingly lends his sanction to the aberration of one who is οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ in the whole field. P. 369 he says: 'It is not without significance that Aristophanes in his *Equites*, designing to out-Cleon Cleon, has his famous blackguard in the second debate carry on in iambic tetrameters the argument which Cleon has begun in anapaests (Eq. 713 ff.: 843 ff.)'. Here, at all events, is ground upon which we can meet (A. J. P. XVI 395):

Kleon is an heroic rascal, and evidently feels himself degraded by the necessity of fighting Agorakritos with his own weapons; but he cannot do otherwise, and the debate begun by Agorakritos in iambic tetrameter (v. 335) is necessarily kept up in the same; but when Kleon sets the pace (v. 763), he strikes out in the grand anapaestic tetrameter. But the chorus mischievously forces the controversy back into the iambic strain (835), and we see how Kleon is again compelled to occupy the same unheroic level with his antagonist. At the close Agorakritos rises with the chorus to anapaestic heights. Kleon's fate is to dwell in indecencies forever, and his curse is to ply the same trade as Agorakritos had plied, iambic tetrameter and all—οὐδέν μέγ' ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξει τέχνην.

And so, in view of all these glimpses that have made me less forlorn, in view of the vast service that Professor WHITE has rendered the study of Greek comedy, I am quite resigned to my fate, and will cease to grate on scannel pipes of wretched straw my lament over the utter destruction of the schemes in which I once took delight. εὐφημεῖν χρὴ τὸν πρεσβύτερον καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ὑπακούειν, for it is only a εὐχή after all, and it is sheer mockery in Professor WHITE to prefix to a volume of 479 pages the motto ταχύ γ' ἂν δύνατο μανθάνειν περὶ ῥυθμῶν. It is enough to drive one to the acceptance of Reiske's emendation, τάχα.

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The third edition of WILAMOWITZ'S *Reden und Vorträge* (Weidmann) is enriched by the addition of five papers, to wit: the *Adonis of Bion*, the *Daphnis of Theokritos*, the *Festival of Demeter by Kallimachos*, the *History of Greek Religion*, and *Pindar*, the last named of which has naturally attracted me first as the work of one who both knows and loves the poet. It is an answer to the question, why of all the great Greek poets none is so little known, so little understood, as Pindar. It is a question I have asked myself, and answered in my own way. 'There is', I have said, 'an aristocratic disdain in Pindar's nature that yields

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt Kunstformen II, cccxxviii: Beliebige Formen folgen einander im buntscheckigsten Wechsel. . . . Zwei Sätze haben sogar eine Bauart, die in der classischen Poesie eine unerhörte ist, . . . dass sie hier vorkommt, wo Aristophanes eine verkehrte Compositionsart verspotten will, ist natürlich ein Zeugniß für die <oben> ausgesprochenen Grundsätze.



only to kindred spirits or to faithful service'. Bold would be the man who in this democratic age should claim a kindred spirit. 'Faithful service' can still be found, but it is rare. But another requisite for the understanding of Pindar is the experience of a losing side, and so evident were the traces of such an experience in my Introductory Essay that the publishers urged me to change some of the phrases on p. xii, out of deference to the prevalent sentiment of the country, an amusing reminiscence in the genial light of to-day. It is this point that WILAMOWITZ urges in order to account for Pindar's unpopularity in Germany. 'In Germany', he says, 'the past is studied chiefly from the historico-political side', and it seems that the descendants of those who fought in the great War of Liberation have no sympathy with the man who went with his state, the man who Medized, as his religious teachers of Delphi were accused of doing—another historical parallel, as absurd as most historical parallels are. 'Auch sie starben für das Vaterland', the inscription on the Munich monument to the Bavarians who perished in the Russian campaign, stirs no kindred feeling in the upholders of the German Empire, and WILAMOWITZ opens his praelection with a translation of Carducci's sonnet to Dante. Here is the original of what I dare not call 'Professorenpoesie', even with the qualification with which WILAMOWITZ has guarded the unlucky phrase:

Dante, onde avvien che i vóti e la favella  
Levo adorando al tuo fier simulacro,  
E me su'l verso che ti fe' già macro  
Lascia il sol, trova ancor l'alba novella?

Per me Lucia non prega e non la bella  
Matelda appresta il salutar lavacro,  
E Beatrice con l'amante sacro  
In vano sale a Dio di stella in stella.

Odio il tuo santo impero: e la corona  
Divelto con la spada avrei di testa  
Al tuo buon Federico in val d'Olona.

Son chiesa e impero una ruina mesta  
Cui sorvola il tuo canto e al ciel risona:  
Muor Giove, e l'inno del poeta resta.

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The German attitude towards Pindar is the attitude of Carducci towards Dante. Pindar's soul dwelt apart from the great cause of Greece against Persia, Hellene against Barbarian. His lofty praise of Athens has enhanced value coming from a Theban, but the liberation of Ionia left him cold. The Attic Empire threatened the independent existence of the little communities where his friends lived, the Athenian democracy was to him the



irreconcilable foe of the order in which he was rooted and grounded, and his art as well. His dislike for the Ionians shows itself in his treatment of that incarnation of the Ionians, Odysseus. He despised Archilochos, the master of Ionian poetry, and one of his most famous fragments shows that he would not accept the Ionian explanation of the eclipse of the sun. But it is our business to study the poet night and day, as Carducci studied Dante, and WILAMOWITZ's essay is an effective incitement to the study, and needless to say illuminating. As specimens of Pindar's art he has selected for translation, the fragment (88) in which the new star Delos swims into the ken of the immortals, the narrative of the Tenth Nemean, enough of itself to put Pindar among the great poets of the world, the last part of the Third Pythian, with its proud vindication of the poet's art—the opening of the Sixth Nemean—the favorite of Wilhelm von Humboldt—and the close of the Eighth Pythian, Pindar's last poem and one of his very best—the σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος poem, a shadow for us, a trailing cloud of glory for the poet. WILAMOWITZ's renderings have the swing of the translator. The broidery of Pindar is unattainable.

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Nothing would seem to be more characteristic of an author's style than a propensity to parenthesis, whether due to the impetuosity of genius or the feebleness of mental digestion. This is just one of those things that lend themselves to the tabulatory art of the statistician. Many years ago I wrote (*Essays and Studies*, p. 148): 'Some one with a turn for computation has counted the parentheses in <Carlyle's> *Reminiscences*, and it is much to be wished that the same observer had watched the rise and growth and general norm of parentheses in Carlyle'. But that wish remained a *pium desiderium*; and a *pium desiderium* is the wish that the President of the Women's Browning Club of Chicago had tabulated the parentheses in Browning before she abandoned the study of the poet in disgust because 'she had got on to his curves' (A. J. P. XXXII 482). And now in the fulness of time one of the Schanz collaborators, Dr. C. GRÜNEWALD,<sup>1</sup> has taken up the subject of Parentheses in the Ten Attic Orators (*Die Satzparenthese bei den zehn Attischen Rednern*: Würzburg, Kabitsch). He excludes from consideration, as well he may, such little interjected phrases as οἶμαι, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, and all clauses that stand in organic connexion with the main sentence—relative, final, conditional, and the like. The true parenthesis is an independent sentence taken up into the body of the main sentence. This parenthetical structure,

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with L. Grunewald, to whom we owe the treatise on the Formulaic Infinitive (A. J. P. X 381), where the name appeared as Grunenwald, for which I make this belated apology. We should have had fewer parentheses in Greek historical writing, if footnotes had been invented.



which modern grammarians consider an offence against the laws of an orderly sequence of thought, Dr. GRÜNEWALD undertakes to defend. That cannot be artistically a sin which is employed so freely by the Attic Orators, and especially by the most artistic of all—Isokrates and Demosthenes. We have to do not with an evidence of lack of control, but with a conscious device of art to produce the effect of nature. It contributes to the rejuvenescence of language, to the art of arts, which is *celare artem*. And so Dr. GRÜNEWALD has given us a special chapter on the psychological rhetoric of the parenthesis, and the art of ἡθικῶς λέγειν. In the early orators, Antiphon and Andokides, the parenthesis serves simply logical purposes. In Lysias, half his parentheses are logical, half rhetorical; and the same thing is true of Isaios, whose close imitation of Lysias, by the way, becomes more and more evident the more he is studied. The long career of Isokrates prompts to the division into periods, from which it appears that the old man eloquent makes more use of parentheses in his later than in his earlier speeches, with a vast preponderance of the rhetorical sort. In Demosthenes' first period there are few parentheses—only one parenthesis to eighteen paragraphs. In the second period the number of parentheses mounts, so that the average shews as many as one parenthesis to ten paragraphs, with some notable contrasts. There are a great many in I and II, the second Olymthiac rising to the height of one parenthesis to five paragraphs. Next to the lowest is the famous LIV, where one would look for 'naturalism', despite Bruns (A. J. P. XXV 356). In the third period the De Corona shews one parenthesis to seven paragraphs. Most of the parentheses in Aischines have, according to Dr. GRÜNEWALD, a rhetorical coloring. Lykurgos, the academic, has only one example to 49 paragraphs, and the three examples, §§ 52, 90 and 95, are all rhetorical. Deinarchos, the κρίθινος Δημοσθήνης, like Demosthenes, makes considerable use of rhetorical parentheses. Hypereides does not lend himself to definite conclusions, but in him also the rhetorical parenthesis preponderates. This is about as much as the average reader will care to know of Dr. GRÜNEWALD's treatise, which is an extract from the *Festgabe für Herrn Geheimrath Dr. Martin von Schanz* in commemoration of his seventieth birthday, June 12, 1912.

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The project of a *Greek Thesaurus* which should hold the wealth of the language from the earliest times down to a late Byzantine period fell from its own weight (A. J. P. XXX 112), to be succeeded by another, far more feasible, and one which is the necessary condition of the greater work, if it should be resumed under the same auspices. The plan of the new Thesaurus embraces the period from Homer to Aristotle, and living men may hope to see its accomplishment. In an interesting



*Promemoria*, Professor KRETSCHMER, of Vienna, one of the leading collaborators, has given a sketch of the original scheme, which was naturally suggested by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Diels, it seems, in his *Elementum* (1899) was one of the first to give lively expression to what he considered the hysteron proteron of a Latin Thesaurus before a Greek Thesaurus. In view of the enormous influence of Greek on the whole world of thought, the history of Latin words, their origin, their semantic, could not be properly set forth, he maintained, until the Greek material had been collected and scientifically digested. Of course, he recognized, as every one recognized, the great difficulties of the task on account of the vast compass of Greek literature. Five years after Diels' *contio ad clerum*, the matter was brought up by Sir Richard Jebb before a General Meeting of the International Association of Academies in London, May 26, 1904, and a committee was appointed with Sir Richard Jebb as chairman, made up of Diels, Gomperz, Heilberg, Leo, and Perrot. To this committee KRETSCHMER was added the next year. The death of Jebb soon thereafter was a great loss. His membership on the committee was given to Ingram Bywater, his chairmanship to Gomperz.

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Of course, there was no question as to the need of such a Thesaurus. The edition of Stephanus by Hase and the Dindorfs, still indispensable, is patchwork, and the advance in our knowledge of every phase of the life of antiquity, the advance in criticism and hermeneutics, in archaeology, in epigraphics, in grammar, in etymology, makes a Greek Thesaurus one of the most pressing needs of Greek scholarship. But the trouble lay in the matter of limit, and it is this that has checked the progress of the Thesaurus thus far, and this question the promoters of the present plan, which is to be brought before the International Association of Academies this year, have solved for themselves by fixing the boundary at the time of Alexander the Great, reserving the whole mass of later Greek for a lexicon of its own. Twenty-nine authors are enumerated who are to be taken up into the Thesaurus as over against the two hundred and twenty-five of the Latin Thesaurus, and it is estimated that the material will be only a seventh as great as that of the Latin Thesaurus. An objection on the score of the great importance of the post-classic period, no less great than that of the classic time, is met by the consideration that a *Thesaurus linguae graecae antiquissimae* is no hindrance to the *Thesaurus linguae communis*, which can be taken up whenever provision has been made for the enormous expense attendant upon such an enterprise. Even the present project threatens to task the financial resources of the associated academies, and an appeal has been



made or will be made to classical associations in this country for regular contributions to the support of a project which is as international in its scope as Greek is international.

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That to the Greek 'accent', which were better called 'tone', was pitch, appears clearly enough from the nomenclature which was traditional as far back as Plato. Was this pitch accompanied by stress? '<It was>', as can now be proved', said the author of Wheeler's Law in 1893, and it was in 1893 that Jakob Wackernagel undertook to prove it. In 1913 HUGO EHRLICH, with all respect for Wackernagel—a respect which everybody shares, and I not least,—has devoted a volume to disproving it. In the process of the ages, it is true, pitch has become stress, as in Modern Greek; but that is a familiar phenomenon in linguistic history, and in his *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung* (Weidmann), a book of much more varied interest than its title would disclose, EHRLICH has upheld the contention that there is no trace of the influence of accent, considered as stress, in the language of Homer—for the whole work revolves about the language of Homer. Expiratory influences are not felt before the middle of the fourth century B. C.; they are much stronger and earlier in the lower stratum of folk-speech than in the language of the cultured, and at the start prevalently outside the mother country. For the treatment of phonetic history in the domain of Greek, we must hold to the general principle that in the older period linguistic changes are independent of accent—a result which one finds emphatically stated in Vendryes' manual (1904). This is the conclusion, but I cannot undertake to summarize the processes by which the conclusion is reached. The book is fascinating, despite the column after column of evidence; and yet such is human nature that the things that interested me most are the confirmations of my own contentions, such as the originally adnominal nature of the genitive (A. J. P. XXIII 22), and the choriamic scanning 'Ατρείδας, which he upholds against Ludwich, against Brugmann (A. J. P. XIX 115. My appeal was to Pindar, P. XII 11, 31; I. 8, 15 and Πηλείδας Pr. 6, 25). Ehrlich's is to the *Correptio Attica* of 'Οτρυννείδης.

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No American scholar that I can recall ever made so strong an impression on his contemporaries in so short a life as did Mortimer Lamson Earle, for whom great lamentation was made when he was called away (A. J. P. XXVI 454-456). In the limited space assigned to reviews, no room has as yet been found for a critical study of the volume which a few years ago pious hands consecrated to his memory, with its many evidences



of varied activity, of varied accomplishments, and this failure has been brought to my mind by the last number of the *Mnemosyne*, in which VAN LEEUWEN closes his eulogy of Earle with the words: *Laetas horas transegit multas, felix vixit, vixit honoratus suisque carissimus, prius autem hinc abiit quam gravia ei fieri potuerunt vitae onera communia. Quicquid optimum haec vita habet, ei non defuit.* This note of triumph no one can better understand than one who has looked on the faces of dead comrades on the battle-field, and murmured, as he looked the untranslatable words: *δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.* How many years Victor Hugo was to survive the verses he wrote in 1848:

J'ai fait ce que j'ai pu ; j'ai servi, j'ai veillé.

O Seigneur ! ouvrez moi les portes de la mort,  
Afin je m'en aille et que je disparaisse.

To every old man there comes a touch of envy in the retrospect.

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In my far distant salad days we college boys used to repeat enthusiastically a poem by the late Joseph Addison Alexander, of Princeton, in glorification of the monosyllable. It begins, 'Think not that strength lies in the big round word', and may be found in several collections, such as Dr. Bombaugh's *Gleanings for the Curious* (p. 102). Themes like these never die, and an article on the same subject from the *Spectator* has been going the rounds of the press. Alexander's poem is supposed to be a *tour de force*, like 'Swiss Family Robinson in words of one syllable', but the English language does not require much forcing. There is a poem all in monosyllables by Chidick Tychborne, but there is nothing to shew that it is designedly monosyllabic. The *Spectator* has cited Tennyson. Why, if the writer had read Tennyson's *In Memoriam* with any attention he would have noticed that, while there is no monosyllabic stanza in the whole poem, in stanza after stanza the monosyllabic strain is broken by only one dissyllable. Miss O'Reardon, who is a student of English versification, informs me that long stretches of English poetry have yielded figures like these: Milton, a little more than seventy-six per cent of monosyllables; Dryden, seventy-three per cent; Pope, seventy-four; Johnson, seventy-three; Wordsworth, seventy-six; Coleridge, eighty (in the *Ancient Mariner* the monosyllables mount to eighty-four per cent); Byron, seventy-eight per cent. This monosyllabic character of the language is, as I have remarked elsewhere (*A. J. P.* XXX 354; XXXIII 229) a decided drawback in the matter of imitating antique metres; but the difficulty is not quite so great as



it seems, because, as Sweet has emphasized, in any natural utterance words are run together by what Sylvester calls a phonetic syzygy. By a certain class of people this phonetic syzygy is avoided in the interest of clear articulation, but to a cultivated ear nothing can be more offensive than the pronunciation of 'at all' in two distinct syllables. Nearly a score of years ago a writer in the *Nation* uttered his protest against the innovation, and Fitzedward Hall, who at the time was working at *A* for the Oxford Dictionary, without stopping to read the protest and fancying that an attack was made upon the correctness of the expression, rushed into print, and in a long article (*A Brace of Whims*, *Nation* lxiii, March 8, 1894) proved triumphantly that 'at all' is good English. Among other examples, 'Swear not at all' stands out conspicuously—a command hard to obey in circumstances like these.

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In one of his Letters—unless a treacherous memory deceives me—Horace Walpole tells the story of an Italian *custode* who got so much into the habit of using the word 'blessed' in connexion with the relics he was exhibiting that he shewed with great emphasis a bit of the blessed fig-tree that Christ cursed. And in like manner knighthoods have been bestowed of late years in such numbers on prominent scholars, I have become so accustomed to Sir Richard, Sir William, Sir John, Sir Sidney, Sir Frederick, that in the last *Brief Mention* (A. J. P. XXXIII 485) Sir Gilbert slipped from my pen—doubtless a mere anticipation. Surely a priest of the Muses like Gilbert Murray is not too much honoured by a prefix once borne by Shakespeare's parsons, by Sir Topas and Sir Hugh.

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The sudden death on February the twenty-third of HARRY LANGFORD WILSON in the fulness of his activity and at the height of his achievement has deprived the Journal of a valued contributor and the Johns Hopkins University of a learned, faithful, inspiring teacher. In its newly-elected President the Archaeological Institute of America has lost a man who had given proof of rare administrative ability. The scholarly world will miss the enthusiastic student, the larger public the luminous interpreter of the life and monuments of Ancient Rome. Nor will his loss be less felt in the community in which he shewed forth by precept and example the power of an unwavering Christian faith, and to which he has left the precious memory of a life consecrated to the highest ends.—B. L. G.

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W. P. M.: The fourth part of *Das Erbe der Alten* (Leipzig: Th. Weicher, 1912), is contributed by Professor RUDOLF HIRZEL. It is a masterly sketch of the life and times of Plutarch, and of the wide and long-continued influence of his works. It shows not merely what Plutarch was to his own day, but what he has meant for Melanchthon and Erasmus, for Rabelais and Montaigne and Brantôme, for Corneille and Racine, for Shakespeare and Bacon and Dryden, for Rousseau, for Madame Roland, for Alfieri, for Emerson. It represents an enormous amount of reading, and every page is interesting. As might be expected of one who had long consorted with this particular author, Professor HIRZEL often indulges in 'modern instances', and sometimes sketches little 'parallel lives' of his own. The life of Plutarch himself is compared with the life of the historian Ranke, Themistokles is "the Attic Bismarck", Timoleon is "the old-world Garibaldi". Yet when he tells the story of Reuchlin's brilliant performance in the lecture-room of Argyropoulos at Rome (p. 111), he makes no reference to its prototype in Plutarch—the story of Cicero's brilliant performance in the lecture-room of Apollonios at Rhodes. Is this national pride, or mere reluctance to spoil a good story? And 1490—is the date right? Reuchlin's biographer Geiger insists that this happened in 1482. And some of our best works of reference say that Argyropoulos died before 1490. On p. 165 it is recorded that after the occupation of Vienna the great Napoleon—in conscious imitation of Alexander the Great—posted a guard before the house of Haydn. The second edition must quote from Milton's fine sonnet how "The great Emathian conqueror bid spare | The house of Pindarus." And it may be worth noting that Alexander's noble order is mentioned in 'E. K.'s' commentary on the Shepherds Calendar—in 1579, the year of North's translation of the Lives. The story on which Tennyson's tragedy *The Cup* is based comes from Plutarch, *De Mulier Virt.*, 257–8. The epithet in his poem *Lucretius*, 54, "the mulberry-faced dictator", is probably derived from the Life of Sulla, ii. And in Matthew Arnold's *Westminster Abbey* the allusion to Agamedes and Trophonios is based on the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, xiv. There is one other incident which might well be mentioned in a German book. When Olympia Morata fled from the flames of Schweinfurt, in 1554, she left behind her copy of Plutarch's *Lives*—and all her other wordly goods. The book was soon after carried to Würzburg, and sold. But her old friend Joannes Sinapius happened to hear of it, and promptly restored it to its former owner. In a letter which accompanied it, he remarks that he is sending it "per Magistrum Vitum Grunbach . . . ut Vitus vitas exanimatis restituat; sit venia verbo".



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## I.—THE CLASSICAL ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF LITERARY CONCEITS.

The most casual reader of English poetry of the Elizabethan period doubtless has been struck by the frequent appearance of catalogues of feminine charms, a simple example of which is furnished by the following sonnet of Thomas Watson, *Hecatopathia* 7: "Hark you that list to heare what sainte I serve: / Her yellowe lockes exceede the beaten goulde; / Her sparkeling eies in heav'n a place deserve; / Her forehead high and faire of comely moulde; / Her words are musicke all of silver sounde; / Her wit so sharpe as like can scarce be found; / Each eyebrowe hanges like Iris in the skies; / Her eagles nose is straight of stately frame; / On either cheeke a rose and lillie lies; / Her breathe is sweete perfume or hollie flame; / Her lips more red than any corall stone; / Her necke more white than aged swans yat mone; / Her breast transparent is like christall rocke; / Her fingers long fit for Apolloes lute; / Her slipper such as Momus dare not mocke; / Her vertues all so great as make me mute; / What other partes she hath I neede not say, / Whose face alone is cause of my decay". For similar catalogues cf. Constable, *Diana*, Son. 7, 1; Barnes, *Odes Pastoral*, Canz. 3; Lodge, *Rosalynd*, ed. Hazlitt, p. 69, *Rosader's Description of Rosalynd*, Phillis, Son. 22; Heywood, *A Praise of His Lady*; Gascoign, *Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*; Spenser, *Amoretti*, Son. 15; *Epithalamion* vs. 147 sq.; Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, Son. 9, and an atrocious example in *Arcadia* Bk. 2, the song beginning, "What tongue can her perfection tell"?; in the drama, cf. Greene, *Friar*



Bacon, 1, 1, 51 sq.; Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda* 4, 1, 75 sq.; Lyly, *Midas* 4, 1. It is this habit of cataloguing beauty which Chapman rebukes in his first sonnet to "his Mistress Philosophy", beginning "Muses that sing Love's sensual empery", etc., and of which Shakespeare makes fun in *L. L. L.* 4, 3, for example, where Biron says: "When shall you hear that I /Will praise a hand, a foot, a face, an eye, /A gait, a state, a brow, a breast, a waist, /A leg, a limb"? Cf. *Henry V*, 3, 7, R. and J. 2, 1, the *Pyramus and Thisbe* episode in *M. N. D.* 3, 1 and 5, 1, also *Son.* 106, 130, but even Shakespeare could not wholly escape, especially in his earlier poetry, the prevailing evil of his day; note his description of Lucrece in *The Rape of Lucrece*, St. 55 sq., and cf. *Troil. and Cres.* 1, 1.

The type of beauty which is praised by these poets in their catalogues is, with hardly an exception,<sup>1</sup> a blonde, whose hair is golden, eyes sparkling bright, and grey in color, cheeks lily white and rosy red, red lips, white teeth, snow-white arms, and white hands, with long, slender fingers. I have called attention elsewhere<sup>2</sup> to the fact that this blonde beauty is not peculiar to the poets of the Elizabethan period, but is praised by all the English poets beginning with Chaucer; that the same type predominates, to the practical exclusion of her dark sister, in the love poetry and prose romances of Italy and France from the 12th century onward; that, moreover, this reign of the blonde in modern literature is but a continuation of her reign in the literature of Greece and Rome; that all the Roman love-poets, and the later Greek writers of romance and erotic letters, give to the ladies whom they desire to praise the same golden or auburn hair, sparkling eyes, white skin, red lips, slender white hands, and that their models, the Greek Alexandrian poets, praise the same blonde type; that, finally, the Greek heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses, with one or two prominent exceptions,<sup>3</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare's "dark lady", *Son.* 127-32, may be mentioned; I agree with Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 122, that she is a creature of his fancy. Sidney's *Stella* differs from the common type only in her black eyes; this also may be conventional, as the black eye is common in Spanish, Italian, and classic poetry; cf. Montemayor, *La Diana*, Parte Pr., Lib. 7; Ariosto, *O. F.* 7, 10 sq.; Catull. 43, 2, with Ellis' note.

<sup>2</sup> *Sewanee Review*, Oct., 1912, pp. 459 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Zeus and Poseidon, for example; this problem, which is anthropological rather than literary, I shall consider in a later article.



described as blondes by Homer and the early poets, and continued to be so described by succeeding writers, in spite of the fact that the Greeks of the classical period had dark hair and dark eyes.

I shall endeavor to show now that, just as the type of beauty which is praised by the modern literary lover is traditional, so the language in which he tries to do justice to the charms of his beloved is also traditional,—that modern writers have added scarcely a word to what we may call the ancient lover's vocabulary. It is not feasible, of course, even if it were useful, to collect all the examples of any given conceit, and I have chosen a few representative examples only. Nor have I tried, except in a few instances, to trace direct borrowing, for the effort, owing to the multiplicity of possible originals, is generally futile. The main course of tradition, however, is plain enough. The prime source was, I believe, the literature of the Greek Alexandrian age. From this drew the Roman Elegiac poets, the writers represented in the Greek Anthology, the professional rhetoricians and the writers of erotic letters and romance; and through them, and especially through the rhetorical schools, the stream passed on into the literature of the entire western world. No one could map out the general course of this tradition more clearly than does Chrétien de Troyes in his tale of Cligés, 31 sq.: *Ce nos ont nostre livre apris/Que Grece ot de chevalerie/Le premier los et de clergie; /Puis vint chevalerie a Rome/Et de la clergie la some/Qui or est an France venue.* Beginning with the Renaissance, however, Italian poetry was perhaps the main channel through which the traditional conceits were distributed, but, at the same time, the prime source, the literature of Greece and Rome, was also accessible, and it is often impossible to tell from which drew the French and English poets of the 15th and 16th centuries.

In the present paper, which is one of several dealing with the whole subject of lovers' conceits, I shall consider some of the conceits employed by the literary lover to praise the beauty of his lady, and the sonnet of Watson, quoted above, may serve, for the sake of convenience, as the starting point.

The first item in this catalogue is the lady's hair: "Her yellowe lockes excede the beaten goulde." That this is the stock description of the yellow hair of all literary heroines beginning



with classic poetry I have pointed out in the article referred to above.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, some interesting variations, one of the most common of which occurs in Shakespeare's *M. of V.*, 3, 2, 120. When Bassanio finds in the casket the portrait of Portia he exclaims, "Here in her hairs/The painter plays the spider, and hath woven/A golden net to entrap the hearts of men/Faster than gnats in cobwebs"<sup>2</sup>. For examples of this conceit in the writings of Shakespeare's predecessors, cf. Daniel, *Delia* 14: "Those snary locks are those same nets, my dear,/Wherewith my liberty thou didst surprise"; Constable, *Diana* 4, 2: "So many hearts bound in thy hairs as thrall"; Spenser, *Am.* 73: "My hart, (whom none with servile bands can tye,/But the faire tresses of your golden hayre)"; *ib.* 37: "What guyle is this, that those her golden tresses/She doth attyre under a net of gold; /And with sly skill so cunningly them dresses,/That which is gold, or heare, may scarce be told? /Is it that men's frayle eyes, which gaze too bold,/She may entangle in that golden snare"?; imitated by Constable, *Diana* 2, 8; Sidney, *Song to the Tune of a Neapolitan Villanelle*: "All my sense thy sweetness gained,/Thy fair hair my heart enchained". For this figure in French poetry we may compare Desportes, *Diane* 2, 41: cheveux—mon cœur, plus que mon bras, est par vous enchainé; *ib.* 1, 31; *Am. d'Hipp.* 85; *Diverses Amours*: A Mademoiselle de la Chastaigneraye; Baïf, *Amours de Francine* 3 (*Poésies Choisies*, ed. Becq de Fouquières p. 159): Quand ces cheveux je voy, dont Amour m'apresta/Le bien heureux filét où pris il m'arresta; Jodelle, *Les Amours*, Son. 9. From Italian poetry it will suffice

<sup>1</sup> All of Shakespeare's heroines who are explicitly described, except Rosaline in *L. L. L.*, have golden or auburn hair, as have the heroines of the other dramatists of his age; the same golden-haired beauty is praised by the English, French, and Italian sonneteers; she appears in the poetry of Hawes, Lydgate, Chaucer, Froissart, Lorris, Chrétien and other old French poets, in that of Ariosto, Boccaccio, and earlier poets, such as Jacopo da Lentino, Guinicelli; that the same type was common in Spanish literature is shown by the ridicule made of it in *Don Quixote*, cf. Pt. I, ch. 28, Pt. II, ch. 58. For the ideal of beauty in old French poetry, cf. Voigt, *Das Ideal der Schönheit u. Hässlichkeit in den altfranzösischen chansons de geste*, Diss. Marburg, 1891; Loubier, *Das Ideal der männlichen Schönheit bei den altfranz. Dichtern des XII. u. XIII. Jahrh.* Diss. Halle, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> These last words seem to be a reminiscence of "good old Mantuan", *Ecl.* 1, 42: me mea Galla suo sic circumvenerat ore/ut captam pedicis circumdat aranea muscam.



to cite Tasso I, Son. 8: ondeggiavano sparsi i bei crin d'oro / Ond' Amor mille e mille lacci ordiva; id. Son. 49, 252; Ariosto, Madrigale 1: le chiome bionde / Di che più volte hai la tua rete intesta; Son. 25: l'aureo crine, onde Amor fece quella / Rete, etc.; cf. Son. 9; Petrarch I, Son. 215: O chiome bionde, di che 'l cor m'annoda / Amor, e così preso il mena a morte; id. Canz. 14, Son. 164.

This conceit does not appear, as far as I have discovered, in exactly this form in ancient literature, but the idea is evidently due to it. Both Greek and Latin poets often write of Love (Aphrodite, Venus, Eros, Amor, Cupido) as a hunter who ensnares lovers in a net,<sup>1</sup> and Greek poets sometimes describe the eyes of their beloved, not the hair, as the net in which their gaze or their heart is held captive. The origin of this idea is to be found, I think, in a fragment of Ibycus, Fr. 2 (Bergk 3, p. 236): *Ἔρως . . . με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὀμμασι δερκόμενος . . . δίκτυα Κύπριδος <με> βάλλει*. The next step, however, the identification of the eye with the net, seems to have been due to Alexandrian poetry; cf. Dioscorides, A. P. 5, 56: *γλῆναι λασίαισιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν ἀστράπτουσai*. / *σπλάγχνων ἡμετέρων δίκτυα καὶ παγίδες*; cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 113: *Καὐτὸς Ἔρως ὁ πτανὸς ἐν αἰθέρι δέσμιος ἦλω / ἀγρευθεὶς τοῖς σοῖς ὀμμασι*; id. 12, 109, 144; Philostr. Ep. 10: *οὕτω καὶ γὰρ σε ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φέρω πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων δικτύοις*. Very often, too, the eye is described as baited with bird-lime; cf. A. P. 5, 100: *εἴ μοι τις μέμφοιτο, δαεὶς ὅτι λάτρης Ἔρωτος / φοιτῶ, θηρευτὴν ὀμμασιν ἱξὸν ἔχων*; cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 132; Rhianus ib. 12, 142; Aristaen. Ep. 2, 21.<sup>2</sup> In the Roman erotic poets I have noticed no example of either of these conceits. The idea, however, that the eyes were snares for lovers must have been common<sup>3</sup> since

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ariphron vs. 5 (Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 134): *οὗς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἔρκεσιν θηρεύομεν*. Meleager, A. P. 5, 177; Plautus, Trin. 237; Lucret. 4, 1146 sq.; Ov. Her. 19, 45; cf. Carm. Bur. (ed. Schmeller) 116, 3: *tendit modo retia/ puer pharetratus*; ib. 129, 3; from modern poetry cf. Petrarch I, Son. 142, 147, 163, 167; Boccaccio, La Teseide 3, 43; so Douglas in Prol. to Aen. 4, speaks of Love as "Quent fendes net, to God and man odibill"; cf. Dunbar, Poems 46, 102; Milton P. R. 2, 162, "amorous nets".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Timotheos fr. 15 (Bergk 3, 625): *οὐθ' ὁ πτερωτὸς ἱξὸς ὀμμάτων, Ἔρως / ὁ Κύπριδος κυναγός, ἡ φρενῶν ἄκεις*; Plautus Bacc. 50: *viscus merus vestra est blanditia*; (cf. Anth. Lat. No. 381: *ut visco capiuntur aves; ut retibus apri, / sic ego nunc Dulcis diro sum captus amore*.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the expression in Plautus, M. G. 990: *viden tu illam oculis venaturam facere atque aucupium auribus?*



Phaedr. 4, 5, 4 describes a girl, *oculis venantem viros*. The conceit, moreover, turns up again in the Middle Ages; cf. Carm. Bur. 57: *sic capi cogit sedulus/me laqueo/virgineo/cordis venator oculis*;<sup>1</sup> ib 172, 8: *ubi Venus digito/iuvenes venatur/oculis inlaqueat/facie predatur*; ib. 137, 4: *visus tuus ligat me/miserum frequenter*. Nor in modern literature is this form of the conceit very common; we may note Ariosto, Son. 32: *D'ogni sguardo soave in somma fatte/Le reti onde a intricarsi il mio cor vola*; in this same sonnet he also makes the eyebrows the net: *Le ciglia e quei legami/Del mio cor*; Baif, Am. de Meline, ed. cit., p. 100: *cet œil m'éprit et ce rét m'arresta/Pris et bruslé par leur douce cautelle*; cf. Jodelle, Chansons 3; Desportes, Eleg. 1, 4: *vous qui tenez ma vie en vos yeux prisonnière*. In English poetry, cf. Wyatt, Doubtful Love: "Avising the bright beams of those fair eyes/Where he abides that mine oft moistens and washeth, . . . What webs there he hath wrought well he perceiveth"; Sidney, As. and St. 11: "Love . . . thou straight lookst babies in her eyes,/In her cheeks pit thou didst thy pit-fold set"; Lodge, Rosalynd, p. 121, Phoebe writes to Ganymede, "My eyes . . . were drawn by beauty, which being rare, . . . has so snared the freedom of Phoebe as she restes at thy mercie". Who was responsible for this shift from eyes to hair it is impossible to say. Petrarch seems to have been the first to make the change, inspired, perhaps, by some such passage as Chrétien, Cligés 1194 sq. where Fenice's hair is woven into the web of a garment and is indistinguishable from the gold thread; cf. Spenser, cited above.

The next item in Watson's catalogue, "Her sparkling eies in heav'n a place deserve", cf. Son. 21: "Her eies which are two heavenly stars", furnishes an example of what is perhaps the most common conceit in modern poetry, the comparison of the lady's eyes which are always bright, to the stars, sun, moon. Although Shakespeare exclaims, Son. 21: "So is it not with me as with that Muse . . . Who heaven itself for ornament doth use,

<sup>1</sup> In view of the passage quoted from Phaedrus and the frequency in ancient literature of the conceit that a maid hunts hearts (cf. Ov. Med. Fac. 27) and ensnares them with her eyes, it is hard to see how Meyer, Zeitschr. f. D. Altert. 29, p. 181, in arguing that this poem has a German origin, can cite these words as proof and claim that they repeat a German proverb, *ez sint gedanke und ougen des herzen jeger tougen*, Freidank 115. The evidence would seem to show that the reverse is true.



... Making a complement of proud compare/With sun and moon", etc., and although he ridicules such comparisons, cf. *L. L. L.* 4, 3, 5, 2; *T. of S.*, 4, 5—yet he employs these same conceits both in his sonnets and in his plays; cf. *Son.* 14, 49; *W. T.* 5, 1; *M. N. D.* 1, 1; especially, *R. and J.* 2, 2: "Juliet is the sun! . . . Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,/ Having some business, do entreat her eyes/To twinkle in their spheres till they return", etc. Among his predecessors it will suffice to note *Barnes*, *Son.* 34; *Ode* 10; *Constable*, *Diana*, 7, 1; *Daniel*, *Delia*, 30; *Gascoign*, *Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*; *Spenser*, *Am.* 1, 9; *Sidney*, *As. and St.* 8; of the dramatists, cf. *Lyly*, *Midas* 4, 1; *Kyd*, *Soliman and Perseda*, 4, 1, 75 sq.; *Spanish Trag.* 3, 14, 99; from the earlier poets, cf. *Hawes*, *Past. of Pleasure*, *Cant. XIX*: "O eyen bright as starre refulgent"; the description of *Helen* in the old alliterative translation of *Guido's Hist. Troiana* (cf. *E. E. Texts* 39, 56), vs. 3036: "Hir ene wull full onest euyn of a mesure,/Shynyng full shene as the shire sternys". Note the different character of this conceit in *Chaucer*, *Prol.* 269, of the *Frere*, "his eyen twinkled in his heed aright/As doon the sterres in the frosty night"; this is imitated by *Heywood*, *In Praise of his Lady*: "Her beauty twinkleth like a star/Within the frosty night", and in *Wily Beguiled* (*Dodsley-Hazlitt* v. 9, p. 314). In French and Italian poetry the conceit is even more common; cf. *Desportes*, *Diane* 1, 11, 35; *Cleonice* 24, 54; *Baïf*, *Am. de Meline* 1 (p. 101): *en deus beaus yeux . . . Deus beaux soleils*; *Jodelle*, *Chanson* 3: *Alors du tout sur luy tes deux beaux astres/Luiront sans cesse*; *ib.* *Chanson* 10; *Chapitres d'Amour* 2; *Marot*, *Epigr.* 165: *celle qui porte un front cler et serain/Semblant un ciel où deux planettes luyent*. It is the favorite comparison employed by *Lorenzo de' Medici* to describe the brightness of his lady's eyes, cf. *Son.* 25, 68, 69, 71, and *Petrarch* continually likens *Laura's* eyes to the sun, moon, or stars; cf. I, *Son.* 140: *Mirando 'l Sol de' begli occhi sereno*; *id.* 125, 127, II, 315; cf. *Tasso* I, *Son.* 10, 21, 151; *Sannazaro*, *Arcadia*, *Prosa IV*: *occhi lucidissimi scintillavano, non altrimenti che le chiare stelle sogliono nel sereno e limpido cielo*; from the earlier poets, cf. *Lapo Gianni* (*Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, *Fir.* 1816), 2, p. 121: *gli occhi suoi lucenti come stella*; *Lanzaloto* *ib.* 1, 164: *Como lo Sol . . . così mi fan li vostri occhi sbaldire*. The figure is common, also, in Spanish literature; cf. *Montemayor*, *La Diana* I, *Lib. IV*: *Si hebra de oro son*



vuestros cabellos,/ á cuya sombra estan los claros ojos,/ dos soles, and Cervantes ridicules it in *Don Quix.* II, ch. 44: en la luz de tus dos soles/se siente abrasa el alma. From early French poetry, cf. *Lorris, La Roman de la Rose* 2991: Li oel qui en son chief estoient/A deus estoilles ressembloient, and *Chrétien de Troyes, Erec et Enide* 433: Li huil si grant clarté rendoient/Que deus estoilles ressembloient.

In Greek and Latin poetry of the best period this comparison<sup>1</sup> is not as common as one would suppose, and the earliest example which I have noted is *Prop.* 2, 3, 14: oculi, geminae sidera nostra faces. That it occurred in *Callimachus*, however, we may infer, I think, from the description of *Cydippe* given by *Ovid* and *Aristaenetus*; *Ov. Her.* 19, 55: oculique tui quibus ignea cedunt/Sidera; *Arist. Ep.* 1, 10: ἀμφω δὲ λαμπροῖς ὄμμασιν οἷον ἀστέρες ἀνταγοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, φαιδρότερον τῆς ἀλλήλων ἀπέλαυον ἀγλαίας, cf. *ib.* 1, 7; *Ov. Am.* 2, 16, 44: perque oculos, sidera nostra, tuos; *ib.* 3, 3, 9; *M.* 1, 499; 3, 420; *Petron.* 126 where the beauty has oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus; *Mart.* 4, 42, of his ideal slave-boy: lumina sideribus certent; *Stat. Silv.* 2, 1, 41: O ubi purpureo suffusus sanguine candor/sidereiue orbes, radiataque lumina caelo/Et castigatae collecta modestia frontis. In later Latin poetry the conceit is very common;<sup>2</sup> cf. *Arboreus*, ad *Nympham* 33: cum radiis certare Iovis tua lumina possent,/Et possent radiis vincere signa Iovis; *Incerti ad Lydiam* 9: pande puella stellatos oculos; it occurs in *Carm. Bur.* 40, 141, 6; in *Hildebert of Tours* (*Migne* 171, col. 1309) *Passio S. Agnetis*; in *Anselm*, ed. *Dümmler*, *Vers. Eporediensis* I, 17, 259. Interesting parallels to the passage cited above from *Romeo and Juliet* are *Philostr. Ep.* 10: ἀπιδὼν δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἡγοῦμαι κατιέναι καὶ κάτω που βαδίζειν, ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ σὲ φαίνειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ νύξ γένοιτο, δύο βλέπω μόνους ἀστέρας, τὸν ἑσπερον καὶ σέ; and *Jodelle, Son.* 5: Si deux flambeaux du ciel les plus vifs ont pris place/Dessous ton front.

<sup>1</sup> Very common, on the other hand, is the comparison of a person's beauty to a star or to the sun or moon; cf. *Alcman fr.* 23 (*Bergk* 3, p. 38); *Sappho fr.* 3; *Hom. Hymn.* 4, 86; *Theocr.* 18, 26; *Ap. Rh.* 1, 774; *Meleager A. P.* 12, 59; *Musaeus* 55; *Hor.* 3, 9, 21, 19, 26; *Ov. Her.* 17, 150; *Claud. Epithal. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 243. The figure goes back to *Hom. Il.* 6, 401.

<sup>2</sup> Hence it is found in the *Ars versificatoria* of *Mathieu de Vendôme*, an item in a stock description of a beauty: stellis preradiant oculi; *vs.* 15; ed. *Bougain*, p. 26.



The eyes are often compared, also, to lamps or torches or flames, and Love is represented as lighting his torches at the lady's eyes. Thus Lodge, *Rosalynd*, p. 70, makes Rosader sing of Rosalynd: "Nature herself her shape admires,/ The gods are wounded in her sight,/ And Love forsakes his heavenly fires,/ And at her eyes his brand doth light"; Jonson, *Underwoods*, A Nymph's Passion: "he hath eyes . . . Where Love may all his torches light"; Chapman, *First Son. to his Mistress Philosophy*: "Lovers kindling your enraged fires/ At Cupid's bon-fires burning in the eye"; Shakespeare *Son. 153*: "At my mistress' eye Love's brand new-fired/ The boy for trial needs would touch my breast"; cf. *id. V. and A. 1128*: "Where lo! two lamps burnt out in darkness lies"; with this cf. Spenser *F. Q. 3, 5, 29*, of the wounded Timias: "In whose fair eyes, like lamps of quenched fire"; for the other idea cf. *id. F. Q. 2, 3, 23*: "In her eyes . . . the blinded god his lustful fire/ To kindle oft assayd". Peele, *Dav. and Beth. 3, 2*, calls David "the lampe of Israel/ From whose bright eyes all eyes receive their light"; <sup>1</sup> Du Bartas, trans. by Sylvester, *Divine Weekes*, 6th Day, 1st Week: "These lovely lamps whose sweet sparks", etc.; Sidney, *Arcadia Bk. 3*, Musidorus' song to Pamela: "Her sight where Love did forge his fairest dart"; cf. *ib. As. and St. 46*; Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte 1115*: "hir eyn in certeyn,/ Resemblede unto torchys tweyn"; Chaucer, *R. of R. 3200*: "Hir eyen . . . cleer and light/ As any candel that brenneth bright". Although the French and Italian poets frequently refer to the flame which darts forth from the eye (cf. the passages cited below), I have found no example of the conceit which makes Love light his torch there;<sup>2</sup> nor does the comparison of the eye to a lamp or torch occur often; cf. Desportes, *El. 1, 11*: portant dans les yeux/ Tous les flambeaux d'Amour qui consomment les dieux; *id. Diane, 2, 75*; Baïf, *Amour Fuitif*, p. 55: ses yeux comme

<sup>1</sup> Aristaen. *Ep. 1, 1*, uses this conceit of a lady's beauty: τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ περίεστιν εὐπρεπείας ὥς τῶν προσιόντων ἀγλαίζειν τὰς κόρας τὴν Δαίδα. This idea I shall consider at length in a later paper.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting variant is furnished by Maurice Scève (in Crepet, *Les Poet. Fran. 1*, p. 647): L'Archer fut sans traict, Cypris sans flamme./ Ne pleure pas, Venus; mais bien enflamme/ La torche en moy, mon cœur l'allumera. With this cf. Anth. Plan. 209: οὗτος ὁ τὸν δαλδὺν φυσῶν, ἵνα λύχνον ἀνάψῃς/ δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς ψυχᾶς ἄψον ὅλος φλέγομαι. Cf. *A. P. 9, 15*.



chandelles/Brillant autour d'ardentes étincelles;<sup>1</sup> id. Am. de Meline 1 (p. 100): Dedans cest œil Amour a mis sa flâme; Guido Guinicelli (Poeti 1, p. 100) says of Lucia, gli occhi suo' ch' en (= sono) due fiamme di fuoco. The conceit appears in Chrétien, Cligés 813, where of Soredamour it is said that she has "clear eyes like two candles aflame", iauz . . . qui samblent deus chandoiles qui ardent.

For the appearance of this conceit in ancient literature, we may cite Musaeus 90: ξὺν βλεφάρων δ' ἀκτίσιν ἀέξετο πυρσὸς ἐρώτων. Marot, Leander et Hero, 170 sq., translates this closely: Aux raiz des yeulx creut le brandon plus fort/D'Amour cruel; in Heliod. Aegyp. 3, 4, Charikleia appears carrying in one hand a bow, in the other a torch, but "her eyes shine brighter than the light from the torch"; cf. Claud. Epith. de Nupt. Hon. Aug. 266: non crines aequant violae, non lumina flammae; id. Carm. Min. 30, 120 (ed. Koch p. 243): utraque luminibus timidum micat, utraque pulchro/excitât ore faces; Stat. Ach. 1, 164, of Achilles: tranquillaeque faces oculis; Prop. 2, 3, 14, calls Cynthia's eyes geminae faces,<sup>2</sup> and Tibul. 4, 2, 5, says of Sulpicia: illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,/accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor,—a passage which the English poets and Desportes seem to have had in mind. This form of the conceit, indeed, as far as we can judge, seems to have originated with Tibullus. That the eyes emit flames of fire is, however, a commonplace in all poetry and is especially frequent in the later Greek epigrams and rhetorical exercises; cf. Pind. fr. 123: τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας προσώπου μαρμαριζοίσας δρακείς, Soph. ap. Athen. 564 C (cf. frag. 433 N): τοιάνδ' ἐν ὄψει λίγγα θηρατηρίαν/ἔρωτος, ἀστραπήν τιν' ὀμμάτων ἔχει. With these passages, cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 127: διπλαῖ δ' ἀκτῖνές με κατέφλεγον· αἱ μὲν Ἔρωτος/παιδὸς ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἡελίου. Strato, ib. 12, 196: ὀφθαλμοὺς σπινθήρας ἔχεις . . . ἀστράπτεις ὄμμασιν. Cf. A. P. 5, 111, 251, 12, 72, Philostr. Jun. Imag. 9, 1; Callistr. Descr. 3, 3; Himer. Or. 1, 19; of the Latin poets it will suffice to cite Ov. Ars Am. 1, 573; 2, 721; Stat. Silv. 2, 6, 54 sq. The conceit is simply an

<sup>1</sup> Moschus, 1, 7, a poem which Balf is translating, says simply: ὀμματα δ' αὐτῷ/δριμύλα καὶ φλογέοντα.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the poem in Wernsdorf, PLM. 3, 197: huc illuc flectat ocellos,/hinc illinc videas currere mille faces; the poem, which is ascribed to Gallus, is late; cf. Teuffel, Geschich. d. Röm. Literatur (6th ed.) 2, p. 51. We may note, also, Carm. Bur. 132, 3: lampas oculorum/concertat carbunculo.



extension of a very natural metaphor ; cf. such passages as Soph. Trach. 379 of Iole : ἡ κάρτα λαμπρὰ καὶ κατ' ὄμμα καὶ φύσιν. Bacchyl. 17, 54 (Jebb) ; Hom. Il. 19, 366 of Achilles : τὸ δέ οἱ ὄσσε/λαμπέσθην ὥσεί τε πυρὸς σέλας.

This flame which comes from the eyes of the lady passes through the lover's eyes into his heart. "Thine eye darts forth the fire that burneth me", cries Venus to Adonis in Shakespeare's poem (vs. 196), and this is the cry of every literary lover to his beloved ; cf. Daniel, Delia 14 ; Constable, Diana 1, 5, 6, 5 ; Barnes, Son. 94 : "Through mine eye thine eyes' fire inflames my liver" ; id. 61, 65 ; Watson, Hecatomp. 35, 41 ; Sidney, As. and St. 42, 47, 66, especially 20 ; Wyatt, "The lively sparks that issue from those eyes" ; id. "Through mine eye the stroke from hers did glide" ; Peele, Dav. and Beth. 1, 1, 106 : "Thy bones faire covering . . . Afar mine eyes with all thy beauties pierst" ; Hawes, Past. of Pleas. XVIII : "Your beauty . . . my hart did perce with love" ; Spenser, Am. 7, and the Roundelay in Shep. Cal. Aug. vs. 27 sq. : "The glaunce into my heart did glide", and vs. 63 : "Shee slewe me with her eye", which comes from Chaucer, Kn. Tale 709 : "Ye sleen me with your eyen, Emelye ;" cf. too, Barnes, Son. 87 ; Shakespeare, R. and J. 2, 4 : "Stabb'd with a white wench's black eye" ; id. As You Like It 5, 2 : "Wounded with the eyes of a lady" ; Chaucer, Kn. Tale 240 : "But I was hurt right now throughout myn yë/Into myn herte" ; Lydgate, Temple of Glas 583, may have had this in mind : "For with the stremes of hir eyen clere/I am y-wounded even to the hert" ; so id. 815 ; Gower, Conf. Am. 1, 322 sq. Such passages may have been due to Froissart, L'Espinette Amoureuse 2009 sq. : mon coer . . . est playés/D'un ardant dart qui fu forgiés/D'uns douls vairs yex ; cf. id. Paradys d'Amour 492. Later French poetry is full of this conceit ; cf. Du Bartas, Sepm. Six. Jour. 523 sq. : ces miroirs de l'esprit<sup>1</sup> . . . par qui (comme à travers deux luisantes verrieres)/Ils dardent leurs plus vives lumieres ; Desportes, Cleon. 37 ; Diane 1, 11, 19, 47 ; Baïf, Am. de Meline, ed. cit. pp. 100, 101-2 ; Am. de Francine pp. 151, 159 ; Ronsard, Son. a Cassandre : Le jour qu'un œil sur l'Avril de mon âge,/Tira d'un coup mille traits dans mon flanc ; Jodelle, Les Amours 1 :

<sup>1</sup> We may see through these "windows of the soul," as Sylvester translates the phrase, back into a distant past when the phrase was understood in its literal sense ; cf. Smith, Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve, pp. 295 sq.



L'amour de vos beaux yeux la poitrine m'enflamme ; id. Chanson 10. With the lines from Du Bartas, quoted above, cf. Charles d'Orleans, Poeme de la Prison, Ballade 45: Quant le doux soleil gracieux/De vostre beaulté entrera/Par les fenestres de mes yeulx ; cf. id. Ballades No. 22.

In Italian poetry, also, the conceit is very common ; cf. Tasso, I, Son. 109, 126 ; Lorenzo de' Medici, Son. 45, 72, 91, 93 ; Berni, L'Orl. Innamor. 19, 2: Questo era il colpo maestro e mortale /Che trovava la via per gli occhi al core ; Petrarch I, Son. 103: Dagli occhi vostri uscio 'l colpo mortale ; id. Son. 3: Amor . . . aperta la via per gli occhi al core ; id. Son. 55: I begli occhi ond' i' fui percosso, . . . In ogni parte e più sovra 'l mio fianco ;<sup>1</sup> cf. also Son. 115, Canz. 19. In Dante this "flame of love" takes the form of a "spirit of love", which, however, has the same effect ; cf. Vita Nuova 19: Degli occhi suoi, come ch' ella gli muova,/Escono spirti d'amore<sup>2</sup> infiammati,/Che fieron gli occhi a qual ch' allor gli guati,/E passan sì che 'l cor ciascun ritrova,—a passage closely imitated by Lorenzo de' Medici, Canz. 91, and which may have inspired Poliziano, Gli Occhi d'Ippolita Leoncina :<sup>3</sup> Dagli occhi della Ippolita discende/Cinto di fiamme un angiolel d'amore. Poliziano could have drawn, however, as Dante undoubtedly did, from Guido Cavalcanti (Poeti v. 2, p. 282): Esce dagli occhi suoi, là ond' io ardo/Un gentiletto spirito d'Amore ; cf. id. p. 278 ; Dante, Vita Nuova 26. For the usual form of this conceit in the early poets, cf. Piero delle Vigne (Poeti v. 1, p. 51): Uno possente sguardo/Coralmen' m' ha feruto . . . un dardo che mi passoe lo core mantato ; Rinaldo d'Aquino, ib. p. 219 ; Guido Guinicelli, ib. pp. 108, 110 ; Jacopo da Lentino, ib. pp. 266, 315 ; Simbuono Giudice, ib. v. 2, p. 82.

These early Italian poets evidently drew this doctrine from the French Troubadours, and we find it thus set forth, for exam-

<sup>1</sup> Ronsard may have been imitating this line. Baif, ed. Marty-Laveaux p. 116, translates it: Les beaux yeux qui au cœur me blesserent, . . . mais dans mon gauche flanc bien plus qu'en autre place ; cf. Ingraham, The Sources of Les Amours de J. A. Baif, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> For these "spirits of love" and references to them in the Florentine poets, cf. Mott, The System of Courtly Love, p. 122, n. 1. The idea seems to have developed from an ancient theory exploited by Heliod. Aegyp. 3, 7 ; cf. below.

<sup>3</sup> Puccianti, op. cit. p. 185.



ple, in Chrétien, *Cligés* 695 sq.: "The dart of Love . . . passes through the eye without injuring it or causing it pain, enters the heart and there wounds grievously. How? The eye is the mirror<sup>1</sup> of the heart, and through this mirror, without injuring it or breaking it, the flame passes into the heart. . . . As the sun pierces glass without breaking it, so can the heart be reached through the eyes". It seems to be a common impression<sup>2</sup> that this doctrine was due chiefly to Chrétien; that "the slight traces of it found in earlier writers were developed by him with such subtlety that it became an essential element of the theory of love". Chrétien was by no means the first, however, to develop "a formal doctrine on this subject," for we find the doctrine<sup>3</sup> already formally developed, and with just as much subtlety, in ancient literature. The following passages will make this clear; Musaeus 92: κάλλος γὰρ περίπυστον ἀμώμητοιο γυναικὸς/ὀξύτερον μερό-  
πεςσι πέλει πτερόεντος ὀϊστοῦ/ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο  
βολάων/ἔλκος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὀδεύει. This passage is but a close imitation of Achilles Tatius I, 4: κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον  
τιτρώσκει βέλους, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ. In 5, 13, Tatius preaches this doctrine with all the subtlety that we find in Chrétien: ἡ δὲ τῆς θεᾶς ἡδονὴ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα, τοῖς στέρνοις  
ἐγκάθηται· ἔλκουσα δὲ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸ εἶδωλον αἰεὶ, ἐναπομάττεται τῇ τῆς  
ψυχῆς κατόπτρῳ, καὶ ἀναπλάττει τὴν μορφήν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροὴ δι'  
ἀφανῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρωτικὴν ἐλκομένη καρδίαν, ἐναποσφραγίζει κάτω τὴν  
σκιάν; cf. ib. I, 9: ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντανακλώμενοι, ἀπομάττουσιν  
ὥς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ εἶδωλα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή, δι'

<sup>1</sup> Li iauz . . . c'est li mireors au cœur; the sense seems to demand the translation of 'mireors' by "window", and so Sylvester translated it in the passage from Du Bartas, quoted above. Guinicelli, l. c., evidently understood 'mireors' as 'finestra', for his simile is, Come fa lo trono/Che fer per la finestra della torre. Other poets, however, introduce both 'vetro' and 'specchio'; so Lentino, p. 315, and Giudice l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mott, op. cit. pp. 9, 31, from whom I quote. A similar statement is made by J. H. Hanford, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 26, 1911, p. 161. Wolff, however, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, p. 135, notes that the idea is a survival from ancient literature.

<sup>3</sup> This doctrine, it may be noted, was used by Christian writers to explain the Virgin birth; cf. Hymn. ad Mariam, Mone, *Hymni Lat. Medii Aevi* 2, p. 63: sicut vitrum radio/solis penetratur/inde tamen laesio/nulla vitro datur,/sic immo subtilius,/matre non corrupta/deus dei filius/sua prodit nupta; cf. id. I, p. 62. They drew, doubtless, from ancient sources.



αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέουσα ἔχει τινὰ μίξιν ἐν ἀποστάσει<sup>1</sup>; cf. ib. 6, 6-7. This idea that love flows through the eyes into the heart and the theory of the εἶδωλον go back to Plato; for the former, cf. Crat. 420 A: ἔρως δέ, . . . ἴσρεϊ ἔξωθεν καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ῥοή αὕτη τῇ ἔχοντι ἀλλ' ἐπείσακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων; for the latter, cf. Phaedr. 250 A sq. Both occur frequently in the writings of later philosophers and rhetoricians; cf. Ps.-Demosthen. Erot. 13 sq.; Xenoph. Conv. 4, 21; Luc. Am. 2-3; Plut. Moral. 759, 765 sq.; Liban. Descr. Pulchritud. p. 1069 (Reiske v. 4); Himer. Ecl. X, 12; Max. Tyr. XIX, 2. According to Philostratus, Ep. 12, it is through the eyes only that beauty enters the heart, "for the eyes," he goes on, "are not fortified by ramparts of wood and brick as are the citadels of kings, but by the eyelids only, and Love slips quietly and by degrees into the heart, quickly since he is winged, easily since he is naked, without a battle since he is a bowman; and the eyes, since they are the first things to perceive beauty, are all the more readily set on fire". Very similar to this is Aristaen. Ep. 2, 7, where we read that through ears<sup>2</sup> and eyes Love with his torch and arrows slipped into a maiden's heart; cf. ib. 2, 18. Surely in personifications of this sort we are not very far from the "spirits of love" of the early Italian poets, whatever philosophical interpretation may have been placed upon them,<sup>3</sup> and in Heliodor. 3, 7, indeed, love at first sight is explained by the passage of a πνεῦμα, "spirit", through the eyes into the soul. In Apul. Met. 10, 3 (p. 238 H) we again have the idea of a flame which passes through the eye: isti enim tui oculi per meos oculos ad intima delapsi praecordia meis medullis acerrimum commovent incendium. Apuleius seems to be imitating Catul. 64, 91 sq. in his description of the meeting of Ariadne and Theseus: non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit (Ariadne)/lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam/funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis. Catullus in turn is imitating Ap. Rh. 3, 286 sq., who, after describing how Eros wounds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rohde, Gr. Roman,<sup>2</sup> pp. 158 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Theophyl. Ep. 26 (H. p. 771). In the Romance of Flamenca (ed. Meyer) 2715 sq. Guillaume complains that he is wounded in two places, through the ears and eyes; per l'aurella e per l'uill/Li pres lo coup don tan mi doil; cf. Shakespeare, R. and J. 2, 4: "Shot through the ear with a love song"; Meleager, A. P. 5, 212: αἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἤχος Ἐρωτος.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Salvadori, La Poesia Giovanile e la Canzone d'Amore di Guido Cavalcanti pp. 64 sq.



Medea with his arrow, thus setting her on fire with love for Jason, adds: ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ/βάλλεν ὑπ' Ἀισονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, καὶ οἱ ἄηντο/στηθείων ἐκ . . . φρένες.

The idea that the eyes are responsible for love occurs frequently in one form or another throughout classic literature. It appears as early, at least, as Hesiod Theog. 910: τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρως εἴβετο δερκομενάων/λυσιμελῆς, a passage cited by Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 196, to illustrate Alkman fr. 36: Ἔρως με δαῦτε Κύπριδος φέκατι/γλυκὺς κατεῖβων καρδίαν λαίνει. Perhaps Aeschylus Agam. 416 sq. had these ideas in mind when he thus described the loveless state of Menelaus after Helen had fled with Paris: εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν/ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρὶ/ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις/ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα. Cf. Eurip. Hipp. 525 sq.: Ἔρως, Ἔρως, δ' κατ' ὀμμάτων/στάζειε πόθον,<sup>1</sup> εἰσάγων γλυκεῖαν/ψυχαῖς χάριν οὗς ἐπιστρατεύσῃ,/μή μοι ποτε σὺν κακῇ φανείης. Elsewhere, too, Aeschylus speaks expressly of "the bolt" from the eye", cf. Agam. 743, of Helen: μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος/δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος; cf. ib. 239; fr. 238 (Nauck), and Supp. 1004: καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἐπι/πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὀμματος θελκτήριον/τόξευμ' ἐπεμψεν ἱμέρου νικῶμενος; cf. Soph. Ant. 795: νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων/ἱμερος εὐλέκτρον/νύμφας. Eurip. Hec. 442 says of Helen: διὰ καλῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων/. . . Τροίαν εἶλε, and I. A. 583 of Paris, δὲ τᾶς Ἑλένας/ἐν ἀνθρώποις βλεφάροις/ἔρωτα δίδωκας. All these expressions occur frequently in the Greek Anthology and later rhetorical writings; cf. A. P. 12, 161, 110, 72, 83, 109, 144; 5, 111; Philostr. Imag. 2, 19, 3; Callistr. Descr. 5, 1; 14; Liban. l. c. p. 1071. The Roman poets, on the other hand, with few exceptions (cf. Prop. 4, 8, 55, fulminat illa oculis) are content with the simple statement that "the eyes are leaders in love",<sup>2</sup> Prop. 2, 15, 12: cf. Ov. A. A. 3, 510, and Pichon, Serm. Amat. s. v. oculus.

Such passages as these I have quoted, and they are by no means exhaustive,<sup>4</sup> show how old and how prevalent was the idea

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hesych. 2, p. 751: ὀμμάτειος πόθος διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν ἀλίσκεσθαι ἐρωτι. "ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἑσορᾶν γίνετ' ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν".

<sup>2</sup> This expression is common in the later rhetoricians; cf. Luc. Am. 6; Alciph. Ep. 3, 1; Callistr. Descr. 7, 2; Liban. p. 1070, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Philostr. Ep. 41 calls the eyes ξύμβολοι τοῦ ἐρᾶν; Achil. Tat. 1, 9, φιλίας πρόξενοι; Max. Tyr. 19, 2, ὁδοὶ καλλοῦς; Folquet de Marseille (Bartsch, Chrestom., p. 157, 4) speaks of them as "messengers of the heart".

<sup>4</sup> A few other examples are given by Lang, Mod. Lang. Notes 23, 1908, p. 127.



which is expressed most beautifully, perhaps, by Shakespeare in the song in *M. of V.* 3, 2: "Tell me where is fancy bred/Or in the heart or in the head? . . . It is engender'd in the eyes/With gazing fed". The very age and prevalency of this idea, however, should prevent us from trying to find, as some have done, a definite source for this song; for such attempts cf. *Quarterly Rev.* 134 (1873) pp. 104 sq., where it is argued<sup>1</sup> that Shakespeare is imitating a sonnet of Jacopo da Lentino (*Poeti v.* 1, p. 308); *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, XII, p. 304; *The Nation* (N. Y.) March 30, 1911, p. 315; *ib.* May 4, p. 444, where J. E. De Perott quotes a close parallel from an early Spanish novel and the passage from *Achil. Tat.* (1, 4) cited above. To be compared, also, are a sonnet of Guido Orlando (*Poeti v.* 2, p. 273): "Onde si muove e donde nasce amore? . . . È cagion d'occhi, o è voler di cuore"? Lodge, *Rosalynd*, p. 121: "If then . . . love enters at the eyes, harbors in the heart", etc.; Douglas, *Prol. Aen. Bk. IV*: "Lufe is a kyndly passioun, engendryt of heyt/Kyndlyt in the hart, ourspreying al the cors". For the relation of this idea to the mediaeval debate between the eye and heart, cf. Hanford, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 26, 1911, pp. 161 sq.

In several of the passages from the Greek poets which have just been quoted, it is impossible to decide whether "love" should not be written with a capital,—whether we should not cite them as examples of a conceit which became common later, a conceit which places a personified Love in the maiden's eye, on her cheek, or in her bosom, whence he is often represented as shooting his fiery darts into the lover's heart. The following examples from modern literature will illustrate the nature of this conceit. Shakespeare, *Song in Two Gent. of Ver.* 4, 2: "Love doth to her eyes repair/To help him of his blindness,/And being help'd inhabits there"; Heywood, *A Praise of His Lady*, prettily combines this conceit with one considered above: "In each of her two crystal eyes/Smileth a naked boy; /It would you all in heart suffice/To see that lamp of joy"; Watson, *Hecatomp. Son.* 21: "Venus herselfe doth dwell within her face"; Lodge, *Rosalynd* p. 82 (*The Wooing Eclogue*): "By those sweet cheeks where Love encamped lies/To kiss the roses of the springing year"; *id.* p. 70, Rosader's description of *Rosalynd*: "Her neck like to a stately tower,/Where Love himself imprisoned lies";

<sup>1</sup> This article anticipates Harris, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 22, 1907, p. 199.



id. Phillis, Son. 13, where Love flies about Phillis' lips and builds his bower in her eyes; cf. id. Rosalynd p. 35: "Love . . . Within my eyes he makes his nest", a line taken apparently either from Petrarch I, Canz. 18, occhi leggiadri, dov' Amor fa nido, or from Sannazaro, Arcad. Ecl. 2, gli occhi, ove s'annida Amore. Sidney also was very fond of this conceit; cf. As. and St. 12: "Cupid, because thou shin'st in Stella's eyes"; id. 8, Love perches on Stella's face;<sup>1</sup> ib. 11, 20; Barnes, Son. 71, describes his lady's eyes as "two clear springs of Graces; . . . There Graces infinite do bathe and sport"; id. Ode 16; Spenser, F. Q. 2, 3, 25: "Upon her eyelids many Graces sate"; Chaucer, T. and C. 1, 304: "Was ful unwar that love hadde his dwellinge/With-inne the subtile stremes of hir yën". Marlowe, Hero and Leander 1st Sest., varies the conceit: "Cupid . . . imagined Hero was his mother,/And oftentimes into her bosom flew; /About her naked neck his bare arms threw,/And laid his childish head upon her breast,/And, with still panting rock, there took his rest". Marlowe seems to have had in mind Baïf, Am. de Francine, ed. cit. p. 128: *Ma dame en un jardin amassoit des fleurettes,<sup>2</sup> . . . Amour elle trouva, qui versant tiedes pleurs/Seulet contre Venus pousoit plaintes aigrettes. . . . Ce disoit Cupidon, de Venus se plaignant,/Quand de ses belles mains Francine l'empoignant/Le nicha dans son sein. Amour dedans se joue,/Et s'ecrie en ces mots: Ma mere tu n'es plus,/C'est Francine qui l'est.* Baïf may have drawn this idea<sup>3</sup> from Marot Ep. 103, who informs us that Amour, through a very natural mistake, addressed his beloved as "ma mere"; for the same theme, cf. Baïf, Chanson p. 371; in Am. de Francine p. 135, he describes Francine's bosom as *des Amours le trop chaste séjour*. Such passages perhaps inspired Sidney, Arcad. 2, Zelmane's song<sup>4</sup>: "The lively clusters of her

<sup>1</sup> The last few lines of this sonnet, which tell how Love flew into the poet's heart, where he "while some fire-brands he did lay,/Burnt un'wares his wings and cannot fly away", Sidney seems to have borrowed from Prop. 2, 12, 12. Baïf, Am. de Meline I, 4, imitates Propertius; cf. Ingraham, op. cit. p. 15; and Propertius is imitating Meleager, A. P. 5, 212.

<sup>2</sup> In the first part of this poem Baïf imitates Anacreont. fr. 5 (Bergk; = Anth. Plan. 388: *στέφος πλέκων ποθ' εὔρον/ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις Ἔρωτα*).

<sup>3</sup> In several epigrams in the Gr. Anthology the poets describe their favorites as so like Eros that his mother would have difficulty in distinguishing them; cf. A. P. 12, 75, 76, 77, 78.

<sup>4</sup> In this "amatorious poem" Cupid is given a seat on every portion of the lady's anatomy.



breasts,/Of Venus' boy the wanton nests"; cf., also, Jonson, *Masques at Court*, 1608, *Hue and Cry After Cupid*<sup>1</sup>: "Look all these ladies' eyes/And see if there he not concealed lies! /Or in their bosoms, 'twixt their swelling breasts; /The wag affects to make himself such nests". The last line recalls Sidney, but Jonson may have had in mind also, *Catul.* 55, 12 (as Ellis in his note affirms), where the poet finds his runaway friend hiding in 'roseis papillis' of a certain maid. From Marlowe seems to have drawn Drayton, *Son.* 63: "In whose dear bosom . . . Love/Lays down his quiver that he once did bear: . . . Forsook his mother's lap to sport him there". In French poetry we may note, also, Desportes, *El.* 1, 11: *L'Amour . . . dans vos yeux embusché*, which seems to be a translation of Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177: *κηρύσσω τὸν Ἔρωτα, τὸν ἄγριον. . . . οὗ με λήθηθας/τοξότα, Ζηνοφίλας ὄμμασι κρυπτόμενος*. Cf. Desportes, *El.* 1, 7: *Yeux, où l'enfant Amour tient son celeste empire*. This same figure occurs in Tasso, *I*, *Son.* 26: *Stavasi Amor, quasi in suo regno, assiso/Nel seren di due luci ardente*; cf. *id.* *Son.* 126; Guarini (*Puccianti*, *Antologia* p. 362): *Dov' hai tu sede, Amore/Nel viso di Madonna o nel mio core?* Lorenzo de' Medici, *Son.* 32: *Amor pose /Ne' due begli occhi*; *id.* *Son.* 91; Petrarch *I*, *Canz.* 18, cited above; cf. *id.* *Son.* 31; Dante *V. N.* 27: *Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore*; Guido Cavalcanti, *Poeti* v. 2, p. 335: *gli occhi, dove Amor si mise*.

In ancient literature we find this conceit chiefly in those writers who were steeped in rhetoric, and we may safely conclude that it was a commonplace current in the rhetorical schools. It occurs in different forms; cf. Musaeus 62: *πολλαὶ δ' ἐκ μελέων Χάριτες ῥέον, οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ/τρεῖς Χάριτες ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι' εἰς δέ τις Ἡροῦς/ὀφθαλμοῖς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθήλει*, lines which are thus translated by Marot, *Leand. et Hero*, 118 sq.; *D'elle au surplus surtoient bien apparentes/Graces sans nombre, et toutes differentes./Vray est qu'en tout trois Graces nous sont paincts/Des anciens: mais ce ne sont que faincts,/Veu que d'Hero un chascun œil friant/Multiplioit cent graces en riant*. We find the same play on the number of the Graces in Aristaen. *Ep.* 1, 10, who, like Barnes in the sonnet quoted above, places them in the maiden's eye: *καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι Χάριτες οὐ τρεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδον ἀλλὰ δεκάδων περιεχόρευε δεκάς*;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177; Moschus, *Id.* 1, with Mustard, *A. J. P.* 30, 1909, pp. 277 sq. for modern adaptations.



so in Ep. 1, 1; (cf. Barnes, Son. 95: "Eyes . . . where Graces dance"). In Alciphron, Ep. 3, 1, a girl writes of her lover, "The Graces ply their dances (*ἐνορχεῖσθαι*) on his cheek", and in 3, 65, the same statement is made of the Horae; cf. Luc.<sup>1</sup> Imag. 9: ἡ Χάρις, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσαι ἅμα ὀπόσαι Χάριτες καὶ ὀπόσοι Ἔρωτες περιχορεύοντες· cf. Liban. Descr. Pulchr. p. 1070: ἐπ' ἐκείνο τὸ πρόσωπον περιχόρευον Χάριτες, and Himerius, Or. 1, 19, describes a bride as one with whom the Graces, Venus, and the Horae sport; cf. A. P. 12, 181. The only occurrence of this form of the conceit in classic Latin which I have noted is Catul. 68, 133, who thus writes of Lesbia, lux mea . . . quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido/fulgebat. It turns up again, however, in Alcimus, Anth. Lat. 1, 2, 714: oculos. . . illic et Venus et leves Amores/atque . . . in medio sedet Voluptas.

Such passages, in turn, are but echoes of the earlier poets; cf. Anacreont. 15 (Bergk 3, p. 307): τρυφεροῦ δ' ἔσω γενείου/περὶ λυγδίνῃ τραχήλῃ/Χάριτες πέτοινο πᾶσαι. Ap. Rh. 3, 1017: ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρήματος Ἀισονίδαο/στράπτειν Ἔρως ἠδεῖαν ἄπο φλόγα,<sup>2</sup> with which cf. A. P. 5, 26: ἡ ῥά γε ταύταις/θριξὶ συνοικήσει καὶ πολιῇσιν Ἔρως. Theocr. 18, 37, says of Helen,<sup>3</sup> Ἑλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἱμεροὶ ἐντι, words which recall the passages quoted above (p. 139) from Soph. Ant. 795 and Aeschyl. Supp. 1004; we may compare, too, Eurip. Bacch. 235, where Dionysus is described: ξανθοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν εὐδόμοις κομῶν/οἰνωπός, ὅσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων· Pindar, Nem. 8, 1 sq.: Ὡρα πότνια, κᾶρυξ Ἀφροδίτας ἀμβροσιᾶν φιλοτάτων,/ἄτε παρθενίοις παίδων τ' ἐφίζοισα γλεφάροις· Ibycus, fr. 2, quoted above, p. 129. Athen. 589 D cites a line from Plato, in verses to a certain Archaeonassa, which is rather in the vein of the Alexandrian poets, ἥς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων πικρὸς ἔπαισιν Ἔρως.

<sup>1</sup> This passage from Lucian is echoed by Joannes Secundus, Basium 16: da tot basia quot dedit/vati multivolo Lesbia, quot tulit: / quot blandae Veneres quotque Cupidines/et labella pererrant/et genas roseas tuas. He has introduced, of course, material from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to compare with such passages Herondas, fr. 8 (Bergk 2, p. 511) γύναι, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαμβλύνει/τὸν νοῦν· With the line from A. P., cf. Lodge, Rosalind p. 26: "In his hairs it seemed Love had laid himself in ambush".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Philostr. Im. 2, 9, 5: ὀπαδὸς δ' ἔρωτος ἱμερος οὕτω τι ἐπικέχνηται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. Chapman, Hero and Leander, 5th Sest.: "Love paints his longings in sweet virgins' eyes".



The other form of this conceit, that which places Cupid the archer or the soldier in the maiden's eye, or on her cheek, is also very common. Cf. Watson, *Hecatomp.* 24: "Cupido . . . shotte a shaft throughout her cristal eyes,/Wherewith he cleft in twaine my yielding heart"; Barnes, *Son.* 26: "Love's golden darts take aim from her bright eyes";<sup>1</sup> Lodge, *Phillis*, *Son.* 13: "And if I look the boy will lower,/And from their orbs shoot shafts divine". Spenser, *Am.* 16, puts whole "legions of loves" in his lady's eyes, who dart "their deadly arrowes fyry bright,/At every beholder passing by"; cf. Desportes, *Diane* 2, 61: *Front de marbre vivant, table claire et polie/Où les petites Amours vont aiguissant leurs dars*; Baïf, *Am. de Meline* (ed. Marty-Laveaux, p. 56): *Montre ces gentes fosséttes/D'où mille ardentes sagètes/Saillent au cœur tout épris/De qui te voit quand tu ris*;<sup>2</sup> Jodelle, *Son.* 28; *Helas! je le (Amour) sçay bien, je l'ay veu en ta face/Decoher mille traictes de tes yeux en mon cœur*; cf., also, Desportes, *Am. d'Hipp.* 19, and, from the earlier poets, Froissart, *Paradys d'Amour* 492: *Cupido . . . par l'œil la fleche ens ou coer met*. The French poets may have borrowed this conceit from Italian poets; cf. Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* 7, 12, in his description of Alcina: *duo negri occhi . . . Intorno cui par ch' Amor scherzi e voli/E ch' indi tutta la faretra scarchi,/E che visibilmente i cori involi*: Petrarch, *I*, *Son.* 112: *I' vidi Amor, ch' e begli occhi volgea; . . . il vidi, e l'arco che tendea*; Meo *Abbracciavacca*, *Poeti v.* 2, p. 17: *Cogli occhi, Amor, dolci saette m'archi,/Che m'han passato 'l cor*.

Two passages in ancient poetry seem to have been the main source for this form of the conceit, the epigram of Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177, quoted above, p. 142, and Anacreont. fr. 26 A (Bergk 3, p. 312): *οὐχ ἵππος ὤλεσέν με/οὐ πεζὸς οὐχὶ νῆες/στρατὸς δὲ καινὸς*

<sup>1</sup>In *Son.* 94, Barnes describes his lady's eye as "Love's Quiver"; cf. Sylvester's tr. of Du Bartas, *op. cit.* 523 sq., where the eyes are styled "these Cupid's quivers". Baïf, *Am. de Meline* (ed. de Fouquières, p. 97) makes *Amour* say, *mon carcois ses yeux*, and cf. Scève, cited above, p. 133: *enfant, . . . va vers madame/Qui de ses yeux tes fleches refera*. So Liban. *Descr. Pulchr.* p. 1070, 29, uses *βελοθήκη* in connection with the girl's eyes.

<sup>2</sup>This conceit does not occur in the Latin poem, *Incerti ad Lydiam* (in Wernsdorf, *P. L. M.* 3, p. 398), of which this poem of Baïf is an imitation; cf. Ingraham, *op. cit.* p. 22.



ἄλλος/ἀπ' ὀμμάτων με βάλλον.<sup>1</sup> We may compare, also, Strato, A. P. 12, 181, who places "five times ten graces" on his lady's face and arms them all with the bow; so in Liban. l. c. p. 1069 and Himer. Or. 1, 19 Eros shoots his arrows from the maiden's eyes. Here again these rhetoricians seem to have drawn from classic poetry, for a fragment of Sophocles runs (fr. 162 N.) ὀμμάτων ἀπο/λόγχαε ἴησιν. On the other hand the fine line of Horace, Od. 4, 13, 6, ille (Cupido) virentis et/doctae psallere Chiae/pulchris excubat in genis, which is, apparently, a translation of Soph. Ant. 783: Ἔρως . . . ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις,<sup>2</sup> seems to have been seldom imitated; it may have inspired Lodge, Rosalynd p. 82: "By those sweet cheekes where Love encamped lyes". The idea could have been suggested to Sophocles by Pind. Nem. 8, 1, quoted above.<sup>3</sup> We are far removed from the simple beauty of these two passages in such a sonnet as Sidney, As. and St. 36: "Stella . . . long since through my long battred ' eyes,/Whole armies of thy beauties entred in./And there long since Love thy lieutenant lies,/My forces raz'd, thy banners rais'd within". After all, however, this amplifies but little such a passage as that quoted above (p. 138) from Philostr. Ep. 12, or those in which a personified Love, full armed with torch, bow and arrows, slips into the lover's heart.<sup>4</sup> We may compare, too, the rather frequent idea that the lover is captured by Cupid, generally by means of the loved one's eyes; cf. Meleager A. P. 12, 101: τὸν με πόθοις ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ στέρνοισι Μυῖσκος/ὄμμασι τοξεύσας, τοῦτ' ἐβόησεν ἔπος·/τὸν θρασὺν εἶλον ἐγὼ· τὸ δ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κεῖνο φρύαγμα/σκηπτροφόρου σοφίας ἤνιδε ποσσὶ πατῶ. These lines have been closely imitated by Prop. 1, 1, 1 sq.: Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis, etc.; cf. Aristaen. Ep. 1, 1; Liban. l. c.

<sup>1</sup> Ronsard, Odes Retranchées, Œuvres Choisies, ed. Voizerd, p. 192, may have had this passage in mind, although he changes the figure: Qui donc a perdu ma franchise? / Un nouveau scadron furieux / D' amoureux, armé de beaux yeux / De ma dame a causé ma prise.

<sup>2</sup> Jebb, in his note, cf. Shakespeare, R. and J. 5, 3: "Beauty's ensign yet / Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also, Ibycus. fr. 5 and Hes. Scut. Herc. 7: τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρήθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἀπὸ κυανέων/τοῖον ἀπθ' οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Barnes, Madr. 10: "Thou scaled my fort, blind captain of Conceit! / But you, sweet Mistress, entered at the breach".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 138. So in Moschus 1, 17, Love encamps in the heart; cf. A. P. 5, 268; Prop. 2, 12, 13 sq.



p. 1070. The weapons of Cupid, the "whole armies of beauties" referred to by Sidney, are enumerated in a Greek poem of Claudian, *Gigantomach.* 50 sq. (Koch p. 312): εἶχε γὰρ αὐτὴ/πλέγμα κόρυν, δόρυ μαζόν, ὀφρῶν βέλους, ἀσπίδα κάλλος,/ὄπλα μέλη, θέλγητρον ἐν ἄλγεσιν. It is interesting to note that a very similar idea turns up in Chrétien, *Cligés* 740 sq.; Alexander has been pierced to the heart by Love's arrow, and he proceeds to describe it. The pennon is made of his lady's golden tresses, the rest is of her forehead, eyes, nose, etc.; cf. also Chapman, *Hero and Leander* 5th Sest.: "Love calls to war,/Sighs his alarms,/Lips his swords are,/The field his arms."

The last topic to which, in this paper, I wish to call attention, may be introduced by a line from the tragic poet Phrynichus:<sup>1</sup> λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρίαις παρῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος,—a line which received the approbation of Sophocles, and which affords us, as far as we can judge, the first example of the use of the word πορφύρεος to describe the bright blush on the cheek of youth. Simonides, fr. 72, uses this same adjective to describe a maiden's lips: πορφυρίου/ἀπὸ στόματος λείσα φωνὰν παρθένος. I have not noticed many imitations of these two passages in later Greek literature; Bion, 2, 15 sq. uses the verb πορφύρω to describe the youthful bloom on Achilles' cheeks as he hides among the girls; Lucian, *Am.* 41 sq., refers to women who paint their cheeks ἵνα τὴν ὑπέρλευκον αὐτῶν καὶ πῖονα χροιάν τὸ πορφυροῦν ἄνθος ἐπιφοινίξῃ· cf. *Achil. Tat.* 1, 4; *Quint. Smyr.* 14, 47, uses the same word to describe the blush which rises on Helen's cheek, and Rufinus, *A. P.* 5, 48 (the only example I have noted in the *Anthology*) thus describes his lady's mouth: στόμα πορφυρίης τερπνότερον κάλυκος. In Latin poetry, on the other hand, from the classical period to the Middle Ages, the kindred word *purpureus*<sup>2</sup> is very often used to describe the redness of cheeks and lips. With the line from Simonides, cf. *Catull.* 45, 12: *illo purpureo ore saviata*;<sup>3</sup> with Bion, l. c. cf. *Stat. Achil.* 1, 161, of Achilles: *dulcis adhuc visu, niveo natat ignis* in

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. Athen.* 603 E; cf. *Plut. Mor.* 760 D, both cited by Jebb in his note on *Soph. Ant.* 782.

<sup>2</sup> For the use of this word in the Latin elegiac poets, cf. Pichon, *op. cit.* s. v. *purpureus*. Aphrodite is called πορφυρῇ by *Anacr.* fr. 2 (*Bergk* 3, p. 253) and *Amor purpureus* by *Ov. Am.* 2, 1, 38, 9, 34; cf. *Rem. Am.* 701.

<sup>3</sup> *Catullus* is imitated by *Joannes Secundus, Basium* 2, 11: *tunc me nec Cereris nec amici cura Lyaei/. . . tuo de purpureo divelleret ore*; cf. *Bas.* 18, 7.



ore/purpureus; with the fragment of Phrynichus, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 590: *lumenque iuventae purpureum*; cf., further, Hor. O. 3, 3, 12, imitated by Mart. 8, 65, 4; Ov. Am. 3, 14, 23; Stat. Silv. 2, 1, 41; Theb. 1, 537; 2, 231; 7, 148; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 1, 270; Apul. (?) Anth. Lat. 1, 2, 712; Auson. Parent. 23, 19; Anth. Lat. 1, 217; Arborius, ad Nympham 90; Incerti ad Lydiam 12; and, finally, in the Ars Vers. of Mathieu de Vendôme, p. 26, 19, we meet again the familiar phrasing, *Non hospes colit ora color, ne purpura vultus/linguescat niveo disputat ore rubor*.

The use of cognate words in modern languages to describe the redness of cheeks and lips seems to be due to direct translation from the Greek or Latin, principally the latter. Thus Ariosto, Son. 14: *le odorate rose/Delle purpuree labbra*; Voltaire, Zadig 13: *Ses joues animées de la plus belle pourpre*; Barnes, Madr. 18: "My priceless rosebud veils his purple leaves"; id. Son. 45; (cf. Nemesian. Ecl. 2, 48, *purpureaeque rosae*); cf., also, the famous line of Gray, Progress of Poesy 1, 3, 16: *O'er her warm cheek and rising bosom move/The bloom of young desire and purple light<sup>1</sup> of love*".

The favorite conceit employed to describe this red and white complexion which is characteristic of the literary beauty is that employed by Watson in his catalogue: "On either cheek a Rose and Lillie lies"; Campion (Ayres, 4, 7): "There is a garden in her face,/Where roses and white lillies grow"; Shakespeare, Two Gent. 4, 4: "The air hath starved the roses in her cheeks,/And pinch'd the lily tincture of her face"; cf. id. M. N. D. 1, 1, 129; L. L. L. 5, 2; M. for M. 1, 4; Rape of Lucrece St. 11: "This silent war of lilies and of roses . . . in her fair face's field", with which cf. Kyd, Soliman and Pers. 4, 1, 82: "Cheeks where the rose and lily are in combat"; Passionate Pilgrim VII: "A lily pale with damask dye to grace her"; Barnes, Od. 10: "In her clear cheeks she closes/Sweet damask roses! /In her neck white lilies"; id. Son. 26; 45-6; Eleg. 1; Od. 5, 16; Greene, James IV, 4, 2: "Fair as the lilies, red as roses"; id. Doron's Description of Samela: "Her cheeks like rose and lily yield forth gleams"; Gascoign,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 590, quoted above; the expression occurs in Sil. Ital. 7, 195, of Bacchus: *inde nitentem lumine purpureo frontem cinxere corymbi*; cf. Mart. Cap. 2, 114; in an inscription in Buecheler-Riese, Carm. Ep. 1431, it is said of a boy, *purpureusque nitor, quam brevis, evanuit*.



Dan Bartholemew: "Upon her cheeks the lily and the rose/  
Did entremeete with equal change of hewe"; Skelton, Garland  
of Laurel 883: "The enbuddid blossoms of roses red of hew/  
With lilyes whyte your beautie dothe renewe"; Lydgate, Troy  
Book 2, 3668, description of Helen: "evene ennwed with quik-  
nes of colour/Of the rose and the lyllie flour"; ib. 4, 584; 1,  
1960; Temple of Glas 276; Chaucer, Kn. Tale 177: Emelye is  
fairer "than is the lillie upon his stalke grene: . . . with the rose  
colour stroof hir hewe"; id. Phis. Tale 32; in French poetry, cf.  
Desportes, Diane 1, 31: Que les lys blanchissans de son sein me  
plaisoient! /Que de fleurs, . . . que de roses vermeilles; ib.  
Cleonice 13; Baïf, Ecl. (B. de Fouquières, p. 212): Marion, ma  
douceur, plus fraîche que la rose/Plus blanche que du lis la fleur  
de frais éclore; Guil. de Machault, Rondeau (Crepet 1, p. 324):  
Blanche com lys, plus que rose vermeille; Arnaut von Marueil  
(Mahn, Werke d. Troubadours 1, p. 153); e'l vostre fron pus  
blanc que lis . . . la fassa fresca de colors/Blanca, vermelha pus  
que flors;<sup>1</sup> Chrétien, Cligés 817: cler vis/Ou la rose cuevre le  
lis; cf. Erec et Enid. 421 sq. It will be noticed that the English  
and French sonneteers furnish few examples of the combination  
of the lily and the rose to describe the red and white complexion  
of their beloved, although the comparison of the complexion to  
the rose is common enough. This may be due to the fact that  
the combination occurs very rarely in the Italian sonneteers; I  
have noticed no examples either in Medici or in Petrarch, and  
in the poets of the 13th cen. only Guido Guinicelli, Poeti, 1, p.  
111: Io vo' del ver la mia donna lodare,/E rassembrarla alla  
rosa ed al giglio; cf. Dante da Maiano, Poeti, 2, p. 457: Rosa e  
giglio e fiore aloroso/Perchè acidete lo vostro servente? Nor  
is it common elsewhere; we may note Boccaccio, Il Teseide 12,  
58: Le guance . . . eran dilicate e graziose,/Bianche e vermiglie,  
non d'altra mistura/Che in tra gigli le vermiglie rose; Boiardo,  
Orl. Innam. I, 1, 21; Donzella . . . la qual sembrava mattutina  
stella/E giglio d'oro<sup>2</sup> e rosa di verziere; it occurs in a poem of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fierabras 2007: La car . . . blanche comme flours en esté,/La face  
vermellete comme rose de pré; Raoul de Cambrai, 3661: Blanche char ot  
comme flors espanie,/Face vermeille con rose coulurie; Roman de Berte 789:  
Vermeille ert comme rose, blanche com flours de lis. Other flowers are also  
mentioned in old French poetry; cf. Voigt, op. cit. pp. 32-3.

<sup>2</sup> Panizzi, in his edition of Boiardo, reads giglio d'orto.



the 15th cen., *Jesus Maria*, printed by Ancona, *Poesia Populare Ital.* p. 442: O giglio fra le rose . . . tu se' più bella che non fu Elena. In Ariosto, *O. F.* 7, 11, in the description of Alcina, *ligustri* are substituted for *gigli*; *Spargeasi per la guancia delicata/Misto color di rosa e di ligustri*; so in Tasso I, *Son.* 400: duo begli occhi illustri/E tra rose vermiglie e bei *ligustri*, and in Sannazaro, *Arcad. Ecl.* 2: *Phillida mia più che i ligustri bianca,/ Più vermiglia che 'l prato a mezzo Aprile.* This comparison is taken directly from Ovid; cf. *Met.* 13, 789: *candidior folio nivei, Galatea, ligustri/Floridior pratis*, (i. e. of roses; cf. *Aristaen. Ep.* 1, 10; *Mus.* 60). Ovid, *Am.* 2, 5, 34, also gives us an example of *lilia* combined with *rosae*: *conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor,/ . . . Quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae*, (cf. Greene, quoted above). The combination is rare in ancient literature; I have noticed no examples in early Greek, although the skin is spoken of as "lily-white", *χρόα λειριόεντα*, as far back as Homer, *Il.* 13, 830. Vergil makes use of the comparison in *Aen.* 12, 68: *mixta rubent ubi lilia multa/alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores*; *Nemesian. Ecl.* 2, 47; at tu si venias et candida lilia fient/*purpureaeque rosae*; *Claud. (?) Epithal. Laur.* (Koch p. 302) 31: *pulchro formosa colore./Lilia ceu niteant rutilis commixta rosetis,/Sic rubor et candor pingunt tibi florida vultus*; *Arboreus*, in his poem ad *Nympham* 43 sq., makes use of both *lilia* and *ligustra*: *alba ligustra tuae nequeunt accedere laudi,/ fixaque cespitibus lilia laude premis; /nulla tuos possunt aequare rosaria vultus*; *Auson. Id.* 7, on the picture of *Bissula*: *ergo age, pictor,/puniceas confunde rosas et lilia misce.* The combination turns up in the *Carm. Bur.* 40: *certant nivi . . . pectus, mentum, colla, gene: /sed ne candore nimio/evanescat in pallorem,/precastigat hunc candorem/rosam maritans lilio/prudentior Natura*; *ib.* 136, 3: *rosa rubicundior,/lilio candidior*; so in later Greek poetry; cf. *Nonn.* 15, 224; *Leo Magister*, 5, 67 (*Bergk* 3, p. 362).

Another combination employed to describe the complexion, which, in spite of its beauty, is not common, is that of roses and snow.<sup>1</sup> Thus. *Ov. Am.* 3, 3, 5: *candida candorem roseo suffusa rubore/ante fuit: niveo lucet in ore rubor*; this seems to be an echo of Bion's description of Achilles, *Id.* 2, 18: *καὶ γὰρ*

<sup>1</sup> More usually the complexion is described simply as a mixture of red and snowy white; cf. *A. P.* 5, 259; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 20; *Achil.* 1, 161; *Sen. Med.* 99; *Claud. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 265.



ἴσον τήναις θηλύνετο καὶ τόσον ἄνθος/χιονέαις πόρφυρε παρήσι; cf. Musaeus 58: ἄκρα δὲ χιονέων φοινίσσεται κύκλα παρειῶν/ὥς ῥόδον ἐκ καλύκων διδυμόχροον, thus translated by Marot, Leand. et Hero 107: Car sur le hault des joues paroissoient/Deux cercles ronds, qui un peu rougissoient/Comme le fons d'une rose nayfve,/Meslé de blanche et rouge couleur vive. In the Greek Anthology I have noticed only Rufinus, A. P. 5, 35: τῆς δὲ διαιρομένης φοινίσσεται χιονέη σάρξ,/πορφυρέοιο ῥόδου μᾶλλον ἐρυθροτέρη. The conceit also occurs in later Latin poetry; cf. Marbodius (Migne, Patr. Lat. 17, 1655): vultum . . . plus nive candentem, plus quam rosa verna rubentem; Carm. Bur. 132, 2: facies est nivea,/miranda decore,/os eius subfunditur/roseo rubore.

Very rare, too, is the use of the comparison employed by Prop. 2, 3, 9: facies candida, . . . lilia non domina sint magis alba mea; . . . utque rosae puro lacte natant folia, with which cf. Ennius, Ann. 1, 238 (Baehrens F. P. R. p. 92): erubuit mulier ceu lacte et purpura mixta; cf. Anacreont. 15 (Bergk 3, p. 306): γράφε ῥῖνα καὶ παρειάς/ῥόδα τῇ γάλακτι μίξας. Achil. Tat. 5, 13: ἦν δὲ τῇ ὄντι καλή, καὶ γάλακτι μὲν ἂν εἶπες αὐτῆς τὸ πρόσωπον κεχρίσθαι, ῥόδον δ' ἐμπεφυτεῦσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς.

Another conceit which has found some favor seems to have been suggested by an epigram of Plato, Anth. Plan. 210: ἄλσος δ' ὥς ἰκόμεσθα βαθύσκιον, εὔρομεν ἔνδον/πορφυρέοις μήλοισιν ἐοικότα παῖδα Κυθήρης. This is imitated by Theocr. 7, 117: ὦ μάλοισιν Ἐρωτες ἐρευθομένοισιν ὁμοῖοι/βάλλετέ μοι τόξοισι τὸν ἡμεροῖντα Φιλῖνον, and Theocritus is imitated by Tennyson, The Islet, "a bevy of Eroses apple-cheek'd". In Anacreont. 16 (Bergk l. c.), the blush on the cheek is expressly compared to the redness of the apple: χροῖην δ' ὅποια μῆλον/ῥοδέην ποίει παρειήν. So Long. Past. 1, 24: ὁ δὲ μῆλ' τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ὅτι λευκὸν καὶ ἐνερευθὲς ἦν. In Latin poetry, cf. Tibul. 3, 4, 34: candor erat qualem praefert . . . color in niveo corpore purpureus,/ . . . et cum contexunt amarantis alba puellae/lilia et autumnio candida mala rubent; Ov. M. 4, 331, of Salmacis: pueri rubor ora notavit: / . . . hic color aprica pendentibus arbore pomis,/aut ebori tincto est;<sup>1</sup> id. M. 3, 483. Cheeks are called "apples" by Luc. Im. 6; cf. Theocr. 26, 1: ὁ μαλοπάρης Ἀγαύα.

<sup>1</sup> This episode has been treated by Balf. Salmici, (ed. cit. p. 40); he renders these lines, une honte naïve/Les joues du garçon peignit de couleur vive, . . . Une telle couleur sur les pommes éclatte/Qu' à demy le soleil a teint en ecarlatte.



The appearance of these conceits in modern literature is only sporadic. Propertius has been directly imitated by Joannes Secundus, Ode 11, 9: *ut rubra puro lacte natans rosa/serpebat albas purpura per genas*, and by Desportes, Angelique, in the description of Medor: *il eut le teint de lys et d'œillets mis ensemble,/Ou comme la couleur d'une rose qui tremble,/Nageant tout lentement dessus du laict caillé*. Cf., also, Sannazaro, Arcad. Ecl. 2: *Tirrhenia mia, il cui colore agguaglia,/Le matutine rose e 'l puro latte*; Lodge, Phillis, Son. 7: "Ah, roses, love's faire roses, do not languish,/Blush through the milk-white vaile that holdes you covered". The combination of roses and snow occurs in Petrarch I, Son. 101: *E le rose vermiglie infra la neve/Mover dall' ora*; id. Son. 114: *O rose sparse in dolce falda/Di viva neve*. Cf. Desportes, Cleonice, Son. 13: *Un propos qui les cœurs à son gré va tournant/Neige, ébene, coral, lis et rose vermeilles*; Callisto and Meliboea (Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, p. 62): "Her skin of whiteness endarketh the snow,/With rose-colour ennewed". The comparison of the complexion to rosy apples appears in Sidney, Arcad. 2, Zalmane's Song: "Her cheeks—like the fresh Queene-apples side/Blushing at sight of Phoebus pride"; in Spenser, Epithal. 173: "Her cheekes like apples which the sun hath rudded"; in Chaucer, The Rom. of the Rose 820, of Mirthe: "As round as appel was his face/Ful rody and white in every place", a close translation of the original, vs. 803: *La face avoit com une pomme,/Vermoille et blanche tout entour*.

It is hardly necessary to add that the simple comparison of the lady's skin to the rose, lily, snow, and milk is a commonplace both in modern and ancient literature; for extreme examples of such comparisons, cf. Jonson, The Devil is an Ass, 2, 6 (The Triumph of Charis); Lodge, Rosalynd, p. 30; Browne, Britannia's Past. IV; Barnes, Odes Past. Canz. 3; Desportes, Cleon. Son. 13; Roman de la Rose 527 sq.; 1004; Chrétien, Ivain 1482; Cligés 815; Erec et Enide 422 sq.; Ariosto Son. 28; and in the ancient poets such passages as Mart. 5, 37; Ov. M. 13, 789 sq.; Hor. O. 2, 4, 3, 1, 19, 5, with Shorey's notes; Theocr. 11, 20, with the imitations cited by Mustard, A. J. P. 30, 1909, p. 263.

I may repeat in closing that I have not tried to be exhaustive in the matter of examples, or to show direct borrowing from one writer by another. My aim has been rather to quote these



examples as evidence of the fact that there was a literary tradition which owed its origin to Greek literature, and which has lasted without a break down to modern times ; that the presence in late rhetorical writers of the formulae which were a part of this tradition is proof that the rhetorical schools<sup>1</sup> were one great agency in the preservation and propagation of this tradition, and, finally, that he who would understand aright the beginnings of modern literature, must pay heed, not to any two or three Latin poets only whose works may have been known during the Middle Ages, but to the entire classical tradition of which they represent but a very small part.

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<sup>1</sup> I give some examples of this in *Modern Language Notes*, Dec. 1912, pp. 233 sq.



## II.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF HOMERIC METRE.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXIII 425.]

Lengthening of a syllable containing a short vowel occurs before an initial combination of mute and liquid only under the following circumstances: 1) in the arsis; 2) in word groups;<sup>1</sup> 3) in the first (48 times) and second (16 times) theses. On the other hand such a syllable remains short 604 times (according to Ehrlich, KZ. 40, 391), and of course all of these instances are in the thesis. In these facts Solmsen believes that there is a parallelism with the treatment of initial digamma, and he offers for them the following interpretation. Mutes being less sonorous than liquids the division of the syllables will fall on the principle of sonority syllables before the group of sounds, and hence in the normal pronunciation the preceding syllable will remain short. The lengthening is the exceptional thing and the examples of it are to be explained: 1) as due to the more forceful utterance of the arsis; 2) as coming "in Wahrheit unter die Kategorie des Inlauts nicht des Anlauts"; 3) as due to the special privileges of the first two feet, cf. Rh. M. 60, 492.

In the first place the theory breaks down when applied to the combination of aspirate mute and liquid. Sommer, p. 187 f., in explaining the absence of short syllables before ξ ψ posits for these groups a pronunciation *kʰs pʰs*, in which the minimum of sonority occurs in the aspiration, with the consequence that the first consonant must go with the preceding syllable which accordingly cannot be short. The reasoning is correct but equally applicable to θρ χρ before which short syllables actually remain at times unlengthened, examples in Ehrlich's lists. Secondly lengthening is not found in all the word groups which really belong under the Kategorie des Inlauts; thus τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαίουσης

<sup>1</sup> Here may be classed Ω 557, ρ 573, cf. Sommer, p. 171.



(υ 92), εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον (υ 355), μέλι χλωρόν (κ 234), τὰ δὲ δράγματα (Λ 69), Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε (Θ 479), Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ κράτα (θ 92) to cite only a few of the examples which lie nearest at hand. Finally the theory is directly contradicted by certain instances of metrical lengthening. For if \*ἀνέμοιο πνοιῇσι \*μένος τε πνέοντες had been possible combinations there would have been no reason for the forms πνοιῇσι, πνέοντες which presuppose as Solmsen rightly observed p. 113 that "die dem anlautenden πν vorangehende silbe notwendig lang war".

We must start therefore with a pronunciation in which the preceding syllable is invariably lengthened, and the end of the development (however we conceive it phonetically) is the Attic pronunciation in which the preceding syllable remains short. The beginning of the change is as old as the oldest parts of the Iliad, and its spread is reflected by the increase of the 'neglect of position' both in quantity and in kind in the later parts of the Iliad and in the Odyssey. In principle it affects alike both medial and initial combinations of these sounds, though that the examples of the latter are more frequent can be readily understood in view of the imitative nature of the language of the later epic. In the oldest parts of the Iliad the new pronunciation presents itself as a license which permits the use of words which could not be employed otherwise without recourse to the other license of metrical lengthening. It is confined also in the main to words which the poet cannot well avoid using. As such I regard the proper names Κλυταιμνήστρης (Λ 113), Κρονίων (Λ 406, P 441), Ἑκτορι Πριαμίδῃ (N 40), Ἑκτορα Πριαμίδην (Ξ 375, P 503), under the influence of which stands καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο (H 250); almost like a proper name is μοῖρα κραταιή (Π 853, Υ 477); while words like ἀμφιβρότης (B 389), βραχίονα -νος (N 529, 532), πρόσωπον (Σ 24), πρὸς ἀλλήλους -ας (Π 101, 768), προσήυδα (Λ 201, etc.), could hardly have been avoided, although κράνειαν (Π 767) seems a matter of convenience rather than necessity. Somewhat freer is the use after the caesura, where the absence of the lengthening is justified phonetically by the pause:

Λ 553, 571, N 134	υ / θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
Ξ 403	υ / πρὸς ἰθύ οἱ, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε
Ο 142	υ / θρόνῳ ἐνὶ θοῦρον Ἄρηα
Ρ 524	υ / κραδαινόμενον λυε γυῖα
Ν 799	υ / πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα



Entirely without parallel in this part of the poem is A 97 οὐδ' ὃ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσσει which I should regard as corrupt. And in this connection I may recall that two instances of the rewriting of a line with disregard of digamma have yielded 'neglect of position' before mute and liquid: Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς λείχους becoming Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς δν λείχους and Φεῖπε δ' ἄρ' ὀχθήσας πρὸς Φὸν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν becoming ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. I shall not attempt to trace in detail how freer and freer use is made of this license, but shall be content to cite the instances of the extremes of freedom, and let the age of the passages in which they are found speak for themselves. Words in which the short scansion is not necessary: σχετλίη Γ 414, φαιέτρης Θ 323, ἀβρότη Ξ 78, Ὀτρυντῆϊ Υ 384, Ὀτρυντεῖδην -η Υ 383, 389, Πάτροκλε Τ 287, προσέπλαζε λ 583, προσέκλινε φ 138, 165, ἐκλίθη τ 470, πατρός (?) Ζ 479. The instances in Ehrlich's second table (words not beginning with an iambus) apart from the examples explained above occur in the following passages: Δ 329, Ε 462, Θ 479, Ι 382, Λ 69, 697, Μ 95, Σ 122, Υ 121, Φ 179, Ψ 186, γ 320, δ 127, ζ 308, θ 92, κ 234, λ 527, μ 99, 215, ν 324, ξ 334, 529, ρ 275, 597, τ 291, υ 92, 355, ψ 106.

Later Solmsen discovered that the limitations which apply to the lengthening of a syllable before the initial combination of a mute and liquid, apply also to the lengthening before any combination of initial consonants. The results were published in his article "Die metrischen Wirkungen anlautender Consonantengruppen bei Homer und Hesiod" which appeared in the Rh. M. 60, 492 ff. From it we can see that the instances of position lengthening are again confined to the arsis, to word groups, and to the first (39 times) or second (15 times) thesis. But the instances in which a syllable is employed as short before these combinations are far less frequent than is the case before mute and liquid. Of them there are only 27 examples and these are confined to the words Σκάμανδρος, -ιος, Ζάκυνθος, Ζέλεια, σκέπαρνον.<sup>1</sup> Solmsen's explanation is that in the normal pronunciation the

<sup>1</sup> Sommer, p. 180, in arguing against Ehrlich's explanation of the 'neglect of position' before mute and liquid as a license permitted before words beginning with an iambus, regards these examples as such and adds "Ein schroffer Kontrast nach Zahl und Charakter der Belege ist kaum denkbar". The force of the remark is greatly broken, when one considers as above the



preceding syllable is affected too much by the following consonant group to permit its being used as short unless the constitution of the following words imperatively demands such treatment; while on the other hand it is not fully lengthened, and consequently can serve as long only when aided by the force of the arsis or by the special privileges of the first two feet.

In the meantime Sommer had been studying the cases in which position is made by the final consonant of one word and the initial consonant of the next. These too proved to be confined within the same limits, that is, they occur in the arsis, in word groups, and in the first (127 times) or in the second (20 times) thesis—if we disregard a sporadic example in the thesis of the fourth foot. Examples of a syllable remaining short under such conditions are entirely lacking. For the facts Sommer offers the following explanation. The first syllable of a word like *ἀνράξιον* is long because it consists of vowel + consonant + the time required for the transition movements between *α* and *ξ*. But in a combination *-αν τα-* the break between the words causes the first syllable to be felt as comprising merely the vowel and the consonant. The third element, the time of the transition movements, falls away, and short as this is, it prevents the syllable being used as the equivalent of a long vowel, although it remains (thanks to the addition of the consonant) too long to serve as the equivalent of a short vowel. In the case of word groups the psychological unity of the group bridges over the gap, and physiological factors—increased force of articulation—do the same in the arsis and in the first and second theses.

In the last point we have the most important difference between Sommer and Solmsen. The latter regarded the lines which showed lengthening in the first thesis as *στίχοι λαγαροί*, and assumed a similar license for the second foot. Sommer on the contrary offers a physiological explanation, and this involves him in a new difficulty. If the beginning of the line is really uttered with such force as to produce an 'abnormal' lengthening in the

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beginning of the license, and not the state to which it finally spread. Besides, in the one case the liberty taken is an out-and-out violation of the normal pronunciation, while in the other case it was supported by an increasing tendency to pronounce in such a fashion, so that what had been at first a license finally ceased to be one.



two first theses, we should not find lines in which the conditions for this lengthening are fulfilled, and yet the lengthening is not made. Such lines however occur in abundance *τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης, αὐτὸς* (F)*εκών*; if the explanation given is the true one, it ought to be possible to find some varying condition(s), on account of which these lines are uttered with less force. Sommer—who is of course aware of the existence of these examples—has not made any attempt to show this, and there is not as far as I can see the slightest prospect that such an attempt would prove successful. Sommer's view is represented by the note to p 171: "Auch in der 1. und 2. Senkung ist die Langmessung vor F nur Lizenz, nicht Zwang", but in combination with his explanation of the cause of the long scansion here, I can see in this only the assumption that the same cause under the same conditions can produce different effects. Solmsen's view escapes this difficulty; but on the other hand it increases enormously the number of the *στίχοι λαγαροί*, and makes the *ad hoc* assumption of a similar license in the second foot.

Furthermore both Solmsen and Sommer operate with an assumed gap between words, cf. "die die Woerter trennende kleine Pause", Rh. M. 60, 502, and "Beim Wortabsatz dagegen fehlt die Kontinuität", Glotta, 1. 193, which is directly opposed to the phonetic doctrine that the utterance is a 'Lautcontinuum'. I recall but cannot at present lay my hands on the statement of some phonetician to the effect that there is nothing in the operation of our speech organs which corresponds to the little white spaces that separate our printed words. But I can quote equally definite statements by Jespersen: "Wir sind von der Schule her namentlich durch die in der Schrift gebrauchte Worttrennung so sehr daran gewöhnt worden, die Woerter eines Satzes als fuer sich bestehende zu betrachten, dass es uns ziemlich schwer faellt, das tatsaechliche Verhaeltnis recht zu erkennen, . . . und zwar dass in natuerlicher Rede durchaus keine Worttrennung stattfindet", *Phonet. Grundf.*, p. 147; and: "Das Wort ist naemlich kein phonetischer Begriff; auch nicht die eindringendste phonetische Untersuchung kann uns zeigen aus wieviel Worten eine ausgesprochene Aeusserung besteht oder wo das eine Wort authoert und das andere anfaengt. Wir haben schon viele mal . . . Beispiele dafuer gegeben, dass es beim Zusammenstoss von Lauten gleichgueltig ist, ob sie demselben oder mehreren Worten



angehoeren; zahlreiche Verhoerungen im muendlichen Verkehr<sup>1</sup> sowie viele sprachhistorische Erscheinungen beruhen eben darauf, dass wir in der natuerlichen Rede nicht die einzelnen Worte auseinanderhalten". Lehrbuch, p. 202, cf. also Sievers, p. 231 f.

If this phonetic doctrine is given due weight it follows that combinations of consonants must have the same effect upon the lengthening of a preceding syllable whether they occur in the interior of a word or at the juncture of two words; or as Brugmann puts it, Grundr. I, p. 876: "Dagegen sind die Lautaffectionen, die ein Wort im Satzinlaut durch seinen Zusammenhang mit den andern Woertern des Satzes erfahrt, nicht principiell von den Lautveraenderungen zu trennen, die im Einzelwort durch den gegenseitigen Zusammenhang von dessen Lauten und Silben veranlasst werden". The Solmsen-Sommer's hypothesis on the contrary culminates in the contrast: length by position before combinations of consonants is practically universal in the interior of a word, but never normal in the juncture of two words.

For this reason and on account of the other inconsistencies of the theory which have been mentioned above, we must—in my opinion—reject this hypothesis, and seek for another explanation which will cover all cases of 'position lengthening' whether in the interior or the juncture of words. The current opinion of the nature of 'position lengthening' is that of Sievers which identifies a syllable long merely by position with a close syllable containing a short vowel. Sommer, p. 193, correctly recognizes that this requires modification. Hephaistion cites B 2 εὔδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος as ending with a short syllable, and there can be no doubt that this syllable is closed. Unfortunately Sommer overlooked the fact that there is still another position in the verse, which proves the same thing, and in addition shows that the syllable has metrically the value of a short, and not as one might be inclined to assume a value intermediate between short and long. I have in mind verses such as:

A 9: Δητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς

in which υἱός is scanned as a trochee, although both the inter-

<sup>1</sup>An amusing story showing the equivalence of 'cross I'd bear'=*crucem ferrem* with 'cross-eyed bear'=*ursus strabo*, is given by Lanman, Harvard Oriental Series, xi, p. xxxi.



punctuation and the caesura forbid the carrying over of its final consonant to the next word.<sup>1</sup>

Progress in the question can be made by regarding a phonetic factor to which Jespersen has called attention—the difference between ‘loose contact’ and ‘close contact’. For the consonant may follow close upon the vowel at the moment when its pronunciation is most intense, or it may follow only after a slight interval when the force of the articulation of the vowel has already diminished—cf. Lehrb., p. 198. Close contact I would suggest is essential for length by position; and would call attention to the fact that in modern English the close contact of a long consonant with a short vowel results in a real lengthening of the vowel with a shortening of the consonant. The kind of contact employed varies greatly in different languages, as can be seen from the examples given by Jespersen; in Greek our best guide for determining it lies in the facts disclosed by the metre. On this basis however a simple explanation can be attained, for the contact after short vowels.

I. Before single consonants we have loose contact. Hence the first syllable of *πα/τήρ* is short and also the final syllables of *ὑπνο/ς* *υἱό/ς* before a pause.

II. Before all combinations of consonants there was originally close contact, and hence length by position. Compare Jespersen’s statement, p. 200, that it is difficult to pronounce a group of consonants after loose contact.

III. A phonetic change began before the composition of the oldest parts of the Iliad, which consisted in employing loose contact before the combination mute and liquid.

Working on this basis the phenomena offered by the Homeric verse are capable of simple explanation. The alleged cases of ‘neglected position’ in which the digamma is involved fall away. They prove to be either instances due to a false etymology (4), or bad tradition of the text (13), or to composition at a time when the digamma was no longer pronounced (nearly 200). The instances before mute and liquid reflect the spread of the

<sup>1</sup> I am of course aware that Sommer has used this line to illustrate a division *υἱ-ο-οο*, but must regard this merely as an inadvertent choice of a bad example. That a syllable so placed (before caesura and punctuation) is closed is recognized by Solmsen, p. 163, though his further view that the syllable being closed is therefore long is in my opinion untenable.



new pronunciation with loose contact before these combinations of sounds. Finally the cases of Σκάμανδρος, etc., represent an abnormal pronunciation tolerated because the words must be used and cannot be brought into the verse without some violence to their natural pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

As far as I can see there is but one difficulty. According to this there would be no reason for objecting to the metre of a line such as :

Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν. / τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

Both punctuation and caesura would combine to leave the final syllable of κλαίωμεν with the quantity which it would have at the end of the line, and we might theoretically expect to find it employed as a short syllable irrespective of whether the following word begins with vowel or consonant. That this expectation is not fulfilled is well known. I should therefore recognize in the avoidance of such lines an artificiality of the Homeric verse technique ; meaning that the poet has subjected himself to limitations stricter than those demanded by the nature of the sounds. In the vast majority of cases a short vowel followed by such consonants must be lengthened and the poet refuses to depart from this custom even when the disregard of it would entail no audible defect on account of the pause due to the caesura and the interpunctuation. As a somewhat remote parallel may be cited the fact that Isocrates, when he is most careful, avoids hiatus even in places where the occurrence of a pause would render it in itself unobjectionable.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion it is necessary to explain briefly the causes which have resulted in the peculiar distribution of the phenomena for which the Solmsen-Sommer theory endeavors to provide an explanation. In the first place the Homeric verse permits no resolution of the arsis, and consequently all short syllables must stand in the thesis. Whenever therefore a poet uses a short syllable before ῥίξω because he pronounces one consonant and no

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion also of Sommer, p. 178 . Jacobsohn, *Hermes* 45, p. 80 f., also regards the scansion as abnormal and calls attention to the important fact that we are dealing with non-Greek names Ζάκυνθος, Ζέλεια Σκάμανδρος.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly we might expect, but do not find, in the bucolic diaeresis something like : παρέστασαν | λαὸν ἀγνοῦσαι.



longer says *ῥαζω* this short syllable must stand invariably in the thesis. The same is true of all syllables used as short (for the reasons given above) before mute and liquid, or before *Σκάμανδρος*, etc. The result is a specious appearance of a connection between the absence of lengthening and the (weaker) articulation of the thesis.

The other half of the problem—the restriction of lengthening in thesis to the two first theses—is created only by making a distinction between the treatment of medial consonant groups on the one hand, and the treatment of initial groups or combinations of initial and final consonants on the other. For one who believes that such a distinction is unwarranted the problem does not exist, the lengthening being found freely in every thesis. Now it is possible that this unwarranted cutting off of a part of the material has intruded into the problem other elements entirely unconnected with the effect of the consonants upon the quantity of the preceding syllable. If this is the case and it can be shown that these elements suffice to explain the absence of ‘position lengthening’ in the third, fourth and fifth theses ‘when there is a real separation of the words’, it will be necessary to abandon the hypothesis.

In seeking to show the effect of these elements I shall begin with the fifth thesis. Sommer, p. 196, explains the absence of ‘position lengthening’ in this thesis as due to a progressive decrease of intensity toward the end of the verse, in consequence of which not even the closest syntactical combinations, such as *τὸν λαόν, σὺν νηϊ* can be used with the value of three long syllables. The refutation of this explanation is given by the occurrence of *λὺς πέτρη* (μ 64); for to me at least it is inconceivable that there is any difference in the closeness of combination of these three word groups which can justify the lengthening in the one case and render it impossible in the other two. That we do not find closes such as *τὸν λαόν, σὺν νηϊ*, and I may add *ἄλλον λαόν, εἰπον μῦθον*, must be due to some other cause. The explanation is to be found in the history of the spondaic line. Back of the Homeric poems lies a period in which the hexameter closed always—so also Witte, *Glotta*, iii. p. 147—with a dactyl and a spondee. The innovation of closing with two spondees was due not to any attempt to secure a particular rhythmical ethos, but to the fact that it provided a means of utilizing a class of words which could



not otherwise be brought readily into the hexameter. The words to which I refer are those consisting of four long syllables. To use these words in the hexameter is not an impossibility, but the difficulty of doing it may be inferred from the fact that the only instances in the first and third books of the *Iliad* are *εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* (Α 102, 355, 411, Γ 178), which is under the influence of *κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* and the line

Γ 412 πᾶσαι μωμήσονται· ἔχω δ' ἄχε' ἀκριτα θυμῷ,

while there are eleven instances of such words at the close of the line. The innovation provided also a place for old stereotyped phrases ending with four long syllables, such as *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*, *θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*, *διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας*. Now in matters of metrical technique—there are parallels in metrical lengthening—what begins out of (practical) necessity spreads as a matter of convenience. Hence followed the use of words of the form — — — ∪ at the close of the line, although they go with ease into other places in the verse; and also of word groups of these forms, such as *νωμῆσαι βῶν*, *φώνησέν τε*, *οὐδ' ἡβαιόν*, *Ἀχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε*. Now it is a fact, however we may explain it, that among these old groups there are none composed of two dissyllables. That the power of 'position lengthening' is not the cause of this exclusion is shown by the fact that groups like *ἄλλους λαούς*, *εἶπω μῦθον* are avoided just as rigorously as are those like *ἄλλον λαόν*, *εἶπον μῦθον*. If an explanation must be attempted, I should seek it partly in an 'accidental' absence of stereotyped phrases of this form, partly in the feeling that looser phrases must either be shifted to another part of the verse *ἄλλον λαόν ἄνωγε*, or altered *μῦθον εἶπον* so as to secure the usual close. Two lines of development of the spondaic line have been clearly traced by Witte, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–148. They are first the multiplication of trisyllabic closes starting from the type of *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*; and secondly the use of compound verbal forms *κατατεθνηῶτος* as well as the uncompounded quadrisyllabic forms. This would close the history of the spondaic line, were it not for the appearance of a small group of another type, the examples of which are collected by Sommer, p. 157, cf. Ludwich, *Aristarch*, ii. 330. From this group is to be excluded K 299—cf. Leaf's note—where the tradition is decidedly in favor of *εἶασεν Ἑκτώρ*. Otherwise the examples all agree in showing a vowel which is the result of contraction, *ᾔφρ'*



εὖ εἰδῶ, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεῦ, 'Ηὼ δῖαν, 'Ηὼ μῖνον, ἰδρῶ πολλόν, αἰδοῖ εἴκων, δῆμον φῆμιε. In the first of these the value of the tradition as against *δφρ' εὖ εἰδῶ* is absolutely *nihi!*; examples of it and of the second form Πατρόκλεις ἱππεῦ are found in parts of the poem for which contraction cannot be admitted, and their correction is therefore imperative. For the remaining examples the corrections are easy, although the necessity of making them cannot be demonstrated. One who desires to retain the traditional readings has the problem of explaining the origin of lines of this type. The only possible origin which I can see is that older poets wrote 'Ηὼ δῖαν, 'Ηὼ μῖνιν, etc., as normal dactylic closes, that these became in the process of tradition contracted and thus started a new type of the spondaic line which was used and slightly extended by the authors of late parts of the Iliad and Odyssey.

That none of these types of the spondaic line affords any possibility of 'position lengthening' between words in the fifth thesis is obvious. Of spondaic lines which do not conform to one of these patterns we have four examples:

- δ 604 πυροὶ τε ζεῖαί τε ἰδ' εὐρυφυῆς κρῖ λευκόν.  
 μ 64 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λῖς πέτρῃ.  
 ρ 208 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφῶν ἦν ἄλσος.  
 Λ 639 οἶνῳ Πραμνεΐῳ, ἐπὶ δ' αἰγίων κνῆ τυρόν.

The two first of these represent the extreme development of the trisyllabic type, the single word being here replaced by a practically rigid word group. Such lines afford the only possibility of 'position lengthening', and by good fortune we find it in one of the two examples. In view of their scarcity the absence of closes like τὸν λαόν, σὺν νηϊ cannot be regarded as a matter which requires explanation; especially since λαόν, νηϊ are in the Homeric dialect perfectly synonymous substitutes. The third line is either to be corrected or explained like those of the 'Ηὼ δῖαν type. The last is textually certain, cf. Bechtel, p. 208, but it is the only instance of a free combination of words found at the close of a spondaic line in Homer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The view here advanced that the spondaic line is an innovation made to utilize words of four long syllables serves to explain the greater frequency of the bucolic diaeresis in the spondaic line, and thus provides an escape from the dilemma proposed by Witte, Glotta, iii. p. 147. However it is necessary to await the fuller publication of his investigations.



With regard to the third thesis, Sommer, p. 160, recognizes correctly that the only possibility lies in the lengthening of a monosyllable, and judges that instances are hardly to be expected. But, he continues, "es fehlt auch jede Freiheit im Gebrauch von konsonantisch schliessenden Monosyllaba mit kurzem Vokal innerhalb der 3 Senkung [etwa *τίς*, *σός*, *σόν*, demonstratives *τόν*; *έν*; *δός*, *τρίς*; *δός*, *θείς*; *βάν*, *σάν*, *φάν* (Formen, die trotz sonstiger Einschränkung im Gebrauch bei beginnendem Satze sehr wohl erlaubt gewesen waeren; vgl. Wackernagel, Goett. Nachr. 1906, 147 ff.)]. Nur immer *σάν δ'* (Λ 216) *τίς τοι* (η 238), *τρίς δ'* (Π 785)". There are, however, other considerations which Sommer seems to have overlooked. In the first place the conditions which he demands are the caesural pause, a monosyllable, then a 'real separation of words'; in itself this combination is extremely unlikely. But furthermore this real separation of words is to occur at the end of the third foot, the one point at which it is most important to avoid a diaeresis. And finally there is the well known tendency to begin a clause after the caesura, which entails, cf. Wackernagel, IF. i. p. 333 ff., the following of enclitic or post-positive words in the second position, so that even if the clause opens with a monosyllable it will still be in a close combination. On the other hand it so happens that the monosyllables which come into question are used almost invariably in close combinations no matter in what part of the verse they occur. Consequently the fact that only these combinations occur in the third thesis cannot be regarded as proof that the combination is there requisite for the making of position.

Thus we find only *σάν δ'*, *βάν δ'*, *βάν ρ'*, *φάν δέ* at the beginning of the line and *φάν γάρ* in the second thesis. In these places there is no question of metrical compulsion; why then should

Λ 216 ἀρτύνη δὲ μάχη, σάν δ' ἀντίοι· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων

be taken as evidence of metrical necessity? Of the uses of the interrogative pronoun we may set aside the double question *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*; and the cases in which it is in close combination with its noun, *τίς γῆ*, *τίς δῆμος* (ν 233), *τίς δαίς*, *τίς δὲ δμῖλος* (α 225), *τίς δαίμων* (ρ 446). Elsewhere we find the word at the beginning of the line followed by a particle, *τίς τάρ*, *τίς γάρ*, *τίς δῆ*, *τίς νυ*, *τίς δέ*, *τίς κε* (exceptional is β 28 *νῦν δὲ τίς ᾧδ' ἤγειρε*). In the interior of the line the word is followed by a particle or pronoun: thus



after the caesura when there is no position lengthening *τίς δ' ἄν τάδε γηθήσειε*; I 77, cf. Ω 367, θ 208, κ 573; and also in other parts of the line where the close union of the words is not regarded as metrically necessary.

Ε 633 Σαρπηδόν, Λυκίων βουληφόρε, τίς τοι ἀνάγκη;

Ρ 260 τῶν δ' ἄλλων, τίς κεν . . . . .

469 Αὐτόμεδον, τίς τοί νυ . . . . .

475 Ἀλκίμεδον, τίς γάρ τοι . . . . .

586 Ἔκτορ, τίς κέ σε . . . . .

Σ 182 Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε . . . . .

Υ 332 Αἰνεΐα, τίς σε . . . . .

Cf. also γ 113, κ 383, 501, ξ 115, τ 24, φ 259, χ 12. The only exception is afforded by an indirect question:

ρ 368 ἀλλήλους τ' εἰροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι; cf. ο 423.

Under these circumstances how can the occurrence of

η 238 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἶματ' ἔδωκε;

κ 64 πῶς ἦλθες Ὀδυσσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

be regarded as evidence that the union of the words was required to make position? Nor are the possessives *σός, σόν* used with the freedom necessary for yielding an example such as is desired. Their most frequent usage (15 examples) is in close combinations of the type *σόν πατέρα*; eight times a particle enters into the combination, *σός τε πόθος, σός γε πατήρ, πατήρ δέ σός*; to these may be added the phrases *σός φίλος υἱός* (χ 350), *σόν κατὰ θυμόν* (Ω 518, 549), *σόν καὶ ἐμόν* (ρ 594), *σόν αἰεὶ θυμόν (νόστον)* (ν 148, 379). Opposed to these is one example in the predicate *εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι* (ι 529), and two examples in which the word is placed at the head of the clause for emphasis, and is of course followed by a particle.

Ρ 589 . . . . . σόν δ' ἔκτανε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον.

δ 512 σός δέ που ἐκφυγε κῆρας ἀδελφεός . . . . .

Why should metrical motives be invoked in one case rather than the other?

The use of *τρίς* furnishes a particularly good illustration. The word is used in fixed combinations *τρίς ἕκαστον* (ι 65), *τρίς τόσσον* (Α 213, Ε 136, Φ 80, Ω 686, θ 340), but otherwise shows a marked predilection for the beginning of the verse. For it to be preceded by other words as *ὥς τὼ τρίς . . .* (Χ 165), *οἱ δὲ*



*τρὶς* . . . . . (Ψ 13) is quite unusual. Frequently we have two parallel verses as :

λ 206 *τρὶς μὲν ἐφωρμήθη, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,*  
*τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν . . . . .*

cf. φ 125-6, Ε 436-7, Θ 169-70, Λ 462-3, Σ 155-7, 228-9, Φ 176-7. Now when the first of such clauses is greater or less than a verse *τρὶς* is brought into the interior of the line. Of course it is always in the combination *τρὶς δέ* so that there can be no question of metrical necessity controlling the usage. The examples are :

Π 702 *τρὶς μὲν ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τεύχεος ὑψηλοῖο*  
*Πάτροκλος, τρὶς δ' αὐτὸν . . . . .*  
 784 *τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θεῶ ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηϊ*  
*σμερδαλέα ἰάχων, τρὶς δ' . . . . .*  
 Ψ 817 *τρὶς μὲν ἐπήϊξαν, τρὶς δὲ σχεδὸν ὠρμήθησαν.*  
 ι 361 *τρὶς μὲν ἔδωκα φέρων, τρὶς δ' ἐκπιεν ἀφραδίῃσι.*  
 μ 105 *τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίστην ἐπ' ἡματι, τρὶς δ' ἀναροιβόει.*

Of the other numerals suggested *δὶς* is used only once in the combination *δὶς τόσσον* (ι 491); *ἔν* occurs six times (never in this position). For it I have no definite suggestions to make, but I cannot attach any importance to its absence until somebody writes a good hexameter in which it will violate Sommer's rules.

The case of demonstrative *τόν* (the relative is not considered as forming a close combination) may be tested in another fashion. If metrical necessity is the true cause of these limitations, they will not be found applying also to *τήν*, *τούς*, *τάς*. But, trusting Gehring's classification and disregarding the instances before an enclitic, I find in the third thesis only: *τήν δέ* Ξ 168, Χ 211; *τούς δέ* Δ 439, Η 479, Ν 194, Ξ 14, Ο 7, Τ 377; *τούς μὲν* Φ 3; *τάς γάρ* Ξ 31; *τάς δέ* Ω 606 and a single example:

Ψ 616 *ἀμφίθετος φιάλη τήν Νέστορι δῶκεν Ἀχιλλεύς.*

which may quite as well be regarded as relative. It seems unnecessary to examine the Odyssey on this point.

Of the imperatives *δός*<sup>1</sup> has a strong tendency to take the first place in its clause and usually in the verse. The exceptions may be noted: first when the clause is introduced by *καί* as, Α 338 *ἔξαγε κούρην / καί σφωῖν δὸς ἄγειν.*; Ψ 75 *καί μοι δὸς τήν χεῖρα . . . .*; secondly, when preceded by a vocative, Γ 351 *Ζεῦ ἄνα δὸς*

<sup>1</sup> *Θές* (Θ 425, Ζ 273) is of too rare occurrence to demand separate treatment.



τίσασθαι . . . . .; thirdly, emphatic words have precedence in two lines, Γ 322 ὀππότερος . . . . . / τὸν δὲ ἀποφθίμενον . . . . ., Z 307 . . . . . ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν / πρηνέα δὲ πεσέειν . . . . . Otherwise when δός is within the verse, the clause is regularly connected with another imperative and is consequently introduced by δὲ δέ regardless of the position of the words. The examples are:

γ 369 πέμψον σὺν δίφρῳ τε καὶ υἱέϊ· δὲ δὲ οἱ ἵππους.

ε 359 φίλε κασίγνητε, κόμισαί τέ με, δὲ δὲ μοι ἵππους.

ζ 178 ἄστυ δέ μοι δεῖξον, δὲ δὲ ῥάκος ἀμφιβαλέσθαι.

π 524 κοίμησον δ' ὀδύνας, δὲ δὲ κράτος . . . . .

ρ 646 ποιήσουν δ' αἰθρην, δὲ δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖσι ἰδέσθαι.

There is just one exceptional passage in which there is a sharp contrast between the action of the recipient and the action of the giver, which finds its natural expression in the placing of σὺ δέ μοι at the head of the clause:

ι 364 Κύκλωψ, εἰρωτᾷς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν; αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
ἐξερέω· σὺ δέ μοι δὲ ξείνιον, ὡς περ ὑπέστης.

The line is also remarkable on account of its tripartite rhythm, which is indicated clearly by the punctuation. Sommer regards this as the one example of a 'real separation of words' with position lengthening at this point. For my part I can discover no such separation; but the example shows what a remarkable combination of conditions is necessary to bring one of these monosyllables into this place without its being followed by a word like δέ or τοί.

Whether the restrictions observed in the use of these words rest on some broader principle or not, is a question which would lead too far from my present purpose. The point that I wish to make is that there is at the most a bare possibility for one who is acquainted with Sommer's rule about 'position lengthening' in the third thesis to compose hexameters which will violate it with these monosyllables. This possibility lies in the multiplication of instances of σὺ δέ μοι δός and in the use of indirect questions—*ὕμᾱς δ' εἵρονται τίς ῥέξατο τάσδ' ἐκατόμβας*—which are rare in Homer, cf. Monro, *Hom. Gram.*, § 248. Under these circumstances the fact that there is actually but one violation of this sort in Homer (ι 365) loses all significance.

There remain however the monosyllables ending in a short vowel. The chance of their being lengthened is greatly less as



it is then necessary that the next word begin with a combination of consonants. So much so is this the case that Sommer evidently did not consider it worth while to take them into account. On *a priori* grounds I should have agreed with him, but before the appearance of his article I had in studying Solmsen's work examined the use of *μά, ό, τό, τά, δ, δ, πρό, σά, σύ, σέ, τί* and discovered some slight possibilities which it is only fair to mention, although the general conclusion must be the same as in the preceding paragraph. It is however not necessary to go into these examples with the same fulness of detail. Only twice is *σύ* lengthened in the Iliad, O 26 τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ . . . . ., Ω 500 τὸν σὺ πρόην κτείνας and it can be shown that the opportunity of lengthening is practically confined to clauses introduced by a relative or demonstrative pronoun, such as *ὃν σὺ φυλάσσεις, οὗς σὺ μεταλλᾷς τῷ σὺ μάλ' ἐγχρίμψας*. Such clauses however will not be begun immediately before the caesura; and consequently we cannot have a line.

— υ υ / — υ υ / τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ πεπιθοῦσα.

The line :

Υ 194 ἦγον· ἀτὰρ σέ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι

seems at first sight to suggest the possibility of a line (composed after the loss of the digamma) such as :

Τρῶες δ' ἦγον · ἀτὰρ σέ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο ρεία

But the rhythm is obviously bad and the combination *ἀτὰρ σέ*—the only one which renders the lengthening possible—does not recur in the Iliad. I find in the Iliad just one verse in which the position of *τό* may be called free, Υ 186 . . . . . χαλεπῶς δέ σ' ἰολπα τὸ ρέξειν. Is this sufficient to make us wonder that we find nothing like *οὐ χαλεπῶς δέ σὺ φῆς τὸ Φρεχθῆναι* . . . . .? The best chance for finding the demonstrative outside of a combination of particles is when it is the antecedent of a relative. This seems to be most frequent at the beginning of a line, still we find

Α 554 ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηνλὺς τὰ φράζεαι ἄσ' ἐθέλησθα

in violation of Sommer's rule<sup>1</sup> which is as much as we can justly

<sup>1</sup> It comes under none of his categories, although Solmsen, *Unter*, p. 137, treats it as a close combination. Compare, however, Sommer, p. 171.



expect. On the other hand there are a few asyndetic questions with *τί*, in imitation of which one could imagine half lines like *τί κλαίμεν ἤντε παῖδες, τί πτώσσετε* — ∪ ∪ / — —. Their absence may fairly be regarded as accidental.

Sommer lays stress upon the fact that monosyllables with long vowels occur in this position. This argument disregards two points: first the possibility that the position of monosyllables with long vowels may on account of their quantity be freer than that of monosyllables containing short vowels, cf. Wackernagel's article and the facts cited above; secondly it so happens that the long vowel monosyllables belong to very different syntactical categories—note that *τήν, τούς, τάς* have no such freedom—and in this may lie the true cause of the difference. But disregarding these possibilities, an examination of the passages cited will show that while the combinations do not fall under Sommer's categories they are in reality instances of pretty close combinations even for one who believes in the reality of a division between the various words of an utterance. Thus the examples include conjunctions which will go closely with the clause they introduce, *ἢ ὕστερον αὐτίς λόγτα, ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα, τῷ καί κέ τις εὖχεται ἀνὴρ*, and especially *ὡς νυκτερίς*; noun and adjective *σὺν ἄγριον*; verb and infinitive or adverb, *τλῇ μίμνειν, σχεῖν ἔμπεδον*; subject and verb *νύξ ἄνεται, πῦρ ἔμπεσε, Ζεὺς μήσατο*; two adverbs *νῦν ὕστατα*. In the other <sup>1</sup> lines the caesura is only apparent, and the close union of the words is brought out by attending to the true rhythm:

*οὐ γάρ πώ ποτ' / ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν / οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους  
ἤριπε δ' / ὡς ὅτε τις δρῶς ἤριπεν / ἢ ἀχερωῖς  
αὐτίκα νῦν / ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον / ᾧ κε σὺ χαίρης.*

I have already shown how difficult it is to get a short monosyllable into such a position, when it does occur (i. 365) the lengthening takes place.

So far I have been arguing that the almost universal observance of Sommer's rule in the third and fifth theses is without significance, because for other reasons it is almost impossible to break it. In the fourth thesis the situation is entirely different. It is perfectly easy to compose a number of lines which violate

<sup>1</sup> Π 717 is late, cf. Robert, p. 103. If one does not resolve the contracted vowel, he must regard the verse as modelled after one which originally contained *ἔεν*.



Wernicke's law, as may be readily seen from the discussion in the *Classical Review*, xi, 28 ff., 151 ff. The avoidance of such lines is therefore to be regarded as intentional, and its cause is to be found in the diaeresis which follows the fourth thesis. Only we must bear in mind that not every white space left in printing implies a diaeresis. By that term I understand only a voluntary interruption of the articulation made for rhythmical effect at the end of a foot. When thus understood its bearing upon the treatment of a preceding syllable is at once evident. A preceding syllable ending in short vowel and consonant before such a pause, will be under the same conditions as at the end of the line, and will remain short, entirely irrespective of the nature of the sound with which after the pause the articulation is resumed. As Sommer, p. 193 f. puts it: "Gilt der Versschluss *ἔπρος* als 'trochaeisch', so enthaelt auch . . . *ἑανὸν/πατὴρ ἐπ' οὐδὲι* mit mangelnder Kontinuitaet einen 'Trochaeus'". The difference between our views is that Sommer recognizes 'mangelnde Kontinuitaet' between all words which do not enter into certain close syntactical combinations, while I recognize it only in the case of a rhythmical pause.

The attempts to formulate the exceptions to Wernicke's laws have been in reality—though unconsciously—efforts to separate the merely apparent diaereses from the real ones. And hence it is not surprising that Tyrrell found the formulation of the law so illogical that he refused to believe in its existence, cf. *Class. Rev.* xi, p. 28. But if the term is understood as stated above, one may see—the facts are collected and arranged most clearly by Sommer, p. 146 ff.—that: 1) when there is no diaeresis two consonants invariably make position; 2) when there is a diaeresis there is no position lengthening. The only certain violation of the last statement is:

Ε 734 = Θ 385 *πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὸν / πατὴρ ἐπ' οὐδὲι*

in a late and tasteless section, for which I may refer to Sommer, p. 153, Robert, p. 189. Its scansion is analogous to the use of 'eye-rhymes' in English verse. Beside this example there are a few lines in which we are at first sight more or less strongly tempted to make a diaeresis. If this was the intention of their authors they must be regarded in the same fashion. However it is more probable that the authors wished them to be recited



without such a pause. They are listed by Sommer along with a few others in which there is little or no such temptation :

- Η 336 τύμβον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν ἕνα χέτομεν ἐξαγαγόντες  
ἀκρίτον ἐκ πεδίου· ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δείμομεν ὦκα  
πύργους ὑψηλοῦς, cf. 436  
Κ 388 ἦ σ' Ἐκτωρ προέηκε διασκοπιᾶσθαι ἕκαστα  
νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς ; ἦ σ' αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνῆκε ;  
Σ 400 τῇσι παρ' εἰνάετες χάλκεον δαίδαλα πολλά.  
ω 240 πρῶτον κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι.

Read without diaeresis these lines are good, read with diaeresis they are defective. This shows the nature of the difficulty which confronted the poet. If he wished to avail himself of 'position lengthening' at this point, he had to remove all temptation to pause here in the recitation of the verse. The consequence is that with the exception of these half dozen lines the instances of 'position lengthening' are confined to word groups within which there is no possibility of pausing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sommer, p. 200 ff., has shown that there is good reason to expect in the fourth foot the license which the *στίχοι λαγαροί* show in the first. Nevertheless examples are almost non-extant. For the treatment of *ἡμιν, ὑμιν* reference to Witte, Glotta, ii. 8 ff., is sufficient, while Solmsen, KZ. xliv, 214 n. has shown that at most the following can be considered: Δ 36 . . . βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο. Κ 292, γ 382 . . . βοῖν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον. Δ 146 . . . μίανθεν αἵματι μηροί (best tradition -θην). Hes. Op. 443 . . . ἰθεῖαν αὐλακ' ἐλαύνει. Even from these some deductions may be made: the most attractive emendation of Δ 146 may after all be wrong, and *μῖανθην* analogical to the other forms, cf. the parallels adduced from later inscriptions by Sommer, p. 211 f.; possibly also we should read *ἦνιν* and explain it as due to the analogy of *ἦνις*, or say that an originally plural formula *βοῖς ἦνις εὐρυμετώπους* had been changed to the singular; Rzsch's emendation of the Hesiod passage is also worthy of serious consideration. At all events there is no evidence sufficient to warrant the conclusion that a verse with a trochee in the fourth foot was ever regarded as a permissible variety of the hexameter. The reason for this may be found by attending to an element pointed out by Leaf, Iliad, ii, p. 635, the importance of avoiding a false close. This explains also why a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot is prohibited, and must be taken into consideration in answering the question propounded by Witte, Glotta, iii, p. 146. I may also suggest that it played some part in determining the original exclusion of the spondee from the fifth foot.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.



### III.—THE PARTICIPIAL USAGE IN CICERO'S EPISTLES.

The frequency with which the participle occurs is dependent largely on the need of setting forth temporal relations, and in doing this the participle is an ever-present help. For this reason its proper sphere is the narrative; see Gildersleeve, A. J. P. IX 147. Of this fact there are abundant evidences in Latin historians, as can be seen by an examination of the examples collected by Helm.<sup>1</sup> But logical demonstrations, whether in prose or in poetical form, have little use for the participle, and some parts of the poem of Lucretius and the philosophical works of Cicero furnish good illustrations. Lyric poetry, as illustrated by the odes of Horace, freely represents some person or object in action, and for this reason the present participle is used more freely than the perfect. Let a few quotations suffice. We find in O. 1, 22, 23 *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, / dulce loquentem*; and in 1, 9, suggested by 'nive candidum Soracte', *laborantes, reponens, deproeliantis, virenti, composita, latentis and dereptum*; as also in 3, 1, 23-31, *desiderantem, cadentis, orientis, culpante and torrentia*. But the Aeneid of Vergil is a still better example of participial usage, with one to every 2.7 lines; while Lucan 'ardens, et concitatus et sentiis clarissimus' (Quint. 10, 1, 90) is nearly as free in its use.

The epistles of Cicero represent many moods, and with some prominent exceptions are specimens of unelaborated prose. The confidence in the earlier ones gives way later to an anxious tone indicated by the repeated statement of what ought to be, or of wonder in regard to what was immediately about to be, or more remotely going to be. Taken as a whole the present participle seems to be more prominent than in historical writings, and in this respect the ones written to Cicero do not differ from those written by him. The series of epistles from Caelius, Book VIII. ad Fam., was written to give the news at Rome, and though the

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones Syntacticae de Participiorum Usu Tacitino, Velleiano, Salustiano*, 139 pp.



standard set up at the beginning of the first, *discedens . . . peregrinantibus*, is not maintained, there are enough present participles scattered through the epistles to show that Caelius was closely watching the current of events at Rome. Contrasted with these are some others which are noticeably unparticipial. A good illustration of this is the letter of Sulpicius (ad Fam. 4, 5), written to Cicero after the announcement of the death of Tullia. One section of this is narrative, and begins (sec. 4) *ex Asia rediens*, but in the presentation of the main theme there is little need of emphasizing temporal relations.

Some of the epistles written by Cicero make little use of the present. He begins ad Fam. 4, 13 (to Figulus) *quaerenti mihi iam diu, quid ad te potissimum scriberem, non modo certa res nulla, sed ne genus quidem litterarum usitatum veniebat in mentem*. After such an introduction promising some unique form of presentation, we are not surprised to find the participles limited to a few occurrences of the perfect, just as in ad Fam. 9, 22, where Cicero discusses *libertatem dicendi*. Not differing from these from a participial standpoint is the elaborately polite epistle to Dolabella, ad Att. 14, 17 a ; and ad Fam. 9, 14. These epistles are detached illustrations of the effect of a purely formal attitude on participial usage, which is also affected by the personal feeling. And the best evidence of this are the epistles to Terentia, Book XIV ad Fam., and those to Tiro, Book XVI. In the former Cicero refers to himself 3, 3, *mihi praesenti*, and in 5, 1 *exeuntibus nobis*, while in the epistles to Tiro, in whom Cicero was more interested, the present is more freely used. It may be asked if the usage in the epistle ad Quint. Frat. I. 1 agrees with that in the Comment. Petit. The former is somewhat more free in the use of the participle, though the latter has some forms of participial statement not found in the epistle. There is, however, a marked difference in the use of the ger. forms. In the epistle the most noticeable statement is in 7, 21 *facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia*. In the Comment. there is an asyndetic succession of adjectives or nouns in sections 8, 28 and 41, just as in 4, 19, 23, 33 and 51 there is a succession of ger. forms dependent on a single term, indicating a somewhat different attitude in regard to the collocation of the gerunds and gerundives.

As most of the epistles are neither logical demonstrations nor artistic narratives, the frequency of occurrence of the participle



is a medium between that in those two kinds of composition. While the general stylistic tone has great influence, there are some grammatical considerations bearing on the frequency. There is often offered a choice between the passive construction with the participle or the active with the relative pronoun. Compare ad Quint. Frat. I. 2, 2, 6 sed quid opus fuit eius modi literis, quas ad ipsum misisti, with a following statement 'eae literae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium'. The relative form of statement is necessary to express certain temporal relations, and is to be expected when a demonstrative is to be defined, as in ad Att. 5, 4, 2 nunc venio ad eam epistulam quam accepi a Tullio. *Epistula data* seems a stereotyped form, but on the whole we should expect the type *quas misisti* rather than *a te missas*.

### I. PARTICIPLES.

The participle as the equivalent of an abbreviated clause is freely used for some form of relative expression, temporal or otherwise. The perfect passive, except with *ante*, and the nominative of the participles of deponent verbs give antecedent action, and the present participle contemporaneous action. The occurrences of the ablative absolute (430), A. J. P. XXV 315, outnumber the pluperfect subj. with *cum* (379), A. J. P. XXVIII 434. When the construction is other than the abl. abs. the participle, if it refers to a known character, may be temporal; if unknown, relative. This may be illustrated by ad Att. 1, 10, 1 cum essem in Tusculano. . . . Roma puer a sorore tua missus epistulam mihi abs te adlatam dedit, that is 'a boy who had been sent by your sister delivered a letter which had been brought from you'. But the noun accompanying the participle in any other case than the nominative is generally within the range of the knowledge of the recipient, and most of the participles may be translated by relative clauses, as in B. 1, 16, 3 (Brutus) Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur; Fam. 5, 15, 3 quod enim esse poterat mihi perfugium spoliato; Fam. 13, 14, 1 L. Tatio Strabone, equite R. in primis honesto et ornato utor.

The nominative of the perfect participle of deponent verbs can be taken as temporal throughout, about one-third expressing motion, and of these *profectus* and *secutus* occur most freely. *Nactus* is used in ten of the fifty-six occurrences, as in Att. 10, 12,



*in* ego enim Curionem n. omnia me consecutum putavi; and one-half are transitive with dependent nouns, as in Att. 5, 20, 3 eos cedentes . . . insecutus rem bene gessit; Att. 6, 2, 4 suis legibus et iudiciis usae *ἀντροπίας* adeptae revixerunt. *Usus* occurs with the ablative in Att. 7, 2, 1; and Fam. 15, 4, 10; *perfunctus* Fam. 11, 17, 1; *oblitus* with the genitive, Fam. 16, 12, 2; and the semi-deponent *confusus* Fam. 12, 14, 4, and 12, 15, 2.

The perfect passive is also temporal in a few prepositional combinations. *Ad* gives the temporal setting Fam. 16, 10, 2 nostra ad diem dictam fient; and *post* more freely: Att. 4, 2, 2 p. illas datas litteras secuta est contentio; 8, 12, 2; 10, 4, 6; Fam. 9, 13, 1 nemo nostrum post Afranium superatum bellum ullum fore putaret; 9, 21, 2 dictator factus est annis p. Romam conditam CCCCXV et quadriennio; 15, 4, 13 p. iniuriam factam. *Ante* occurs Att. 14, 5, 2 a. res prolatas; Fam. 13, 30, 1 a. civitatem datam.

The ablative absolute of the present participle is used less freely than *cum* with the imperfect subjunctive, but much more freely than the *dum*-clause. It sometimes occurs in connection with a *cum*-clause, as in Att. 5, 17, 1 hanc epistulam dictavi sedens in raeda, cum in castra proficiscerer; 14, 1, 2; and 14, 2, 3 cum expectarem sedens; Fam. 4, 5, 4 (Sulpicius) ex Asia rediens cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. The present generally expresses motion, most freely *proficiscens*, and the principal verb is frequently *scribere*, as in Att. 4, 9, 2; 16, 1, 1 *iens*; and 6, 4, 3 *festinans*. Notice the rhetorical setting of ad. Quint. Frat. 1, 3, 1 quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras.

Another illustration of clausal equivalence is furnished by *propter* with the perfect in the following passages: Fam. 1, 7, 5 (to Lentulus) offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video; 7, 31, 2 (to Curius) propter tuas res contractas; and 13, 2, 1 (to Memmius) propter opera instituta multa multorum. It is interesting to note that none of these are in the epistles to Atticus, and this may be an indication of a little syntactical relaxation on the part of Cicero. *Ob* is not used by Cicero in this way, though it seems the best reading in a letter from Vatinius, Fam. 5, 10a, 2 qui *ob* sua bona direpta, navis expugnatas, fratres, liberos, parentes occisos actiones expostulant.



Considered with reference to time and voice, exclusive of the ablatives absolute, the perfect passive outnumbers the present active (1077 : 760), while the deponents are rare except in the nominative, and little use is made of the future. Such an unimportant factor is the latter in the epistles that it will not be out of place to give the occurrences as an indication that the Romans had not yet grasped the possibilities in the use of the future. Att. 8, 9, 2 quid nunc ipsum de se recipienti, quid agenti, quid acturo? and B. 1, 17, 2 (Brutus) alterius fundamentum et radices habituri altiores, are the occurrences apart from those of *futurus*: Fam. 10, 10, 1 f. beneficii; 10, 33, 3 (Pollio) tumultus; A. 4, 8 a, 2 consulum; 5, 13, 3 iudiciorum status aut factorum aut futurorum; 15, 4 a, 1 tuas igitur expecto nec actorum solum, sed etiam futurorum; Fam. 4, 3, 1 tempestatem f.; 8, 5, 2 successionem f.; Fam. 6, 4, 1; and Att. 7, 13 a, 3 de rebus futuris. In these the greater frequency of the genitive is perhaps without significance, though with the deponents the predominance of the nominative is due to the temporal force which does not appear in the other cases. In the genitive and accusative there are a few instances of *meritus* and *mortuus*, and for the latter a compound, Att. 1, 14, 4 de intermortuis reliquiis. *Uso* is also found, Att. 9, 6, 4 cum Pompeio qualicumque consilio uso. In the dative, in addition to *meritus* and *mortuus*, we find in Att. 2, 16, 1 cenato mihi reddita; and Fam. 1, 9, 10 ut mihi tam multa pro se perperso atque perfuncto concederet. Neither of these participles, future or deponent, furnishes any evidence of differences in case usage, though there are some clearly marked in the use of the others.

In the genitive the present participle has a general reference in a few passages: Att. 14, 16, 3 non est fidentis hoc testimonium, sed potius timentis; B. 1, 16, 4 ut probantis speciem habeas; and Fam. 11, 3, 3 nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est. A noun is usually expressed or can be readily inferred, as in the half a dozen occurrences of *absentis ratio*, and also Att. 7, 7, 6; and 7, 9, 3 exercitum retinentis r. In the dative the difference between perfect and present in frequency of occurrence is very marked (29 : 127). The larger part of both are connected with verbs, though the agent is given only by the present: Att. 5, 21, 9 redeuntibus consumendus. And similar to this in the Comment. Petit. 2 descendenti meditandumst, which is repeated in 54. Compare with this Att. 12, 2, 2 verum si quaeris, homini non recta, sed voluptaria quaerenti nonne βεβίωται? The Com-



ment. Petit. has one example which does not seem to have a parallel elsewhere in the epistles, sec. 10 vivo stanti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit. Of much more interest are the passages in which the adjective gives the qualitative relation of something to a person in action: *facilis* B. 1, 5, 3 praesentibus facilliora; *gratus* Fam. 8, 1, 1 peregrinantibus; *inimicus* Att. 14, 10, 4 cui antea bene merenti fuerit i.; *necessarius* Att. 3, 7, 1 nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non n.; B. 1, 15, 7 exercitum habenti n.; *paratus* Fam. 10, 18, 4 venienti Bruto . . . p.; *periculosus* Q. I. 1, 1, 4 p. administranti; *promptus* Fam. 5, 8, 2 tibi absenti nihil esse tam p. aut tam paratum. The following are associated with nouns, both in letters by Brutus, B. 1, 11, 2 illi ita sentienti . . . auctor fui; B. 1, 4 a, 2 quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut praesidio sit.

The perfect appears in the accusative much oftener than the present, a noun already acted upon being used as object of a verb much more frequently than a noun in action. About one-fifth of the perfects occur with *habere*, a subject which has been exhaustively discussed by Thielmann, Archiv II, pp. 372-423, 509-549. *Cognitum* and *perspectum* are most freely used in the epistles with *habere*, as in B. 1, 1, 1 Clodi animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, iudicatum. A few others occur two or three times, while forty are found once each. In some passages *tenere* is used in the same way: Att. 9, 12, 3 saeptum tenet; Fam. 10, 8, 1 tenuisse suspensam; and Comment. Petit. 20 devinctos tenes. The opposite in meaning are instances with *relinquere*, as in Att. 11, 1, 2 expeditam r.; Fam. 1, 9, 15 incohatam r.; Fam. 7, 32, 1 sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum.

## II. THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

The elaborate discussion by Snellman, De Gerundiis Orationum Ciceronis, 231 pp., gives the facts in full for Cicero's orations where the usage in the main is like that in the epistles. In these as in the orations (see Snellmann, p. 218, N. 3) the sphere of the different cases is not entirely distinct. Of the thirty-seven nouns occurring with *ad* and the ger., thirteen are among the seventy with the genitive, e. g. Att. 7, 1, 4 non est locus ad tergiversandum; Att. 5, 11, 5 locus delinquendi; Att. 7, 3, 4 spes ad resistendum; Att. 9, 13, 6 spem fruendi; Att. 6, 2, 4 facultatem ad se aere alieno liberandas aut levandas dedi; Att. 1, 5, 4



cum et otii ad scribendum plus et facultatem dandi maiorem habueris. In the same way a third of the forty-three nouns with the ablative are also with the genitive, as in Att. 11, 25, 3 difficultatem in consilio dando; Fam. 3, 9, 4 d. navigandi; Fam. 1, 8, 3 libertas in re publica capessenda; Fam. 9, 22, 1 l. loquendi; B. 1, 4a, 2 (Brutus) modus in tribuendis honoribus; Fam. 5, 16, 6 lugendi modum.

The epistles furnish some instances in which Greek words have been woven in with the Latin, and some of these are with the ger.: Att. 12, 45, 2 ut . . . ὑπόθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur; Q. 2, 15, 4 te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. In the same way with *ad* Att. 16, 5, 4 magna ῥοπή ad proficiscendum *in* tuis litteris. The following are used with the ablative: Att. 6, 9, 2 in quo, ut praecipis, nec me κενὸν in expectando cognosces, nec ἀτυφον in abiciendo; Att. 15, 1a, 2 vereor ne . . . ὑπεραττικὸς sis in iudicando.

There is nothing about the gerundive (future passive participle) requiring special notice, for half of the occurrences are with *curare*, and the larger part of the remainder with *dare* (10), *locare* (5) and *relinquere* (5). However, some phases of the different cases of the ger. call for presentation.

#### A. GENITIVE.

Not counting the occurrences with *causa*, where the gerundive is predominant (30 : 8), the gerund is the prevailing construction with nouns (169 : 70), though the nouns themselves are more nearly equal in number (51 : 31), counting as two the expression in Fam. 16, 24, 1 mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi. Most of these are abstract nouns, and are well illustrated by the examples given by Draeger II 825 seqq., though his statements need some modifications. *Festinatio* is not new for Livy, as it occurs Fam. 10, 26, 2 te adipiscendi magistratus . . . praepropera f. abducet a tantis laudibus; and *sententia* is in Att. 8, 14, 1 neque novam denique iam reperiam scribendi ullam sententiam. *Iudicium*, quoted from Velleius, occurs B. 1, 2, 4 i . . . belli gerendi; and *voluptas*, Att. 2, 6, 2 cum aliqua scribendi voluptate, for which Draeger quotes an example from Suetonius, as he does of *felicitas* from Justinus, though Cicero has it Att. 7, 2, 1 usi tua felicitate navigandi. *Gloria* is cited from Vergil, and *diligentia* from Gellius, though



the Comment. Petit., whoever its author and whatever its date, has the former 1, 2 *nominis novitatem dicendi* g. maxime sublevabis; and the latter in connection with *ratio*, 3, 11 *summa ratio ac d. petendi*.

Personal nouns are much less freely used. In addition to those given by Draeger II 826, there are used *auctor* Att. 3, 9, 1; Fam. 11, 27, 8 twice; and *magister*, Fam. 9, 16, 7 occurs in contrast with *discipulos*, *Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros*. To this list is to be added *opifex*, Fam. 7, 25, 2 is (stilus) enim est dicendi opifex, which is merely a variation from de Or. 1, 33, 150 (stilus) dicendi effector et magister. Adjectives with the genitive are not at all freely used and in this respect Cicero did not advance far beyond the beginnings of such association. *Cupidus* occurs a few times, Att. 8, 11 D, 7; Fam. 4, 1, 1; 7, 13, 1; 10, 18, 1 quod homini pudenti et cupido satisfaciendi rei publicae... accidere solet; Att. 5, 21, 5 c. mei videndi; and Fam. 10, 27, 1 pacis inter cives conciliandae te cupidum esse laetor. *Studiosus* seems limited to Att. 8, 3, 3 ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior; Fam. 7, 10, 2 studiosissimus homo natandi.

#### B. DATIVE.

The dative is very sparingly used, *scribendo adesse* (Att. 4, 17, 2; 7, 1, 7; Fam. 12, 29, 2; 15, 6, 2; and in a sen. consult. 8, 8, 5 and 6) and *solvendo non esse* Att. 13, 10, 3; Fam. 3, 8, 2 occurring most frequently. Two of the gerundives occur in quotations, Fam. 7, 12, 2 quod ius statutes '*communi dividundo*', and another in Fam. 16, 17, 1 '*valitudini fideliter inserviundo*' is due to the fact that Tiro's use of *fideliter* did not satisfy the critical taste of Cicero. The few others are associated with nouns, *auctor* Att. 8, 3, 3; and *dies* Att. 1, 14, 5; and 4, 16, 5 iudicibus reiciendis *dies est dictus*; or with verbs: Fam. 4, 7, 2 interfuisti rebus gerendis; and Q. 2, 4, 1 nam defendendo moroso homini satis fecimus.

#### C. ACCUSATIVE.

Nearly all the accusatives are with *ad, ob* occurring only Att. 1, 17, 8 ob iudicandum; and Att. 2, 1, 8 ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit, both in expressions of judicial action. With nouns and adjectives the ger. indicates the fitness or adaptation for some specific action, and of the thirty-two adjectives so used, a part are found in Livy with the dative. About one-half of the



gerunds or gerundives, and it is generally the gerundive, express design, while the remainder for the most part indicate adaptation or incitation. With verbs of motion the ger. form gives the end in view, while with *esse* are given static relationships, as in F. 5, 17, 5 *nullo loco dero neque ad consolandum neque ad levandam fortunam meam*. At times there is also given some realized action. A good illustration of this is Att. 2, 7, 2, where Cicero says that he had screwed his courage up to the sticking point, *acueram me ad exagitandam hanc eius legationem*. Other illustrations of attainment of effort are Fam. 9, 16, 1 *te ad scribendum incitavit*; 16, 2, 3 *incendi ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam*.

#### D. ABLATIVE.

The ablative of the gerund without a preposition occurs much more frequently than of the gerundive (55 : 21). Nearly all of these are instrumental, there being but few examples in which the ger. indicates the sphere in which the main activity was performed. This sphere is usually indicated by the preposition *in*, though it is sometimes omitted, and a single illustration will suffice for this, Fam. 3, 10, 1 *in hac provincia . . . rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis . . . gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partis*. The sphere of the prepositional usage is a wide one, if we consider only the words with which the ger. is associated, for most of these occur but a few times each, allowing great variety in form of statement. This is best illustrated by *in* with the ger., which occurs sixty-eight times with forty-three nouns, fifty-one times with forty-two adjectives, and seventy-nine times with fifty-six verbs, or in reverse order one hundred and forty-one words with one hundred and ninety-eight occurrences of the ger.

Next in importance to *in* is *de*, most freely with the gerundive (65 : 9), the main action generally referring to some object, rather than to an action as expressed by the gerund. *Ex* seems limited to the contrasted statement Fam. 2, 12, 3 (*laus*) *non erat minor ex contemnenda quam est ex conservata provincia*. *Ab* occurs a little more freely, once with an adjective Att. 1, 13, 2 *sum enim et ab observando homine perverso liber*. The other examples are associated with verbs of disinclination or of restraint, and with both gerund and gerundive. *Abhorrere* occurs Att. 2, 6, 1 *a scribendo*; 7, 13, 2 *a pugnando*; 14, 13, 5 *a ducenda*



uxore; F. 2, 16, 3 ab urbe relinquenda. Expressions of restraint are found in B. 1, 15, 10 ab impugnanda patria deterrerem; Fam. 5, 17, 1 a scribendo . . . retardarunt; Q. 3, 2, 2 me teneo ab accusando: Comment. Petit. 55 ab impediendo, ac laedendo repelluntur.

The gerunds and gerundives in the epistles are a varied rather than a prominent element, and there are a few principles to which Cicero adhered quite closely, and in at least one point differed from his correspondents.

1. The gerundive is generally used instead of the gerund with an accusative. However the accusative singular is found Att. 10, 4, 6 consilio relinquendi Italiam; and the plural Att. 4, 19, 2 hiberna legionis eligendi optio, where he seems to have avoided a genitive dependent on a genitive. This limitation however does not apply to pronouns, for *aliquid* occurs Att. 7, 20, 1; Fam. 4, 6, 3; and 11, 28, 7; as also *plura* Fam. 8, 6, 2 non est iam tempus plura narrandi. With the ablative the accusative is used only where there is another gerund in the statement: Fam. 10, 31, 6 manendo in provinciam an ducendo exercitum; and 12, 13, 3 spem saepe transitionis praebendo neque umquam non decedendo.

2. There are but few occurrences of the genitive plural of the gerundive, and in these it is to be noted that Cicero does not have the succession *-arum -arum*, or *-orum -orum*. The nearest he comes to these is in Att. 3, 7, 3 mutandarum rerum; Fam. 15, 13, 2 r. gerendarum; and Fam. 2, 3, 1 declarandorum munerum. Other third declension endings are in Att. 3, 24, 1 adiungendorum consulum; Fam. 5, 4, 2 omnium servandorum; 5, 20, 1 rationum referendarum.

3. In the ablative the gerund without a preposition is used more freely than is the gerundive, but the reverse is true when a preposition is used, and this is most noticeable with *de*.

4. Cicero regularly has the genitives *mei*, *tui*, *sui*, while Pollio has in Fam. 10, 33, 5 spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari; and Brutus, Fam. 11, 2, 2 facultatem habet decipiendi nos.

It will not be out of place to contrast briefly the usage of Cicero with that of Livy in the ger. sphere. The sentence organization is so different that a comparison in the domain of the strictly participial usage would not be fair to either, for frequency of occurrence would be the chief difference. However, in the use of the ger. forms Livy emphasizes certain phases which



Cicero does not. Less than twenty years intervened between the beginning of the literary activity of Livy and the close of the activity of Cicero when Livy was fifteen years of age. We do not know when he left Patavium, nor whether he had ever heard Cicero speak. Be this as it may he was a sincere admirer of Cicero, for he said, as quoted by Sen. Rhet. S. 5, 22 *magnus ac memorabilis fuit et in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit*; and the further commendation quoted by Quintilian 10, 1, 39 is well known '*legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita, ut quisque esset Demostheni et Ciceroni simillimus*'. We may safely assume that the works of Cicero were the basis of the training of Livy, and that he modified the basis as Cicero also had done. In dealing with the ger. (see A. J. P. XXVII 280 seqq.) he made far more extended use of the dative than did Cicero; he did not restrict himself in the use of the accusative as object of the gerund; in the ablative the use of *in* is far less prominent than in the epistles; and in the genitive the use of the accusative of pronouns is noticeable. These are matters in which there might have been a parity of usage in the epistles and in the history, while the more elaborate setting in Livy is merely an evidence of a necessary difference in style.

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#### IV.—HORACE'S VIEW OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SATIRE AND COMEDY.

The thirtieth book of Lucilius seems to have embraced five satires, the second of which (represented by ll. 1008–1038 in Marx's edition) was addressed to some comic poet, a friend of the writer's. In this satire the nature of comedy seems to have been discussed, one surviving verse (1029)

sicuti te, qui ea quae speciem vitae esse putamus

presenting a view which is frequently found in ancient writers, viz., that comedy is an imitation of life. So, for example, *comœdiam esse Cicero ait imitationem vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis* (Donatus, ed. Wessner, I, p. 22), and again: *aitque esse comoediam cotidianae vitae speculum, nec iniuria* (ib., p. 23).<sup>1</sup>

In commenting on this passage, Marx, who often seeks to disparage Horace, in comparison with his favorite Lucilius, remarks: *sed iam intellegitur quo auctore Horatius l. s. (sc. Serm. I. 4, 45 sq.) disputationem illam de comoedia inseruerit illo loco parum aptam, apud Lucilium propter eius ad quem scripsit personam aptissimam.*

It is worth while to inquire whether Horace's discussion of comedy in the course of this fourth satire is as inappropriate as Marx maintains. That type of comedy, which is exemplified by the Old Attic masters, is the theme of the very first lines,<sup>2</sup> and Horace correctly seizes upon its leading characteristic, viz., absolute freedom of speech:

*multa cum libertate notabant.*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Greek passages cited by Marx. Quintilian's characterization of Menander is determined by this idea: *ita omnem vitae imaginem expressit* (Inst. 10. 1, 69).

<sup>2</sup> Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poëtae,  
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,  
Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,  
Quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

Serm. I. 4. 1–5.



'In Roman literature', says<sup>1</sup> Horace in substance, 'Lucilius shows a similar boldness of utterance. His spirit is that of Old Attic Comedy, but his metrical forms are different, and his verse is uncouth. He was careless and verbose, more interested in the quantity than the quality of his work' (6-13).

'Similar in this last respect is Crispinus, who challenges me to a scribbling contest, but I decline to compete with such poets, even as I refuse to emulate the self-satisfied Fannius<sup>2</sup> by reading my verses in public, because this kind of writing is not popular. Men do not like to have their weaknesses exposed. "Give such a poet a wide berth", they cry' (14-38).

'Listen to my defence. In the first place, a man who composes verses as I do, verses that are really more like conversation, *sermoni propiora*, should not be called a poet. The true poet has imaginative power and lofty utterance. This<sup>3</sup> is why the question has been raised whether comedy<sup>4</sup> is poetry, for even in its most spirited passages, as rendered on the stage (*personatus pater*), we are really dealing with pure conversation, *sermo merus*, such as would be suitable to similar scenes in daily life' (38-56).

'So it is with the verses of Lucilius and my own. Take away the metrical element, change the word-order, and you have plain prose. But the question whether satire is poetry must be post-

<sup>1</sup> So far as it goes, this analysis is in harmony with that given by Prof. Hendrickson, in his article on Horace, *Serm. I. 4: A Protest and a Programme*, A. J. P. XXI (1900).

<sup>2</sup> The significance of the introduction of Crispinus and Fannius is well explained by Hendrickson, in dealing with this passage in another article, *Satura as a Generic Term*, *Class. Phil.* VI, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poëma  
Esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis  
Nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo  
Differt sermoni, sermo merus* (45-48).

<sup>4</sup> i. e. New Comedy as seen from the reason given (46-7) and the illustration (48 sq.):

'At pater ardens  
Saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica  
Filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,  
Ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante  
Noctem cum facibus'.

Cf. Hendrickson, A. J. P. XXI (1900) pp. 129, 130.



poned. At present let us consider the question of its unpopularity' (56-65).

The mere analysis of Horace's thought, as just given, will, I trust, dispose effectively of Marx's statement that the discussion of comedy in this fourth satire is *parum apta*. Horace is instituting a comparison between satire and comedy, his purpose being to establish, or at least suggest, literary standards for the sphere which he is cultivating. His great predecessor in *genus hoc scribendi*<sup>1</sup>, Lucilius, in whose footsteps, notwithstanding all his defects, Horace must needs follow, was regarded as one of Rome's classics. His large body of verse was extremely familiar to Horace and his contemporaries, and upon this as a basis any new satire must necessarily have been built.

The best taste of the Augustan age demanded for literary work of every sort perfection of form and style. Practically all fields of prose and poetry were under cultivation, but success waited only upon those who devoted care and toil to securing the best results. Originality and creative power were certainly demanded and admired, but these won little favor with competent judges if not coupled with the charm of finished workmanship. The poet must have not merely the *mens divini*, but also the *os magna sonaturum*<sup>2</sup>; the prose writer must of course have something worth telling, but he must also understand and apply with success the methods of artistic presentation.

Now it was obvious to Horace, with his fine sense of literary finish, that there was at least one important field of verse where both earlier and contemporary writers had failed to observe high standards. In the interesting enumeration of poets of the day, which we find in Serm. I. 10, 36 sqq., Fundanius is named as a successful writer of light comedies;<sup>3</sup> Pollio has won fame in tragedy and Varius in the epic, a sphere in which Furius Bibaculus has failed dismally; Virgil has displayed *molle atque facetum* in his pastorals. But in the field of satire, Varro Atacinus and others whom Horace does not name have been unsuccessful, our poet boldly claiming that he is their superior.

But Horace is not satisfied with merely surpassing his contemporaries. He is audacious enough to point<sup>4</sup> out striking defects

<sup>1</sup>l. 65.

<sup>2</sup>ll. 43-4.

<sup>3</sup>That these were composed for reading or recitation, not for the stage, is to be inferred from both *garrire* and *libellos* (41); cf. Kiessling's note.

<sup>4</sup>Serm. I. 4, 7-13.



in the great Lucilius, who, with all his genius (*facetus, emunctae naris*), is rough in style (*durus componere versus*), careless and diffuse. His stream runs muddy, he chatters too freely (*garrulus*), and he is too lazy to take pains in his composition (*piger scribendi ferre laborem*).

Horace's comments upon Lucilius in this fourth satire brought down considerable censure upon him from the critics who upheld the excellence of early Latin poetry, and to these therefore he makes reply in his tenth satire. He repeats his criticisms as to the crudity of Lucilius' verse,<sup>1</sup> the muddiness of his stream,<sup>2</sup> his lack of finish,<sup>3</sup> and his fatal copiousness<sup>4</sup>. He admits that he has great satiric power,<sup>5</sup> and will even allow that, as compared with one carving out a new species of verse, quite untouched by the Greeks, he may have some polish,<sup>6</sup> but he maintains<sup>7</sup> that had Lucilius lived in the Augustan age he would have filed away his roughness and learned

"the last and greatest art, the art to blot".

At the same time he acknowledges<sup>8</sup> his own inferiority to the famous inventor of satire, though I am inclined to think that this admission does not represent his real view, but is made diplomatically to disarm his opponents.

Satire is confessedly verse on a comparatively low plane. It is merely versified prose of a conversational tone, and the subject matter is drawn from the sphere of daily life. In these respects, satire resembles comedy. The latter takes its subjects from

<sup>1</sup> Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus  
Lucili. (ll. 1-2.)

<sup>2</sup> At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem  
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. (ll. 50-51.)

<sup>3</sup> Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes  
Quaerere num illius, num rerum dura negarit  
Versiculos natura magis factos et euntes  
Mollius, &c. (ll. 56-59.)

<sup>4</sup> Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos  
Ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus. (ll. 60-61.)

<sup>5</sup> At idem quod sale multo  
Urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem. (ll. 4-5.)

<sup>6</sup> Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,  
Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem  
Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor. (ll. 64-66.)

<sup>7</sup> ll. 68-74.

<sup>8</sup> Inventore minor. (l. 48.)



ordinary life,<sup>1</sup> while its language is *sermo merus* (Serm. I. 4, 48). Horace writes *sermoni propiora* (ib. 42), and calls his satires *sermones*, 'talks', 'causeries', a term which, as we shall see, Lucilius had also used of his own writings long before. Horace's 'talks' are on the incidents and aspects of everyday life, and show a steady tendency toward the discussion of a philosophy of life.

But while satire and comedy are so closely related, they are, of course, far from being identical, and Professor Knapp makes a grievous mistake when he declares<sup>2</sup> that "to Horace comedy and satire were convertible terms", and supposes that in ll. 45-65 of this fourth satire the poet is dealing with *comoedia* throughout, the word being "replaced by *genus hoc scribendi* (plainly 'satire') in 65". Nobody else to my knowledge has had the temerity to claim that Horace wrote comedy. Surely it is not necessary to point out that while satire may embrace many dramatic features<sup>3</sup>—all the more naturally if, according to the traditional, and still generally accepted view, Lucilian satire is descended from a rude dramatic type—it yet differs from comedy in the all important matter of dramatic form.

As a student of literature, Horace was evidently impressed by the fact that notwithstanding their natural relationship to each other, comedy and satire were not on the same artistic footing. Latin comedy had reached a high degree of excellence, which one at least of his contemporaries (viz. Fundanius) had seemingly maintained. In satire, however, no high standard had yet been set, for nobody had improved upon Lucilius, and Lucilius, in Horace's opinion, was lamentably deficient in those stylistic qualities which good writing, even for satire, demanded.<sup>4</sup>

In illustration of the *vis comica*, which to Horace's interlocutor would seem to be coupled with poetic spirit and diction, is cited a dramatic scene<sup>5</sup> in which an angry father storms because his

<sup>1</sup> *ex medio res arcessit* (Epist. II. 1, 168).

<sup>2</sup> The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition Concerning the Dramatic Satire; *A. J. P.* XXXIII (1912), p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hopkins: Dramatic Satire in Relation to Book Satire, *PAPA XXXI* (1900), pp. L sq.

<sup>4</sup> What these qualities are, Horace tells us in his tenth satire, of which a good analysis is given by Hendrickson in his article Horace and Lucilius, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, pp. 151 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 184, footnote 4.



wayward son is madly in love with a courtesan, refuses a wife with a large dowry and is shameless enough to parade the streets at an early hour in a tipsy revel. A scene precisely like this is nowhere found in any of our extant plays, though the *ardens pater* is a familiar personage in Terence, and one naturally thinks of Pamphilus and Glycerium in the *Andria*, or of Antipho, who in the *Phormio* is captivated with the penniless Phanium. More specific, however, is the reference in another passage, though again the author in view is not named. In the *Ars Poetica* the writer reminds us that each kind of poetry has its appropriate style, "yet at times even Comedy raises her voice, and angry Chremes storms violently with swelling tones".<sup>1</sup> Here the angry father is named, and the name is one which, though not found at all in Plautus, occurs in four plays of Terence. In three of these, Chremes is an old man, and the particular scene to which Horace refers is probably the fourth in the last act of the *Hauton*, in which Chremes assails his son Clitipho. Chremes in fact is for Horace the typical old man of comedy, and as such is named along with Davus (as in the *Andria* and *Phormio*) in the passage cited above,<sup>2</sup> descriptive of the approved comedies of Fundanius, who evidently followed the Terentian type. In another passage, where Horace wishes to illustrate the folly of lovers, who show all the fickleness of children, he significantly takes a scene almost word for word from the *Eunuchus*<sup>3</sup> of Terence.

It is a familiar fact that Horace is distinctly hostile to the old poets generally. In the epistle to Augustus and the *Ars Poetica*, where he passes in review so many of the early writers, he severely censures Ennius, Plautus, Accius and others whom he expressly names, but nowhere does he pass an unfavorable judgment upon Terence. The popular verdict that Terence excels in art<sup>4</sup> is recorded, though Horace's own judgment is provokingly

<sup>1</sup> Interdum tamen et vocem Comoedia tollit  
 Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore  
 Ars Poet. 93 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. Serm. I. 10, 40 sq.      <sup>3</sup> Serm. II. 3, 259 sqq. = *Eunuchus*, 16 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Dicitur . . . .  
 Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.  
 (Epist. II. 1 57 sqq.)

In his *Der Mimus*, pp. 337 sqq., Reich has an interesting discussion of this passage in connection with the canon of Volcatius Sedigitus, who, it



concealed. It is, however, quite possible that even in Terence Horace could find traces of that rusticity, *vestigia ruris*,<sup>1</sup> which still lingered, as he remarks, in his own day. Under this head would perhaps come the metrical freedom which Terence exhibits in common with all the earlier poets, but which was not approved by the canons of art in the Augustan age. To take a single example, even Cicero, who in his early poetry disregards final *s* in determining syllabic quantity, in later life spoke of this practice as *iam subrusticum*.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time it is inconceivable that Horace should have failed to recognize the excellences of a poet, whose purity of style has commended him to the most fastidious critics. If Cicero could eulogize Terence as

quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens,

if Caesar could compare him to the polished and graceful Menander, and describe him as *puri sermonis amator*, 'lover of Latin undefiled', while at a later day the discriminating Quintilian<sup>3</sup> could apply to his plays the significant epithet *elegantissima*, if to the Latin writers of mediaeval and modern times he has been the chief model for purity and refinement in conversational style, if Sainte-Beuve<sup>4</sup> calls him *le lien entre l'urbanité romaine et l'atticisme des Grecs*, and assures us that if Virgil had written comedies he would have written them as Terence did, we need not hesitate to believe that Horace also recognized in the work of Terence a remarkable achievement, being nothing less than a near approach to literary perfection in the field of comedy.

Fortunately, we have positive as well as negative evidence of Horace's admiration for Terence. The comic writer's influence in moulding the admirable style of Horace's *sermo cotidianus* has often been commented upon, and a comparative study of

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will be remembered, gives the first place to Caecilius, and only the sixth to Terence. This canon, according to Reich, is based on the approximation of comedy to the mime, and as the palm is given to Caecilius as *mimicus*

Caecilio palmam Statio do mimico,

so the *gravitas* of Horace is the *πάθος* of Varro, and means "energy of comic expression". The fine art of Terence is the "Gegenpol der kraftvollen, volksmässig-energischen, aber ungekünstelten Weise des Cäcilius".

<sup>1</sup> Epist. II. 1, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Orator, 48, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Inst. X. 1, 99, *quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima*.

<sup>4</sup> Nouveaux Lundis, Tome 5, p. 366 (ed. Lévy Frères, 1866).



Horace and Terence will show that the later poet owes not a little of his success to his intimate familiarity with the plays of Terence.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with this purity of diction and artistic refinement of style, exhibited by at least one master of comedy, stand in marked contrast the slipshod, slovenly effusions of Rome's great satirist, Lucilius. Notwithstanding the doubt about the date of his birth, in his literary activity Lucilius is at least a full generation later than Terence, though in style he is much more closely related to the writers of a former age, such as Plautus. To Horace, therefore, Lucilius must have seemed a literary degenerate, who had refused to uphold a high standard of excellence already attained.

We naturally ask what apology, if any, Lucilius could have made for this apparent backsliding. For his chief defence, he would, I believe, have relied upon his *genus scribendi*, the satiric type. Whether or not this was the offspring of a rude ancestry, according to the tradition given by later Roman writers, a tradition which, I am inclined to think, furnishes the most plausible explanation for Lucilius' apparent fall from grace, satire certainly had no higher guardian than a *musa pedestris*, and laid no sound claim to nobility of birth.<sup>2</sup> *Satira tota nostra est*, says Quintilian. Yet in Horace's day it is evident that the admirers of Lucilian satire gave it a Greek ancestry. It was begotten, they said, of Old Comedy, and its salt had the true Attic flavor. This claim Horace meets half-way. "Lucilius is the faithful disciple of the writers of the Old Comedy in this one respect, viz., aggressive, censorious wit",<sup>3</sup> but unlike those writers, he was no poet.<sup>4</sup>

This apparently harsh conclusion is one with which Lucilius himself might well have agreed. His satire had to do with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, pp. 218 sqq.; Tcherniaef, *Des Traces de Térence dans Ovide, Horace et Tite Live*, Kazan, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> The question of the origin of Roman satire is one with which we are not directly concerned, but the backward swing of the pendulum from the radical views of Leo and Hendrickson may be seen in the recent articles by Webb, *On the Origin of Roman Satire*, in *Class. Phil.* VII, and Knapp, *The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition Concerning the Dramatic Satire*, in *A. J. P.* XXXIII (1912), pp. 125 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XXI (1900), p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Note *poetae* in l. 1 and the complete disavowal of poetic qualities for Lucilius in ll. 57 sqq.



miscellaneous concerns of daily life, the food for the tittle-tattle of barber-shops and public fountains, as Marx expresses it, when commenting on the Lucilian verse :

multis indu locis sermonibus concelebrarunt. (l. 970).

Here we meet the significant word *sermones*, which Lucilius uses of his satires in l. 1039 :

cuius vultu ac facie, ludo ac sermonibus nostris.

In this latter line the word is combined with *ludus*, a noun by which the writer suggests that the products of his pen are but the amusement of idle hours. In performances of this sort it may well have seemed to Lucilius that there was no need of the *limae labor et mora*, the careful attention to form and finish, so characteristic of Terence. Horace himself took a different view. He too writes *sermones*, he too amuses himself with his pen (*haec ego ludo*, Serm. I. 10, 37), but he holds that even in this humble sphere writing is worth while only when it is well done, and Lucilius, he boldly claims, was too lazy to write well :

piger scribendi ferre laborem  
scribendi recte.

The attitude of Lucilius toward his craft may be illustrated by two interesting passages in Cicero :

(a) Nec vero ut noster Lucilius, recusabo, quo minus omnes mea legant. Utinam esset ille Persius ! Scipio vero et Rutilius multo etiam magis ; quorum ille indicium reformidans, Tarentinis ait se et Consentinis et Siculis scribere (De Fin. 1. 3, 7).

(b) Nam ut C. Lucilius, homo et doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat, neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse, de quo etiam scripsit " Persium non curo legere ", hic fuit enim, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus, " Laelium Decumum volo ", quem cognovimus virum bonum et non inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium : sic ego . . . (Orator 2. 6, 25).

Thus Lucilius used to declare that he wrote for the average man, neither the great scholar nor the ignorant lout. His words were addressed to the Consentini, the Tarentines and Sicilians, who were unfamiliar with the refinements of the Latin tongue, rather than to such cultivated and learned men as Persius, Scipio or Rutilius.<sup>1</sup> It is to these *litterati* that Cicero would himself

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marx's commentary on Lucilius, 592-596.



have appealed, and it was precisely to these that Terence did address himself, for it was within the select intellectual circle of Scipio Africanus the Younger—the same Scipio who was later to be the friend of Lucilius—that the poet composed his artistic comedies. So completely was the urbanity of his noble friends assimilated, that it became a matter of common gossip that the plays were really written, wholly or in part, by Scipio himself or Laelius.<sup>1</sup>

The defects which Horace finds in Lucilius are very similar to those which he discovers in Plautus. I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> pointed out that the striking differences between Plautus and Terence in style, form and material are largely due to the presence of a large native element in Plautine comedy. Similarly, it might be urged that the excessive discursiveness and curious irregularities of Lucilian satire may be due to the loose character of the more miscellaneous, and perhaps dramatic, *satura* which it supplanted. It might be argued that this dramatic *satura* belonged to *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis*,<sup>3</sup> and that Lucilian satire, even if animated by the censorious spirit of Old Comedy and otherwise *Graecis tactum*, was yet in close touch with this native element. Certainly the *character Lucilianus*, as contrasted with the Terentian *elegantia*, lends considerable plausibility to the traditional view that poetic satire is an outgrowth from a native inartistic type.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic. ad Att. 7. 3, 10, Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi; Quintilian, X. 1, 99, licet scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur. See too the prologue to the *Adelphoe*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> In an edition of the *Andria* of Terence, *Intro.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Serm. I. 10, 66. It seems almost necessary, when citing this much-debated verse, to state what interpretation is accepted for *auctor*. I take the passage to mean: 'let us grant that Lucilius was more polished than would be the composer of a crude kind of poetry, still untouched by the Greeks'. The poetry of Lucilius is not *rude carmen*, it is not unaffected by the Greeks. Lucilius himself is learned in Greek literature and imports the spirit of Old Comedy into Latin. He is the *inventor* (l. 48) of a new type, but he cannot be wholly free from Greek influence. I see no real inconsistency between this and the beginning of Serm. I. 4, as does Knapp in A. J. P. XXXIII (1912), p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> The indirect, yet possible, connection between Lucilian satire and the comedy of Caecilius and Plautus, through a common *mimic* element, is shown graphically by Marx in the chart at the end of Vol. I. 2 of his *Der Mimus*. It may not be amiss to recall here the commonly rejected statement of Lydus (*De Magistratibus* I, 41) about Rhinthon, ὃς ἑξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρῶτως κωμωδίαν· ἐξ οὗ πρῶτος λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς Λουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἡρωϊκοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκωμώδησε.



However this may be, Horace is very severe in his criticism of the formal side of both Lucilius and Plautus. The satirist had no more right to be careless than the dramatist. It is easy to scribble upon commonplace themes, but mere scribbling has no merit and admits of no justification. This is the mistake which, as Horace explains in his Epistle to Augustus,<sup>1</sup> the would-be writer of comedies often makes. Seeing that his subjects are taken from daily life, he thinks they can be handled with ease, whereas they really demand more laborious care, because we are less likely to excuse mistakes.

This principle is just as applicable to satire as it is to comedy, and so we realize once more the forcefulness of the effective comparison drawn in Horace's fourth satire between the two literary spheres—a *comparatio* which, far from being *parum apta*, is eminently significant and *aptissima*.

H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH.

<sup>1</sup> Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere  
Sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto  
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus.

(Ep. II. 1, 168 sqq.)



## V.—FIVE GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK.

1. Metropolitan Museum, 1235, mummy-label, wood, 10.8 × 7.3 cm., inscribed crosswise in uncial letters, perforated at the top; on each side near the top is a notch.

Πλῆνι ἐτῶν Lξ' = Πλῆνις (ἐβίωσεν) ἐτῶν ξ' (= 60)

Πλῆνι = Πλῆνις or Πλήνιος, the final *ς* of the nominative or the *ος* of the genitive being omitted.<sup>1</sup> This name occurs frequently in Le Blant<sup>2</sup> who says,<sup>3</sup> “Πλῆνις peut être décomposé en p-ren (= len): celui du nom (sacré)”. With this compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 41 Nachtrag, “Etwa Plinius??”

In this label we have both ἐτῶν and L, the sign for ἐτῶν.

2. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1130, mummy-label, wood, 11 × 6 cm., rectangular, inscribed lengthwise on both sides in Greek letters, one side in uncials, the other in semi-uncials, with corners at left end rounded, perforated at the same end.

1. Πκῦρις Βῆσιος Σεπνούθ(ης)

2. Πκῦρις Βῆσιος ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος (μητρὸς) Σεπνούθ(ης) ἐβίωσεν αὐτον (sic) αS Παῦνι κε'

The name Πκῦρις is found in Hall<sup>4</sup> No. 29, with which compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 212 Πκοῦλις, No. 212 a Πκῦλις, No. 212 b Πκύλιος, No. 287 Σεπκῦλις.

Βῆσις is a frequently occurring name.<sup>5</sup>

Σεπνούθ(ης), Σεπνούθ(ης) occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen No.

<sup>1</sup> For the omission compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen (= Aegyptische und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit, Leipzig, 1901) No. 11 Ἀπολλωνι, No. 73 b Θαησι, No. 105 b Καλεσηρι, No. 116 Κελεσιτι, No. 330 Ταησαι.

<sup>2</sup> Tablari Égyptiennes, Revue Archéologique, N. S. vol. xxviii (1874) and vol. xxix (1875), Πλῆνις No. 9-12, 14-18, 30, 57, 84; Πληίνις No. 13; Σεπλῆνις No. 26-28; Σεπλήνιος No. 25. Cf. also Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 213 Πλῆνις, No. 213 a Πλήνιος, No. 288 Σεπλῆνις, and page 56 the Coptic ΠΛΗΙΝΕ.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xxviii, p. 390.

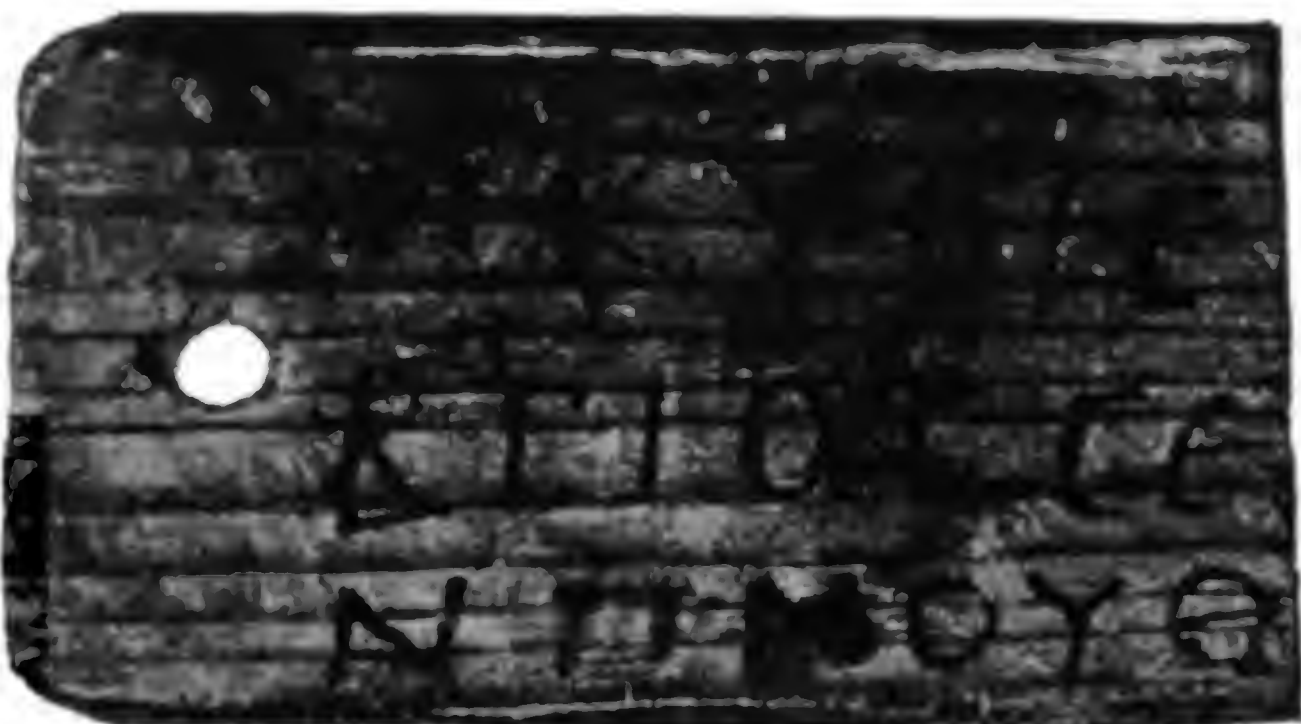
<sup>4</sup> H. R. Hall, Greek Mummy-Labels in the British Museum, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1905, pp. 13, 48, 83, 115, 159.

<sup>5</sup> H. F. Allen, Two Mummy-Labels in the Carnegie Museum, Annals of the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, Pa., vol. viii, No. 2, 1912.





1



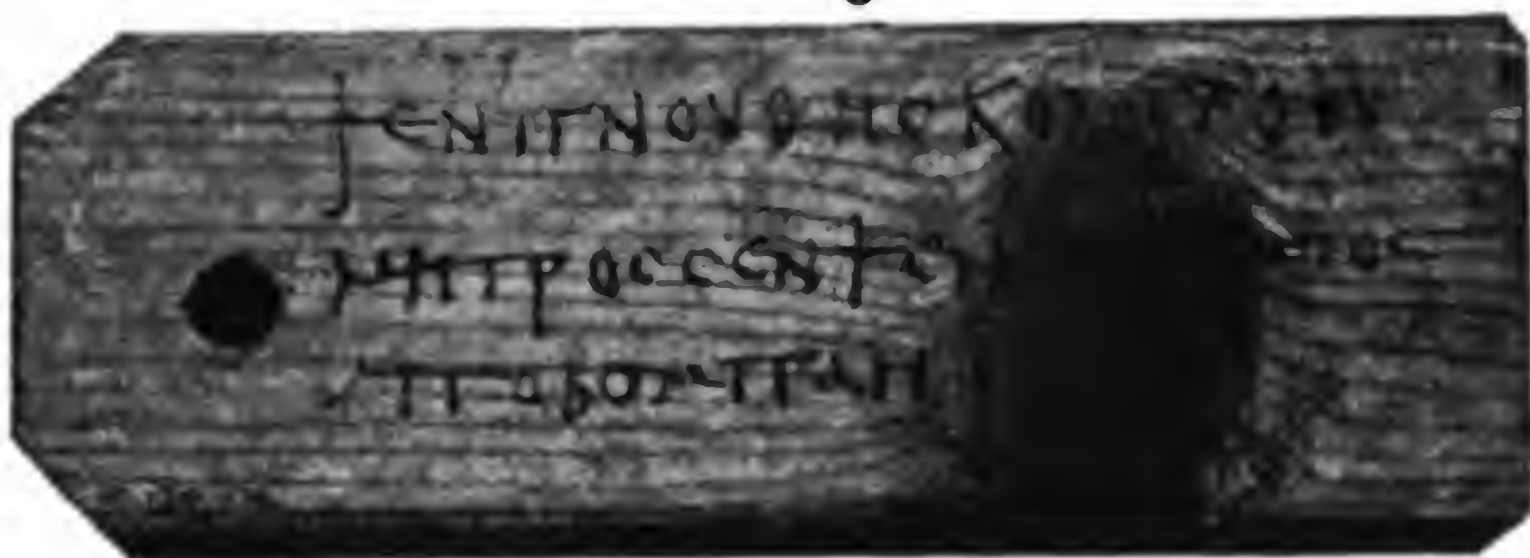
2<sup>1</sup>



2<sup>2</sup>



3



4



5







291 Σεπνούθης, No. 291a Σεπνούθη, No. 291a Σεπνούθου, Krebs<sup>1</sup> No. 11 μητρὸς Σεπνούθης, No. 27 μητρὸς Σεπνούθου. In Milne,<sup>2</sup> p. 82, No. 9367, the name occurs as Σεπνούτι(ος).<sup>3</sup> Σεπνούθης,<sup>4</sup> the Demotic T3-šrj-t-n-p3-ntr, a compound of the feminine prefix sen (full form tsen) and p-nuter = the god, signifies "the daughter of the gods", but this name "has no general monotheistic meaning, but marks the special local god. It was not till the Christian period that προυτε received the meaning "God" in its fullest sense". In label No. 4 below we have the masculine form of the name, Ψεπνούθης = the son of the god.

Ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος, according to Wessely,<sup>5</sup> signifies the place of birth of Σεπνούθης. Its exact position is uncertain, although it is known from the labels that it was in the Panopolite Nome.

After ἐβίωσεν this label plainly reads αὐτον, which, like αἰδῶν in Krebs No. 21, must be considered a mistake for ἐτῶν.<sup>6</sup> The number of years lived is omitted; for the date, αS Παῦνι κε' (=first year, Payni 25), refers not to the number of years which Πκυρίς<sup>7</sup> lived, but to the day on which he died, i. e. the twenty-fifth of the month Payni (the second month of summer) of the first year of the reigning emperor whose name was not given, either by mistake or because it seemed superfluous.<sup>8</sup>

The sign which follows α, S, stands for ἐτῶν. It is the form always<sup>9</sup> used when it follows the numeral-letter. When the sign precedes, it takes the form L; for, in Le Blant No. 5 (Sλς), "where the form S precedes the numeral, it may be the virgula which the ancients superposed on numbers".

<sup>1</sup> Fritz Krebs, Griechische Mumienetiketten aus Aegypten, Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, vol. xxxii, 1894, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Milne, Greek Inscriptions. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, vol. xviii, Oxford, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Coptic Tshenoute, Spiegelberg Eigennamen, pp. 56 and 29.

<sup>4</sup> Spiegelberg Eigennamen, pp. 28 B and 41\*.

<sup>5</sup> K. Wessely, Holztäfelchen der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, vol. v. Wien, 1892, p. 15. "Dass ἀπό in dem Sinne von "gebürtig aus" gebraucht ist, erhellt aus dem beständigen Gebrauche der Papyrus und unseren Holztäfelchen (No. 4), das Πουπλιανὸς Φιλαδέλφειτης bietet".

<sup>6</sup> Other variations for ἐτῶν are Le Blant No. 5 and 29 ετον, No. 55 ετο, No. 18 ετην, No. 28 ετη. Cf. Spiegelberg Eigennamen, Tafel xxix, No. 94 ἐτῶν, beneath which is written ετου.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Krebs No. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Krebs, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Revillout, Revue Égyptologique, vol. vii, p. 29, No. 6.



3. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1131, mummy-label, wood, 13.5 × 5 cm., tapering to 4.1 cm., deeply incised in uncial letters lengthwise, perforated. On the other side the label is inscribed in Demotic letters which are almost obliterated.<sup>1</sup>

Σενπητούθης Σούλιος μητρὸς Ταφιώμιος

Σενπητούθης is a compound of the feminine prefix sen and πτηουθης, cf. Σενπνούθης above. Neither the simple Πτηούθης nor its compound occurs in the books at hand.

Σούλιος occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen, No. 319 = the Demotic sur.

Ταφιώμις (also Ταπιώμις, see Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 49\*, No. 342), = the (woman) of the river, or possibly the (woman) of the Fayum or the (woman) of Arsinoe, is found in the indices of the Berliner Urkunden.

4. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1132, mummy-label, wood, 15 × 5.2 cm., inscribed lengthwise, one side in uncial Greek letters, the other in Demotic,<sup>2</sup> corners rounded, perforated.

Ψενπνούθης Κολλούθου μητρὸς Σενψενθμεσιώτος ἀπὸ Βομπαή

Ψενπνούθης is found in Krebs No. 79 and Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 436. It is the masculine form of Σενπνούθης of label No. 2 described above and = the Demotic psen-p-nute<sup>3</sup> = the son of the god (= the Coptic Shenoute).

Κολλούθου (Κολλούθης) is found in Krebs No. 2, 56, 74 Κολλούθου, No. 13 Κολλούθης, Le Blant No. 83, Milne No. 9392, p. 89, Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 120, 121a, Spiegelberg Demot. Ins.,<sup>3</sup> No. 9392, p. 84. It is for the Demotic K3lud. In Revillout No. 14 and Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 121 the nominative appears as

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wilhelm Spiegelberg of Strassburg writes, The Demotic inscription "ist zum grössten Teil unleserlich. Glücklicherweise ist aber hinter 'dem Herrn von Abydos' in Zeile drei von den Eigennamen noch erhalten 'T-schen-p-nute. Sohn des Sulis'. Danach ist der griechische Text sicher so zu lesen, Σενπνούθης Σούλιος μητρὸς Ταφιώμιος. Damit erhalten Sie gut bekannte aegyptische Namen". Σενπητούθης seems, however, to be the reading of the incised Greek letters of the label, probably by mistake in cutting.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Spiegelberg has translated the Demotic as follows:

Seine Seele wird dem Osiris-Sokaris, dem grossen Gotte,  
dem Herrn von Abydos, folgen, P-schen-p-nute, Sohn des Klludj,  
Seine Mutter (heisst) T-schen-p-schen-te-mesjo.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegelberg Demot. Ins. = Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Die Demotischen Inschriften. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire vol. xvi.



Κολλούθος.<sup>1</sup> Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 122, 122 a, Κολλῶθις, Κολλῶθιος give the feminine form of the same name, and No. 432 Ψενκολλῶθις gives the feminine form compounded with the masculine prefix = Psen-Klläud.

Σενψενθμεσιῶτος is a double compound of the feminine prefix, the masculine prefix and the frequently occurring name Θμεσιῶς (of which we have the variants Τμοσιῶς, Μησιῶς), the name of a goddess of birth. The form Ψενθμεσιῶς occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 431, and the form Ψεντμεσιῶς No. 431 a, p. 63\*.

Ἀπό Βομπαή. In the labels the full form for this is ἀπὸ κόμης Βομπαή τοῦ Πανοπαλείτου νόμου (cf. above label No. 2, ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος). Βομπαή was probably identical with Sohag, but the meaning of the name is unexplained by the Demotic equivalent.<sup>2</sup>

5. Metropolitan Museum, 11. 155. 5, mummy-label, cloth, attached to the foot of a mummy-case of brown cloth, 17.5 × 7 cm., notched at the four corners, inscribed lengthwise in raised gold letters. The mummy is assigned to "about 100 A. D. Meir".

Ἀρτεμιδώρα Ἀρποκρά ἄωρος (ἀπέθανε) Λκζ' εὐψύχει

Artemidora (daughter of) Harpokras (died) untimely. (She lived) 27 years. Farewell.

Ἀρτεμιδώρα is found Revillout<sup>3</sup> No. 21 = the Demotic Ta-tu-Artumi, the gift of Artemis.<sup>4</sup> The masculine form of the name, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, also occurs.<sup>5</sup> The simple Ἀρτεμις and the compound Ψενάρτεμις are found together in Krebs No. 8, Ψενάρτεμις Ἀρτέμιτος.

Ἀρποκρά ἄωρος (ἀπέθανε).<sup>6</sup> Ἀρποκρά is gen. of Ἀρποκράς (Spiegelberg, No. 22) = "Horus the child", a "short form from Ἀρποκράτης". Since the necessary books are not at hand references for ἄωρος cannot be given, but Professor Fox, of Princeton, writes, "I have looked through LeBlant, Reich, Hall, Hess, Krebs, Schmidt and others, but find no parallels in labels. The word occurs, however, in the Egyptian Magic Papyri of the third and fourth cent. A. D."

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 40, the Coptic ΚΟΛΟΥΘΟC, and a Ptolemaic Καλούσης for Klud.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 66\*, No. 488.

<sup>3</sup> Revue égyptologique, vol. vii, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 5\* = (Te)-te-artami = whom Artemis has given.

<sup>5</sup> Spiegelberg Eigennamen, No. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Reading suggested by Professor D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University.



## VI.—REPETITION IN THE ARGONAUTICA OF APOLLONIUS.

A conspicuous feature of Homeric style is the repetition of verses. Not only are passages repeated, but certain stock lines and couplets. The amount of repetition in the Iliad and the Odyssey has been carefully measured by C. E. Schmidt in his *Parallel-Homer oder Index aller homerischen Iterati in lexikalischer Anordnung* (Göttingen, 1885). He finds (p. VIII) that 1804 verses occur together 4730 times and that if slight variations are neglected there are 2118 verses which occur 5612 times. Should all recurring verses and recurring parts of verses be removed from the poems, the number of verses would be reduced by 16,000, more than the bulk of the Iliad, leaving 12,000, i. e., approximately the whole of the Odyssey. Comp. A. J. P. VI 399.

Since the Homeric poems exercised a great influence upon subsequent Greek epic, the question has naturally been asked whether in the epic of Apollonius and Quintus there is much repetition. A general answer in the negative has been made in the case of both poets (Wellauer, *Apollonius II.* 380; Paschal *A Study of Quintus of Smyrna*, p. 36).

In this paper an attempt is made to measure the extent of repetition in Apollonius and then to make comparisons with Homer. An examination of the *Argonautica* reveals surprisingly few repeated verses, and shows that in half of these the repetition was deliberate, whereas in the case of the others the wide separation of the verses may mean that the repetition was unobserved by the poet.

The cases of conscious repetition may first be considered. In I. 703 ss. Hypsipyle gives Iphinoe a message for the Argonauts; in vv. 712 ss. the message is delivered. The coincident passages are as follows:

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 705 | ὄφρα τί οἱ δῆμοιο ἔπος θυμῆρες ἐνίσπω·<br>καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἀστεος, αἱ κ' ἐθέλωσιν,<br>κέκλεο θαρσαλέως ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. |
| 714 | ..... ἐνίσπη<br>..... ἐθέλητε<br>κέκλεται αὐτίκα νῦν ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας.   |



In III. 409 ss. Aeetes speaks to Jason, but the report of the speech by Jason contains only one verse which is repeated.

409 δοιῶ μοι πεδῖον τὸ Ἀρῆιον ἀμφινέμονται  
ταύρω χαλκόποδε, στόματι φλόγα φυσῖωντες.  
495 φῆ δὲ δύνω πεδῖον τὸ Ἀρῆιον ἀμφινέμεσθαι  
..... φυσῖωντας.

The content of other verses in the speech of Aeetes is re-stated in different words and phrases. A third case of the same kind occurs in Jason's report of the words of the ἡρῶσσαι in IV. 1347 ss. Here v. 1358 is an exact repetition of 1323:

ἡρῶσσαι, Διβύης τιμήτοροι ἡδὲ θυγατρεις,

of which the first three words also appear in v. 1309. V. 1354, except for the pronoun, reproduces v. 1328. These three are all that occur in related speeches. In other passages Apollonius has avoided repetition. Thus vv. 1313-4 of Bk. IV.:

αἱ δὲ σχεδὸν Δῖσониδαο  
ἔσαν, ἔλον δ' ἀπὸ χειρὶ καρήατος ἡρέμα πέπλον.

are differently given in vv. 1350-1:

ἔσαν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μάλ' ἐπισχεδόν· ἂν δ' ἐκάλυψαν  
πέπλον ἐρυσσάμεναι κούφῃ χειρί.

Vv. 1325-7 of Bk. IV. are differently given in vv. 1355-6. Again in Bk. I. 804 ss. Hypsipyle tells Jason of the conduct of the Lemnian men, repeating the substance of vv. 610 ss.:

801-2 αὐτῇσι δ' ἀπείρουνα ληίδα κούραις  
δεῖρ' ἄγον.  
804 δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπέστρυγον, ἐκ δὲ μελάρων,  
ἢ ματίῃ εἷξαντες, ἀπεσσεύοντο γυναῖκας·  
αὐτὰρ ληιάδεσσι δορικτήταις παρίανον,  
σχέτλιοι.  
611 δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας·  
ἄνδρες ἐχθήραντες, ἔχον δ' ἐπὶ ληιάδεσσιν  
τρηχὺν ἔρον, ὃς αὐτοὶ ἀγίνεον ἀντιπέρηθεν  
Θρηκίην δηοῦντες.

Another illustration of the same tendency is to be found in IV. 1106 ss. and 1118 ss.

1118 παρθενικὴν μὲν εἰσῆσαν εἰς ποτὶ δώματα πατρὸς  
ἐκώσσειν, λέκτρον δὲ σὺν ἀνέρι πορσαίνουσαν  
οὐκέτι κουριδίης μιν ἀποτμήξειν φιλότῃτος.  
1106 παρθενικὴν μὲν εἰσῆσαν ἐφ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ κομίσσαι  
ἰθύνω· λέκτρον δὲ σὺν ἀνέρι πορσαίνουσαν  
οὐ μιν εἰς πύσσιος νοσφίσσομαι·



The repeated verses noted above, since they occur close together in related passages are cases of deliberate repetition. It is interesting to see that the instances of what is probably unconscious repetition of whole verses are extremely few. The best example is to be found in I. 526-7 and IV. 582-3:

(δόρυ) τό β' ἀνὰ μέσσην  
στεῖραν Ἀθηναίη Δωδωνίδος ἤρμωσε φηγοῦ.

Examples of verses partly coincident are:

- II. 1154 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις δεδαῆσθαι  
III. 354 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις γενεήν τε  
I. 463 Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε μετὰ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἐλίσσεις;  
IV. 355 Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε συναρτύνασθε μενοινῆν  
III. 404 δώσω τοι χρύσειον ἄγειν δέρος  
IV. 87 " δέ " ἐγὼ "

A very good example is I. 249 and 885:

- 249 εὐχόμεναι νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὀπάσσαι.  
885 εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσσιν ἀπήμονα νόστον ὀπάσσαι.

Frequently in Homer, speeches are introduced by the same verse. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. viii, notes 51 occurrences of the verse:

καί μιν (σφεας) φωνήσας . . . . προσήνδα (δων).

Similarly stock verses are used to indicate the close of a speech. V. Schmidt, s. vv. ὡς ἔφαθ', ὡς φάτο, etc. Apollonius has avoided apparently with intention such verses, for there is only one such verse repeated, I. 1103 = III. 145:

ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἀσπαστὸν ἔπος γένητ' εἰσαίοντι.

This is a noteworthy departure from Homeric precedent.

There are, however, some introductory verses which differ only slightly from one another:

- II. 885 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰσονος υἱὸς ἀμηχανέων προσέειπεν  
I. 1336 " " " " ἐπιφραδέως "  
II. 1134 " " " " " ἐρέεινεν.  
I. 294 μιλίχλοις ἐπέεσσιν παρηγορέων προσέειπεν.  
II. 621 " " παραβλήδην "  
IV. 394 " " ὑποδδείσας "  
IV. 1317 " " ἀτυζόμενον " —ον  
I. 717 ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη πάντεσσι δ' ἐναίσιμος ἦνδανε μῦθος.  
II. 1168 " " " " " ἐπίρροθος " μῆτις.

In addition to the certain cases of repetition above noted there are two more which are under the suspicion of some editors.



II. 381 = II. 1017:

*μόσσυνας καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπώνυμοι ἐνθεν ἔασιν.*

Brunck and Wellauer have rejected it, the latter remarking that Apollonius refrains entirely from such repetitions.

II. 1186 = IV. 348:

*εἰτε μετ' ἀφνειὴν θέλον πόλιν Ὀρχομενῶιο.*

a verse uniformly rejected from Bk. IV by the editors.

The meagre collection of verses repeated without the least change, excluding the two under suspicion, amounts to three. With the verses in which a slight change is necessary, the total may be brought up to seven. The Homeric poems which together are a little over four and one half times as long as the Argonautica have 1804 verses which together occur 4730 times. So obvious a characteristic of Homeric style as repetition could not have passed unobserved under the eye of Apollonius, and the certain conclusion is that in the day of the artificial epic, it had come to be regarded as monotonous. The older epic poet was ready to tell again in the same verses what the reader or hearer already knew, the later imitator if he told such a second time told it in different words. There is an evident striving after *ποικιλία* which would not tolerate the frequent recurrence of

*ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.*

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## VII.—FOUR VERSES OF THE PHOENISSAE (845–848).

Almost fifty emendations have been proposed, and the interpretations are even more numerous; but I am inclined to think that the text is sound, barring a single *o* which has supplanted an *a*, and that the correct explanation has not yet been offered. The whole difficulty revolves round the beginning of verses 846 and 847. What does *ἐξορμίσαι πόδα* and *ἀπήνη πούς τε* mean? Before we can answer this question satisfactorily we must visualize the scene and make one small correction in the text.

Teiresias, led by his daughter, has just entered. Bidding her conduct him carefully, he turns to Menoeceus and asks how much farther he must go before he arrives at his destination, for he is almost exhausted and can proceed only with great difficulty. We have sufficient data here, I think, for a restoration and explanation of Creon's words:

*θάρσει· πέλας γάρ, Τειρεσία, φίλοισι σοῖς  
ἐξορμίσαις ἂν πόδα· λαβοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ, τέκνον·  
ὥς πᾶς ἀπήνη πούς τε πρεσβύτου φιλεῖ  
χειρὸς θυραίας ἀναμένειν κουφίσματα.*

The seer has reached the desired goal (*ἐξ*) and can bring his weary foot to its anchorage near his friends. The force of the preposition is similar to that in *ἐκφέρει* (Soph. Ai. 7), which the scholiast explains by *εἰς τέλος ἐξάγει*. Cp. O. C. 98 *ἐξήγαγ' εἰς τόδ' ἄλσος*. The mistake in our manuscripts is due not solely to incorrectness of division (*ἐξορμίσαις αὖ* becoming *-σαι σάν*, then *-σαι σον*, since Creon is addressing the seer, and *σοῖς* follows); but similarity of sound is partly responsible for the corruption, as, for example, "only a tall stoic could" might become "only a Tolstoi could". The metaphor in *ἐξορμίσαις ἂν πόδα* is continued in *πᾶς ἀπήνη πούς τε*, and all ambiguity is avoided by the employment of *κουφίσματα* at the end of the sentence; for the poet has reference to *πλωταῖς ἀπηναισι* (Fr. adesp. 142), *ναῖαν ἀπήνην* (Med. 1123), *ναῖον ὄχημα* (I. T. 410), *ναυτίλων ὀχήματα* (Aesch. Prom. 468), not to a 'mule car', as those who consider the text sound generally interpret. When a ship comes to its anchorage, it is wont



to be lightened of its cargo (κουφισθειςῶν νεῶν, Polyb. 20. 5. 11, τῷ ταχυναυτοῦντι κουφίσαντες, Thuc. 6. 34); and when the foot of Teiresias comes to its mooring, the burden, that is, the body, must be partly sustained (lightened) by the aid of another's hand (ἀνεκουφίσθην δέμας, Hipp. 1392), for he is too weak to bear the weight himself, cannot walk κούφοις ποσὶ (Pind. O. 13. 164). Hence Creon says to the soothsayer's guide: κουφίεις χερὶ (Soph. Ant. 43), ἐπικούφιζ' (Ai. 1411), πρόσλαβε κουφίσας (Tr. 1025), or λαβοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ . . . κουφίσματα. The girl had been walking πάροιθε, leading him by the hand; now she must help to hold him up, for he cannot stand ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. The seer is out of breath (πνεῦμ' ἄθροισον, 851), is on the verge of collapse (σύλλαξαι σθένος, 850), and his frail body requires the support of his daughter's arm. But his foot is now, so to speak, in the roadstead by his friends, like a ship that has had a long voyage, laboring hard in rough seas, and it can now rest in the harbor in peace. Cf. Theogn. 1273 f. ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν | ἤκα γ' ἐνωρμίσθην. Similarly Teiresias is ἐν τῷ λιμένι πέλας φίλοισι.

If the remark of the scholiast is true (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξώρμισσαι, τὸ ὃ ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾠ), the reading of L, which is adopted by Liddell and Scott, is to be preferred. But this, while it does not affect the sense materially, does not seem so natural; and the testimony of all the other manuscripts is in favor of the short vowel.

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### VIII.—SOME FINNO-TURKISH PARALLELS.

In Simonyi's excellent work on the Hungarian language, half a page<sup>1</sup> is taken up with Finnic words that are said to lack Turkish cognates. At the beginning of the list we find "die Zahlwörter". It ought to be pointed out that the Finnic and Turkish numerals are not so entirely unlike as to make a connection impossible.

The original Finnic stem of 1 is not easy to make out from the widely differing forms given by Szinnyei<sup>2</sup>; but a good representative seems to be Lappish *oktå*. In most of the related tongues the *k* is weakened or lost, as in Ostiak *it*. Thus it is plain that *okt-* might easily develop into *\*vet-* or *\*vit-*, with initial *v* as in one of the Mordwin forms. In Turkish, 1 is *bir*. Interchange of *r* with *t* or *d* is too common in Finnish, as well as various other European languages,<sup>3</sup> to need any discussion.

Hungarian has often changed *k* to *h*; but this is not found before a front vowel: *két* (2) and *húsz* (20) are directly related to Finnish *kaht-* (2). As every *k* becomes a fricative in Germanic, it is clear that such a development could have occurred in a dialect related to Hungarian. If we assume the variant *\*het-*, combined with a *k-* suffix, we come fairly close to Turkish *eki-* and *iki* (2). Treated as a Latin stem, *\*hetk-* would make in the Romanic languages *\*ek-*. I do not undertake to theorize about the meaning of the *k-* suffix here assumed; it seems sufficient to mention the fact that 1 is formed with *k-* suffixes in several Finnic languages. It is noteworthy that Finnic 1 and 2 are very similar; possibly 2 comes from *\*okokt-* (1 + 1). If this is so, the *t* is presumably a demonstrative, like our *th* in *both*.

The best Finnic representative of 3 is apparently Mordwin *kolmo*, though the *r* of Hungarian *három* may be more primitive than *l*. In Cheremis there is no visible trace of *l* or *r*, while Votyak 3 ends in *ñ* (palatalized *n*) representing *nm* < *lm*. In

<sup>1</sup> Die Ungarische Sprache, 43, Strassburg, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft, 107, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Jespersen, Fonetik, 444, København, 1899.



Turkish *l* is sometimes lost before a consonant : Osmanli *getir-* (bring) corresponds to dialectal *gellir-*, the causative of *gel-* (come). We may therefore assume that *\*hol-* < *\*holm-* could be further reduced to *\*ho-* or *\*hu-* before a consonant-suffix. Turkish 3 is *ü/ş* ; it has dialectal variants beginning with *u*. The *ü* may be due to a former front vowel of the suffix ; compare the regressive harmony in Turkish *sen* (thou), gen. *senin*, dat. *sana*, acc. *seni*, abl. *senden*, loc. *sende*.

In native Osmanli words, initial nasals are extremely rare, but they probably existed in former times : *bin-* (ride) and *bin* (1000) correspond to dialectal *min-* and *min*. We may therefore suppose that *dört* or *tört* (4) once began with *n*. It is interesting to note that the Tungûs forms of 4 have initial *n* as well as initial *d*.<sup>1</sup> All of the Finnic words for 4 begin with *n* or *ñ*, the Finnish form being *neljä*.

Turkish *beş* (5) is nearly the same as Finnish *viisi* (5). The Finnic root seems to be *\*wet-*, whence by contraction Hungarian *öt*.

Mordwin *koto* is an excellent representative of Finnic 6, the radical vowel becoming closer in Finnish *kuusi* and opener in Hungarian *hat*. This last is remarkably similar to Turkish *altı* (6), in which *ı* is a close velar vowel often transcribed with *î* or *y* in European books. The Finnic root was perhaps *\*okwet-* (1 + 5).

In Finnic 7 is, like 100 and 1000, of Aryan origin ; 8 and 9 are subtractive, based on various words meaning 10. Turkish *on* (10) may well be the same word as the suffixes of Hungarian *ötven* (50) and *hatvan* (60). For the loss of *v* or *w*, compare Osmanli *ol-* (be) beside dialectal *bol-*. Another Finnic 10-suffix is Permic *-mıs*, nearly the same as that of Turkish *altmış* (60).

Simonyi's list has at least three other words that deserve notice : Hungarian *él-* (live), *fél-* (fear), *világos* (bright). Why can they not be related to the Turkish verbs *ir-* (exist), *belinle-* (fear) based on the noun *belin*, and *balak-* (shine)?

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<sup>1</sup> Simonyi, Ung. Spr., 19.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**XAPITEΣ** Friedrich Leo zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht.  
Berlin, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1911. 490 pp. and  
8 plates. 16 marks.

The criticism — and the epitaph — of the average honorary volume is fairly summed up in *laudandus tamen in partibus*, as Quintilian said of Ovid's poetry, 'good in parts', as the bashful curate said of his boiled egg. But this handsome collection of twenty-one studies by former students of Professor Leo, prefaced by a graceful dedication in Greek elegiacs, is not average in any sense. The studies all command attention, and in their range and variety reflect the versatility of the brilliant scholar for whom they were undertaken. The limitations of a single review — and of a single reviewer — naturally preclude an adequate discussion of all the material presented. I must, therefore, content myself with an occasional comment while surveying the work rapidly as a whole.

Hermann Schultz's article, *Die Georgica in Vergils Stilentwicklung* (pp. 359–370), deserves more than the passing mention I am giving it here, especially as I am not altogether in sympathy with this type of investigation. Kurt Stavenhagen (8–44) works out at length the development of Plato in his theory of Ideas. Textual criticism and interpretation of Menander are well represented by W. Vollgraff's *Menandrea* (55–75) and K. F. W. Schmidt's article (45–54) on the *Περικειρομένη*, lines 81–104. H. Sjögren (279–296) takes up some of the many difficulties in the text of Cicero's letters to Atticus, and T. Bögel (297–321) discusses the second and third books of the *De Legibus* from the point of view of their composition and style. Hans Wegehaupt (146–169) gives the text of Plutarch's *Πότερον ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ χρησιμώτερον*, accompanied by a complete apparatus criticus and a description of the thirty-five manuscripts. Kurt Hubert (170–187) makes a careful examination of the *Συμποσιακὰ Προβλήματα*, and finds that this work is purely a literary fiction, although an air of reality is imparted by making some of the interlocutors actual persons, etc. This, in fact, is quite in harmony with the conventions of the antique dialogue. H. Hobein (188–219), editor of the recent Teubner text of Maximus Tyrius, considers the object and significance of the first dissertation. G. Jachmann (249–278) takes up the question of *contaminatio* in the *Poenulus* of Plautus and examines the composition of the play in detail. W. Capelle (220–248) passes in review the references of Olympio-



doros to 'Alexander' — a matter more or less confused by Ideler — and concludes that the author of our extant commentary on the *Meteorologica* of Aristotle was Alexander Aphrodisiensis. H. Jacobson (407–452) has a long article on the formation of nominal stems in Latin and Indo-European. G. Pasquali (113–122) explains and justifies the prooemium of Aratos. W. Crönert (123–145) devotes his attention to Lobon. His article is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the troublesome activity of that Tzetzes of the Alexandrian age. Archaeology and epigraphy are represented by Erich Ziebarth (395–406), *Der Eid vom Kloster Lorch*, P. Jacobsthal (452–465), *Zur Kunstgeschichte der griechischen Inschriften*, and Leo Weber (466–490), *Zur Münzprägung der phrygischen Hierapolis*.

Some years ago Professor Leo himself examined the question whether there was such a thing as subjective elegy in the Alexandrian period and made a strong plea for the affirmative. Since then the matter has not been allowed to rest for any length of time. Jacoby's counterblast for the negative has not been neglected — especially, by his opponents. Undoubtedly he is at his best in this particular discussion, and it would be unfair to minimize the fact that he has done a real service. Nevertheless, I cannot escape the conviction that even here his lucubrations have done quite as much to obscure and agitate as to clarify and settle. The fault lies largely with his own methods as an investigator and reasoner. The occasionally reckless way, for example, in which he mingles argument with mere assertion, his habit of arguing and then assuming, makes the reader chary of accepting any statement, any conclusion the validity of which is derived from sound logical deduction. What Wheeler (cf. *Class. Phil.*, 6, 56f.) has to say — a sane conservative scholar as well as a thorough and conscientious investigator — is much more to the point and much more convincing. Of course, the question is ultimately a matter of probabilities, not of definite ascertainable facts. But, so far as they go, the probabilities are largely in favour of Professor Leo. This is clearly indicated by Max Pohlenz in an excellent article (76–112) which he entitles, *Die Hellenistische Poesie und Philosophie*.

He sketches first of all the sweeping changes which came to Greek life and thought with the Alexandrian age, more especially, as regards the functions, the importance, and the relative position of philosophy and poetry. The great Ionian philosophers had been scholars and investigators, and their chief concern had been τὰ φυσικά, 'Natural Philosophy', as it used to be called in the old college catalogues. Contemporary poetry concerned itself with the problems and results of human experience, and this sphere always remained especially characteristic of poetry. Those days and those men had passed away, and philosophy was largely concerned with other matters and



followed different methods. But even long afterwards, in the Graeco-Roman period, when philosophy and poetry have so many topics in common, it is always philosophy, not poetry, that was the original borrower. This distinction between the two departments was never forgotten. Pohlenz makes this point tolerably clear, and, as we shall see, it has an important bearing upon a later phase of his investigation. In the Alexandrian period philosophy had not only changed in scope but in relative position. For the average man it was far less important than it had once been. The age was cultivated, over-cultivated, if you please. At any rate, the time had come, as sooner or later it always does come, when men had begun to stagger under the burden of their own accumulated devices. The situation then as now brings with it the realization that wealth and power and fame, the conventional prizes of human endeavour, are not worth the price that is exacted for them. After all, the problem of life is happiness and peace, and for the solution of that problem the Alexandrian age turned from philosophy to poetry. The ideal life of the irrevocable past, the Golden Age, was a poetic theme as old as Hesiod; the best and most obvious substitute for it in contemporary existence was the ideal simple life far from the madding crowd. And contemporary poets began more and more to mould and elaborate the poetical tradition of this and similar themes. We may be sure that the *Thalysia* of Theokritos was not the first poem in which the ideal life was treated from the subjective point of view. We cannot prove it definitely, but the chances are, as Pohlenz tries to show, that the type of elegy represented by Tibullus was already in existence. Mimnermos, to cite a single instance within the elegy itself, was subjective to the point of polemic. Certainly, too, Hermesianax speaks to Leontion quite as did Theognis to Kyrnos. Thanks to Peripatetic influence Kallimachos was deliberately objective, but the influence of Kallimachos, large as it is, is not large enough to cover the entire Alexandrian age. It is true, too, that our few surviving references to Hellenistic elegy point to the objective types, but this cannot be made to prove anything more than that the later authors to whom we owe these references generally had practical reasons for choosing this sphere—such as noting a particular version of some story, or the like.

True, the *Thalysia* of Theokritos contains only the subjective-idyllic. The erotic is lacking. But Mimnermos was the father of the erotic elegy, and next to the idyllic the most characteristic motive of Alexandrian literature is the erotic. It is useless to insist that the subjective-erotic of Mimnermos passed into the erotic epigram. At best, this is a mere assertion. And what becomes of it if we agree with Reitzenstein, as undoubtedly we must, that even in the Alexandrian period there was no hard and fast line between elegy and the epigram in distichs. Even the idyllic cannot be categorically denied to Mimnermos



Thanks to his social position and his consequent attitude towards life he stands apart from all the earlier elegiac poets and has much in common with the average literary man of the Alexandrian age. Indeed, the fleeting glimpse of his life and the themes of his poetry which we get from three distichs of Hermesianax (Athen. 597 f.):

Μίμνερμος δὲ τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὗρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλᾶς  
ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,  
καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς· πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῷ  
κημῶθεις κῶμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμύνῃ,  
ἥ δ' ἦχθεεδ' <sup>1</sup> Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰεὶ βαρὺν ἡδὲ Φερεκλῆν  
ἐχθρὸν μισήσας οἱ ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.

A sore heart taught Mimnermos the haunting, sweet refrain,  
The sigh, of soft pentameters—the echo of his pain!  
At revels with Hexamyes he breathed in mournful mood  
His burning love for Nanno, so often vainly wooed.  
Again, he fixed his rivals—Hermobios hated worse  
Than Pherekles was hated—with bitter shafts of verse—

is curiously suggestive of Propertius as well as of Catullus.

The chances are then, as we already see, that Hellenistic poetry, which felt itself quite the equal of philosophy, found a form fitted for the direct expression of its subjective feelings and views of life.

Much the same story is told if we work backward from the Roman elegy. We have been assured, for instance, that such characteristic topics of the Roman elegy as the idyllic simple life, the complaint of luxury and extravagance, the horror of war, navigation, and similar short cuts to an untimely death, all come directly or indirectly from the diatribes of the philosophers. Obviously this statement has no cogency unless it can be proved that the discussion of these topics began with the philosophers. This cannot be proved. On the contrary, if Pohlenz is correct, this material, as we have already seen, originated with the poets, and wherever philosophy and poetry deal with the same topics the ultimate debtor is always philosophy, not poetry.

The main lines of Pohlenz' discussion in this section of his investigation appear to have been inspired by the well-known article in which Jacoby assists at the birth of the first elegy of Tibullus and describes the entire process—a matter upon which it is sufficiently obvious that neither he nor any other man except the poet himself and during his own lifetime has ever been a competent authority.

It will be remembered that, according to Jacoby, one of the models of this elegy was the second Epode of Horace. Now, of

<sup>1</sup> The passage is corrupt, although the general sense is sufficiently clear. Wilamowitz suggests ἡρεθε δ'.



course, no one would dream of denying that Tibullus must have known the second Epode of Horace; for the sake of argument we might even grant that the first elegy of Tibullus indicates that he knew it. But neither has any bearing necessarily on Jacoby's statement that the one served as a model for the other. As the question now stands Jacoby's statement is of no value unless he can show, first of all, that Tibullus never wrote an elegy unless he had a definite model before him. Jacoby assumes this, but the assumption receives no support from any evidence now at our command. Indeed, of all the Roman poets, no one gives so little indication of the use of specific models now existing as does Tibullus. Granting, however, for the sake of argument that Jacoby has proved this assumption, he must then prove that the model in this particular case was the second Epode of Horace. This cannot be done unless it can be shown with reasonable certainty that, so far as Tibullus was concerned, the second Epode was the only available poem dealing subjectively with the idyllic simple life. Now, this is certainly not the case. The *Thalysia* of Theokritos is proof to the contrary. More than that, the *Thalysia* also shows that we cannot dodge the issue by making the conveniently indefinite Gallus responsible for the development of this topic in poetry. And Horace himself really tells the same story. The second Epode, with its sudden surprise at the end, would have been a failure unless the subject with which it deals had been a well-worn theme to contemporary readers as well as to ourselves. In short, the second Epode is in reality a parody. As such, it presupposes not only a familiar but a serious theme. Now, the theme, as Heinze remarks, is distinctly elegiac. The poem itself, except for the end, might have been an elegy. It is the end that explains and, one might say, necessitates the iambic form. In other words, the second Epode of Horace not only presupposes serious poems on the same theme, but poems, certainly elegiac in tone and manner, presumably, therefore, elegiac in form. If so, it is fair to suspect that the erotic element was not absent. The fact that Theokritos did not use the distich for his *Thalysia* and that the erotic motive does not appear in it is no proof that the type of elegy represented by Tibullus and among surviving authors by Tibullus alone, was not already in existence. The same proof, for instance, applied to the *Ἠλακάτη* would show that the epigram with presents was post-Theocritean. But Maass has shown that this was not the case.

The plea of Pohlenz for Philitas as the inventor of the Tibullian type of elegy is not so successful. He does point out, however, that all our testimony, as far as it goes, is to the effect that both by temperament and career Philitas had a decided bias for the psychological and subjective. Of course, the Bittis would have settled all this protracted dispute at once. But



there are no fragments of this work. In fact, practically all that we know of it is to be gathered from two distichs of Hermesianax (Athen. 598 f.) which I subjoin here for the convenience of the reader:

οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, δὲν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται  
 Κῶοι χάλκειον θῆκαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ  
 Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν  
 ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυφόμενον λαλήν.

It will be seen that the poet here is unusually unsatisfactory, even for him. Nor is the situation satisfactorily explained by Pohlenz. He thinks that the bronze set up by the Coans represented the poet singing to 'the nimble' Bittis under a plane tree, and that the group, so to speak, was suggested by a famous passage in the book itself. I am not so sure that this is justified by the text of Hermesianax. On the other hand, this interpretation of Pohlenz does not altogether deserve such cavalier criticism as that which is accorded it by Wilamowitz in his 'Mimnermos und Properz'. However that may be, Bittis was the beloved of the poet: we see this from Hermesianax himself and more clearly still from Ovid, *Tristia*, 1, 6, 1:

Nec tantum Clario Lyde dilecta poetae,  
 nec tantum Coe Bittis amata suo est,  
 pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres,  
 digna minus misero, non meliore viro—

from which Pohlenz suspects that Bittis was the wife of Philitas. And what Hermesianax has to say of the Lyde of Antimachos (41-46) as compared with what he says here of Philitas is enough to show that the Bittis was not an ἐπικήδειον. The girl was still alive when her lover sang to her or about her. It is also to be observed that Philitas occupies a place apart from either Mimnermos or Antimachos in the catalogue of Hermesianax. This indicates, according to Pohlenz, that Philitas was accounted the inventor of a specific type of elegy. If so, the process of exclusion might be invoked to strengthen our suspicion that that type was the one with which we are concerned.

However that may be, the only really logical position with regard to this question, it seems to me, is the one which Pohlenz has taken. The question ultimately, as was noted above, is one of probabilities, not of ascertainable facts. The statement, therefore, that there was no such thing as the Tibullian type of elegy in the Alexandrian age is unwarranted by the premises. A categorical statement cannot be derived from probabilities. What Pohlenz has shown—and here he is quite within his rights—is that, all things considered, it is most unlikely that in the Hellenistic period of all others, there was no such thing as a subjective elegy of the idyllic-erotic type, no elegy, so to speak, in which love in a cottage was described by one of the prospective tenants.



One of the most interesting articles in our volume is R. Bürger's *Beiträge zur Elegancia Tibullus* (371-394). His thesis is, in brief, that Tibullus was literally a Caesar in verse, in other words, that he belonged as did Caesar to the Analogists, a school which as early even as the beginning of the Augustan age was already passing out of fashion. Plessis had already had an inkling of the truth in a general way. In his *Histoire de la Poésie Latine* (see A. J. P. XXX 447) he observes that Tibullus in taste if not in fact belonged to the Attic type.

Bürger undoubtedly proves his thesis, but here as elsewhere, his deductions are not always warranted. The result is that his examples are sometimes more convincing than the conclusions he draws from them or than the purposes to which he applies them. For the present, however, I omit any discussion of these and similar matters, as Bürger himself states that only a portion of his investigation is presented.

At the same time, inasmuch as Bürger himself makes no reference to it, I may remark in passing that his discussion is an interesting commentary on one of Jacoby's recent pronouncements, the substance of which is that Tibullus was not a success as an amatory poet and that the reason was because he was incapable of strong feeling. What constitutes a successful amatory poet? And is it true that Tibullus was not a successful amatory poet? And even if we grant that he was not a successful amatory poet what shall we say of the alleged reason—except that it really rests ultimately on the naive assumption that poets express all that they feel and that strength of feeling is measured only by superlatives. Shall we make no allowance for Tibullus' possible reserve as a gentleman and a man of the world, not to mention the fact that the first and most important article of his literary creed is the reserve and simplicity of the classical *μηδὲν ἄγαν*? Such criticism forces one to suspect that its author still has much to learn in the field of literary art. The suspicion is strengthened when we find that he terms Quintilian one of those rhetors whom 'jede Fähigkeit mangelt über die Komposition eines Kunstwerks zu urteilen, weil ihr eigenes Schaffen sich ganz auf die Ausgestaltung der Einzelheiten erstrickt' (Rhein. Mus. 65, 79—cp. 86, 'das Urteil an sich und für uns nicht kompetenter antiker Kritiker'). Rothstein holds the same view (Einleit. Prop., p. xlvii) and, doubtless, there are some others. But this is no help to Jacoby—and no harm to Quintilian.

Kurt Münschner (322-358) subjects Cicero's Orator, 140 ff., the famous passage in which the great master of Latin prose rhythm undertakes to set forth the principles of his art, to a rigid cross-examination. His purpose is to exhibit the author's scheme of composition and arrangement but, more especially, to discover his sources and to trace and tabulate the influence of



each. His results are summarized on pp. 356-358 of his article. If they were presented pictorially they would make the Orator, 140 ff. look like a sample-page of Professor Haupt's Polychrome Bible. If Münschner is correct—and presumably he is correct in the main—this account of prose rhythm is a thing of shreds and patches, a Joseph's coat of many colours, here and there interspersed with homespun. The lessons of personal experience and the more or less contradictory statements of various Greek theorists, in some cases of opposing schools, are jumbled together in such a way as to indicate that the compiler never went far enough with his task to harmonize his colours and to produce a logical and intelligible whole.

Here Münschner rests his case. But the secondary results of such an investigation are often as interesting as the purpose for which it was originally undertaken. Quite incidentally, for example, this inquiry throws another illuminating sidelight upon Cicero's methods as a scholar. We knew he was hasty and not altogether thorough, but for anyone, above all for investigators, for those who know by experience the true inwardness of such a piece of patchwork, Münschner's results are a revelation.

Of course, a great artist is not necessarily a great teacher nor even a tolerable teacher, and, in any case, nothing is so difficult to teach others as that which for the teacher himself has become a second nature. It is beyond question, however, that Cicero was, in reality, quite capable of giving a definite idea of his art, and it is equally certain that the best method for him to adopt would have been to confine himself strictly to the one greatest living authority on the subject. But it is characteristic of him—and, to a certain extent, of his times—that he should choose instead to indite an account which, to take a hint from old Coryat, is strongly suggestive of 'Crudities hastily gobbled up in five days travells' in the 'literature' of prose rhythm as taught in the leading Greek universities. We see now more plainly than ever why it was that Cicero himself was never quite clear with regard to his own theory. This was one of the by-products of Zielinski's great investigation ten years ago (see A. J. P. XXV 453-463), and, thanks to Münschner, we are now more than ever convinced that the secret of Cicero's prose rhythm must be learned, if learned at all, from Cicero's practice, not from Cicero's theory.

Our volume opens (1-7) with a short but sympathetic and convincing study by Ewald Bruhn. His theme is the contradictory reports of Xenophon and Plato regarding the character of Menon. According to Xenophon he was a besotted fool, if not actually a knave and a traitor. According to Plato he was merely a young man with considerable vanity—natural enough, in view of his good looks, position and popularity—a vivid mind, an enthusiasm for the new rhetoric which sometimes led him to argue just for the pleasure of it, and an impatience of more or less pompous conven-



tionalities which occasionally spurred him on to express views not to be taken seriously. In short, he was one of those persons who for various reasons like to stand on their heads, so to speak, and insist that the rest of the world is wrong side up. All which did him no harm so far as Socrates was concerned—a humorous and a sympathetic soul, as well as a wonderful judge of men. But Xenophon—and unfortunately for Menon Xenophon was often standing by at the time—was not a sympathetic soul. He was a conventional soul and, therefore, easily shocked, especially when he desired it—and in this particular case it is not improbable that he did desire it. At any rate, it is worthy of note that he admired Klearchos almost as extravagantly as Klearchos detested Menon. Then, too, the ‘Attic Bee’—like the plain honey bee, and bees in general—had no keen sense of humour. And, thanks to our pedagogical traditions, the ‘Attic Bee’ has been buzzing in our ears ever since Menon was paradoxical for the sake of remaining in the lime-light.

Of course, all this has been hard on the poor fellow and we sympathize with him. But his fate ought to warn us never to be anything but absolutely literal and truthful in public. At that very moment some one may be lurking among our auditors who is preparing a book with us in it, a book for the use of school children two thousand years hence. As one of Menon’s own distant connections has said, ‘You never can tell!’

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

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The Oxford English Dictionary: See—Senatory (Volume VIII). By HENRY BRADLEY. Th—Thyzle (Volume IX). By Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Sleep—Sniggle (Volume IX). By W. A. CRAIGIE. Senatory—Several (Volume VIII). By HENRY BRADLEY. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1912.

The past year has seen published four more quarterly Parts of the Oxford Dictionary, containing volumes VIII and IX, as above. The Part issued on January 2, 1912, begins with the noun *See*, seat, chiefly used of a bishop’s *See*, which fills a column and a half. This is followed by the common verb *See*, OE. *sēon* (*seah*, *sāwon* and *sægon*, *ge-sewen*), which, with its phraseological combinations, fills over fifteen columns, with examples from *Béowulf* on. ‘Three distinct Indogermanic roots of the form *\*segu* are commonly recognized.’ The form used in gaming, as in poker, is duly registered; see quotations dated 1885,



H. Jones in *Encycl. Brit.* XIX, s. v. *poker*, for literal use, and 1890 *Sat. Rev.* and *Spectator* for metaphorical use. *Seed* and its compounds follow with nearly twelve columns, not omitting the adjective *seedy*, and the obsolete *secge*, surf, of obscure origin, though perhaps identical with OE. *secg* as in *gársecg*, ocean. Some other common words in this Part, to which reference may be made, are *seek*, *seem*, both personal and impersonal, *seely*, *seemly*, *seer*, *see-saw*, as in whist, with example from Hoyle (1746), *seethe*, *seidlitz*, *seize*, *selah* (Hebrew), supposed to be a musical or liturgical direction of some kind, perhaps indicating pause or rest, which is as near as we can get to a definition, *selcouth*, *seld* and *seldom*, which carry us back to the oldest English. The phrase *seldom or ever* is explained as by confusion of 'seldom if ever' and 'seldom or never'; *seldseen*, *select*, *selenic*, and other terms connected with the moon; *self*, on which we have the note, 'In Goth. and Scandinavian the primary sense (= L. *ipse*) is the only one that exists, and which, with its compounds, fills over fifty columns; *sell* and its phrases, *semantic*, and *semasiology*, both dealing with the meaning of words, and *sematology*; a long article treats *semi-*, which, with its compounds and derivatives, covers thirty columns: a few compounds of *semper-*, with *senate* and its derivatives, close this interesting and valuable Part, which, though but a single section, will well repay perusal. The Part for April 1, 1912, Th—Thyzle, is of importance for its treatment of the two spirants *p* and *ð*. The former was very frequent, 'being the regular etymological representative of Indo-Eur. *t* initially or after the stressed vowel', the latter being 'a later development (c. 700 in English) from the breath sound between vowels or voiced consonants, as in the parallel *v* and *z* from *f* and *s*', seen in the demonstratives and in the pronouns of the second person singular, the only words in English with initial *ð*'. In the same group of words in the cognate Teutonic languages *p* has passed through *ð* into *d*, seen also in English *thatch*, *think*, *thing*, *thick*, *thunder*, *three*. Compare in the *Ormulum* the change of initial *p* to *t* by assimilation to a preceding dental (*t. d. s.*). In the Runic alphabet (the so-called *futhorc*, or Scand. a. b. c.), 'the breath spirant had to itself a symbol þ or þ (called *thorn*); but in the earliest known OE. writings in the Roman alphabet this was represented by *th*, the voiced spirant being often represented by *d* (*ð*) (sometimes by *th*)'. The whole initial article on *Th* deserves careful study by the interested reader. The Greek derivatives from *θάλαμος*, *θάλασσα*, *θαλλός*, etc., and the Hebrew from *tammūz* belong early in this Part; also those from *θανάτος* and its compounds. The article on *Than* deserves notice and especially the construction of the objective instead of the nominative with a personal or relative pronoun, on which the editor remarks, 'This is app. the invariable construction in the case of *than*



*whom*, which is universally accepted instead of *than who*. With the personal pronouns it is now considered incorrect'.

The phrases under *thank(s)* deserve notice, especially *To can, con, cun* (*great, little*) *thank(s)*; so the noun and verb *tharf, thar*, *Obs. exc. Sc. dial.*, belonging to the class of preterite presents, in which the present tense is an original preterite (cf. *can, dow, dare*, etc.). *That* fills over thirteen columns. *At that* is characterized as orig. U. S., *colloq.* or *slang*, with Bartlett given as authority, and the comment, 'Prob. extended from *dear at that, cheap at that (price)*', although more examples are given from British than American authorities.<sup>1</sup> *The* fills over eleven columns from Beowulf on, the last column treating *the* = "OE. *þe*, originally locative or instrumental case of the demonstrative and relative pronoun *se, seo, þæt*. 'In OE. interchanging with *þy*; see *Thy*, adv.' (column 2, p. 401)",

An instructive article is the one on the personal pronoun *thee*, objective of *thou* [cf. A. J. P. IV 285] and the corresponding verb, also the one on the verb *thee*, OE: *þéon*, to grow, and so to thrive, prosper, as in the asseveration 'so mote I *the*', originally nasalized, but after the loss of the nasal assimilated to the first ablaut series, *i—ai—i—i*; cf. Beowulf 8, *weorð- myndum þah*; it was archaic in the 16th century. *Theft*, from OE. *þéofð*, is an instance of dissimilation. The articles on *their, theirs*, with the midland and southern dialectic *theirn*, analogous to *ourn, yourn, hisn, hern*, deserve attention; so *them* from the Ormulum *þezm* on; *themselves* appeared c. 1500 and became the standard form c. 1540. *Then, than*, with their collateral forms, and *thenne, then*, are found from 900 on, and the Corpus glossary, c. 725, has the form *þanan*, seen in Beowulf as *þanon*. The compounds and derivatives from *θεός* are many, but *theodolite* is marked 'origin unknown'. *Theodicy* is well known from Leibnitz (1710), but add an American work with similar title by the late Albert Taylor Bledsoe. *Theology* is divided into dogmatic, natural, and pastoral, and an example from Hallam, 1837, Eng. Lit., gives Peter Lombard as 'the founder of systematic theology in the twelfth century'. An example of the use of the word from Gower (1390) defines it as 'metaphysics', and is followed by a note on *θεολογία*, wherein we are told that 'in the 12th c. (1121-40) Abelard applied the term to a philosophical treatment of the doctrines of the Christian religion'. We find *Theophilanthropy* applied to the deistic system of the theophilanthropists, 'adopted in France as a substitute for Roman Catholicism. It died out c. 1801-2'. *There* and its compounds fill over fifteen columns. The compounds of *θερμός* add many more words to our vocabulary, and *θησαυρός* and its derivatives continue our indebtedness to the Greek language, which is increased somewhat by the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. A. J. P. XVIII 129, and add: William Morris, *Stories of the Kings of Norway*. Beibl. zur Anglia, Sept., 1902. B. L. G.



derivatives from *θῆρ* with its compounds. *These* and later *those* are instructive articles on the demonstrative pronouns and well deserving of careful study, but would take more time and space than can be spared for their consideration; so with the personal pronoun *they*. *Thill* may be considered obsolete by some, but it is still heard in America.

*Think*, from OE. *þync(e)an*, *þūhte*, *ge-þūht*, marked 'Obs. exc. in *methinks*', and *Think*, from *þenc(e)an*, *þohte*, *geþoht*, are each treated fully, the first in two columns and the second in seven, showing that the latter is much more common in English; it is recognized as a substantive, and is marked *dial.* or *colloq.* *Thir* is *dem. pron.* and *adj.*, tho' marked *Sc.* and *north. dial.* The editor says that 'the earliest evidence is that of *Cursor Mundi* and the northern works of 1300-1350, in which *þās* and *þā* appear as plural of *that*, and *thir* (in various spellings) is the established plural of *this*, = southern *thēs*, midland *thise*, *those*'. (See note at end of the article.)

The demonstrative pronoun and adjective *This*, plural *These*, fills five columns, including the adverb *this*, the instrumental case of the demonstrative pronoun. *Tho*, the demonstrative pronoun and adjective, once so common, is now obsolete. As early as 1300 it began to be supplanted in the north by *þās*, and later in the south by *þōs*, which finally took its place in standard English as *those*, q. v. Including the adv. (conj.) marked 'Obs. exc. *dial.*', it fills over two columns.

*Thon*, *dem. pron.* and *a.*, *dial.*, is explained as 'app. a comparatively recent alteration of *yon*, the initial consonant being assimilated to *this* and *that*', and a note adds 'used in Scotland, Ulster and the four northern English counties. Written examples not found before 1800; app. not in Ramsay nor in Burns'. The attempted introduction a few years ago of *Thon* as a pronoun of neutral gender, to avoid the repetition of *he* and *she*, is not noticed, showing that it did not last long enough to get into the Dictionary, for certainly it would have been taken into this *omnium gatherum* of possible forms.

It should not be omitted that under *This* (p. 322, col. 3 *ad init.*, first example), we have of date ?670, *Bewcastle Column* in OE. Texts, 124, *þis siȝbecn þun setton*, the oldest example, 130 years before *Beowulf*, which is dated 800. Reference may be made here to Professor Cook's very recent monograph on 'The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses', Yale University Press, 1912, beautifully illustrated with many photographs. The article *Thorough* and its compounds *thou*, *though*, *thought*, *thrall*, *thrash*, *thresh*, *thread* and its compounds, *threap*, *threat*, *three* and its compounds, *θρήνος*, *threnody*, with the first example from the *Phoenix and Turtle*, so-called Shakespeare, *throat*, *thrill*, *throne*, *throng*, *through* and its compounds, *throw* and its many combinations, *thrush*, *thrust*, *thumb*, with its excrescent *b* after *m*, found as early as c 1290, *thunder* and its compounds—all in-



teresting and instructive. The earliest example given of *Thyeste* is from *Paradise Lost*. Of *thysself* we have the note that from 13th c. *þi*, *þy*, *thy*, poss. adj., took the place of the pers. pron. *thee*, *self* being treated as a sb.

The double section dated July 1, 1912, contains the words Sleep—Sniggle, many of which, beginning with Sl- and Sm-, are apparently of Flemish, Dutch, or Low German origin, and some of those beginning with Sl- and Sn- are of Scandinavian origin; Old French and Greek have contributed a few, and Scotch Gaelic has supplied *Slogan*. '*To sleep like a top*' is first found in Congreve's *Old Bachelor* (1693), and it alternates with '*like the dead*' in Byron's *Don Juan*. *Slogan*, spelt *slogorne*, etc., is found in Douglas's *Aeneid*, but it was used by the Scottish Highlanders, or by the native Irish, with a personal surname or place-name. J. R. Randall supplies '*and sing thy dauntless slogan song, Maryland*'. Passing over many words, we find Slough (slau), as in Bunyan's '*Slough of Despond*', and Slough (slof), the cast-off skin of a snake, etc. Under *slow* we have Tindale's *slow-bellies*, followed in A. V., but for which the Rheims version has '*slothful bellies*' and the R. V. '*idle gluttons*'. '*Rebuke them sharply, saith St. Paul of those slow-belly Cretians*'. The spelling *sluice* is late (18th c.) from *scluse*, *sleuss*, Latin *exclusa*. *Slum*, *slums*, orig. a room, is Obs. in that sense; then a street, alley, court, as now, and as verb to '*slum*' or '*scamp*' work, then to frequent slums, or to visit them for charitable purposes, the common modern use, so frequent in *to go (a)slumming*. *Sling-shot* and *slung-shot* are both marked 'U. S.', but I do not doubt that the weapon may be found '*across the water*'. *Slump*, while marked '*chiefly dial. and U. S.*', has its examples, when used of stocks, values, etc., from British newspapers. *Smack*, in one sense, is marked 'U. S.', and defined as '*a fishing vessel having a well in which fish may be kept alive*', but certainly an older example than 1891 might have been found. It has been in familiar American use for many decades. *Small* fills a dozen columns, and *small-arms* has examples from 1710. *Small-clothes* is defined '*breeches*' and ante-dates 1800. *Smart*, in the sense of considerable, is marked '*chiefly dial. and U. S.*', and in that of clever '*chiefly U. S.*' *Smear-case*<sup>1</sup> is marked 'U. S.' and traced to German and Dutch origin, although it is also defined '*otherwise called cottage-cheese*', for which *curds* is a common equivalent.

The Part issued October 1, 1912, *Senatory—Several*, contains some very important words, most of which are of Latin etymology, directly or through French, and some of which are ultimately of Greek origin. It contains also words from Italian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and the Indian languages, the most common of which is *Sepoy*. A large proportion of the words

<sup>1</sup> It is cited in Webster's Dictionary of 1828.—B. L. G.



is remarkable for the diversity of their sources, as, for example, 'the derivatives of the Latin *sentire* (which occupy fifteen pages)'. Many have undergone changes of meaning which 'are of no little significance for the history of thought', and others 'are in various ways instructive'. Biblical Hebrew supplies *seraph*, *seraphim*, and Obs. *seraphin*. (See note on these words.) *Seraphins* and *Seraphims* once existed as plurals, but are now rare. *Send* and its combinations fill ten columns. *Send-off* is marked 'Originally U. S.', and the first example is from Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, dated 1872, although the example given is from 1900. 'One of the boys has passed in his checks, and we want to give him a good send-off'.<sup>1</sup> *Senior* is defined in school and college use: 'In U. S. a student in his fourth year'. The Dictionary is evidently much indebted to U. S. for additions to its vocabulary. *Sennight* supplies examples from the Elene (c. 1000) on to Holland's Pliny, 1601. *Sensation* supplies many terms, and here, too, 'U. S.' appears in 'a sensational journal or journalist'. *Sense* fills eight columns, and as a verb = understand, comprehend, grasp, 'take in'; it is marked 'chiefly U. S. and dial.'; its derivatives are many. The four books (or the book) of the sentences is the term applied to Peter Lombard's 'compilation of the opinions of the fathers on questions of Christian doctrine', *q. v.* *Senvy*, the mustard-plant, tho' now marked 'Obs.', was in use, in its various forms, from 13th to 18th cent., and carries us back to Greek *σίναπι*, 'pop. L. *sinapatium*.'

The fabulous story of the origin of the term *Septuagint* is dismissed, as might have been expected.

*Seraph* is explained as a back-formation from the plural *Seraphim*, *Seraphin* (on the analogy of *cherubim*, *in*, and *cherub*). (Perh. first used by Milton.) 'See *Seraphim*.'

*Sergeant*, *serjeant*, fill five columns, and, with derivatives, seven all together. 'Down to the 17th c. the forms were used indiscriminately'. Now *serjeant* is applied to the legal profession, and *sergeant* in other senses. The ordinary military title is that of the non-commissioned officer next above the corporal, but see the article for the term *sergeant-major*.

The verb *serve* fills fifteen columns, and the noun *service* eleven, but 'the article on the verb *set* is the longest in the Dictionary, this verb having a greater variety of senses and idiomatic applications than any other word in the language'; it fills over sixty columns.

The dog, setter, as the name of a special breed, has three varieties, English, Irish and Gordon setters. 'The name was formerly applied to a kind of spaniel'. The quotation from Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) says: 'Some authorities are convinced that the *setter* is directly derived from the spaniel'.

<sup>1</sup> *Send-off* is given as an equivalent of *envoi* in Funk. B. L. G.



I may quote, in conclusion, certain combinations of the word *seven*, occasionally found, and sometimes requiring explanation. First, the *seven bishops*, i. e., Archbishop Sancroft and Bishops Ken, Lake, Lloyd, Trelawney, Turner and White, who, in 1688, protested against the Declaration of Indulgence of James II; *seven champions*, i. e., the national saints of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, Spain and Italy, viz: George, Andrew, David, Patrick, Denys, James and Anthony; *seven sisters*, i. e., the Pleiades, or *seven stars*; *seven sleepers*, seven youths of Ephesus said to have hidden in a cave during the Decian persecution and to have slept there for several hundred years, on which we have a quotation from Milton (1641): 'The seven sleepers, that slept . . . . three hundred seaventy and two years'; *seven stars*, defined as a. The Pleiades; b. ? The planets; c. The Great Bear; and under *seven sisters*, seven cannon, resembling each other in size and make, cast by Robert Borthwick and used at the battle of Flodden.

JAMES M. GARNETT.



## REPORTS.

### HERMES XLIV.

#### Fascicle 1.

Der griechische und lateinische Dictys. M. Ihm publishes the Greek fragment of Dictys (Tebt. Pap. 1907, No. 268) and, on opposite pages, the IV century Latin paraphrase of Septimius (ed. Meister), with variants from cod. Aesinus. He adds a full commentary on the Greek text with parallel passages from Malalas, Cedrenus, John of Antioch, etc. There is no reason to believe that the fragment contains an abbreviated text. Septimius is nearer the Greek original than the Sisyphus narrative of Malalas, but the latter nearer than the other Byzantine writers. There is little in the fragment to aid in clearing up the correspondences with the Heroicus of Philostratus or the Nov. Hist. of Ptolem. Chennus (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 329 f.).

Das zweite Buch der Tusculanen (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 487). M. Pohlenz analyzes Tusc. II, revealing Cic. additions (especially 1-28, in part from de Fin. II) and his loose treatment of the argument of his source. This was a product of the Middle Stoa, which explains the attacks on the earlier Stoa. Some of the doctrines point to Panaetius, viz.: the psychological dualism § 47 (cf. de Off. I 101) and the use of alienus in reference to pain § 35. Panaetius seems to have been the first to discuss the subject of pain in his letter to Tubero (cf. de Fin. IV 23), and was identified as a source of Tusc. II by Zietzschmann (de Tusc. disput. fontibus Diss. Halle 1868), who, however, obscured his results by taking de Fin. II also to be dependent on Panaetius. P. shows the correspondences in the argument of Tusc. II with the outline of Panaetius' letter (l. c.). The latter has also been recognized as a source of Gellius XII 5, 7 ff., where he is quoted, and the significant term alienatus occurs § 8. P. shows the agreement with Tusc. II and especially calls attention to the groaning of the philosopher (§ 55-57).

Zu den Inschriften des Bundes der Magneten. Ad. Wilhelm discusses and emends some recent publications of Thessalian inscriptions, especially ll. 77-94 of IG IX 2, 1109, where Kern's restoration (Insc. Thessal. 1109): *ei [δέ τις κόπτοι* is unlikely, as the regular legal formula was *ἐάν* with the subj., read *ei δ[έ μή*. A good rule for the optative condition in laws is given by H. Jacobsthal in XXI Beiheft d. Indogerm. Forsch., p. 93 ff. Further (l. c.) W. emends so that a freeman was fined 50 dr. (not 500) for tree cutting, or herding, in the sacred precinct; a



slave received twice that number of stripes (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 382, A. J. A. 1909, p. 508). The use of *παραγράφειν* in the sense of 'entering one's name as liable, next to the fine' is discussed, etc.

Ps.-Aristoteles *Περὶ Πνεύματος* C. IX. und Athenaios von Attalia. E. Neustadt analyzes the ninth chapter of *Περὶ Πν.* and shows that its doctrine was largely Stoic, specifically Chrysippean, with an admixture of Aristotelian terminology, which explains the inclusion of this document among the works of Aristotle. He establishes eleven points and matches them with citations from Galen (I 457-469, IV 610, 612, VIII 631, 642, XIV 698, etc.) thereby revealing the authorship of Athenaeus of Attalia, founder of the Pneumatic school I century A. D.

Lucilius als Grammatiker. F. Sommer does not believe with Stolz (Hist. Gram. §207) that Lucilius' attempt in Book IX to regulate the use of *ei* and *i* was based on practical observation (cf. *illi* for *illei*); but upon the ancient principle, usually attributed to Trypho, *ὅτι συνέπαθεν ἡ φωνὴ τῷ σημαινομένῳ* (cf. Steinthal Gesch. d. Sprachw. I 351). In this light we can understand: *iam 'puerei venere' : e postremum facito atque i, ut puerei plures fiant. i si facis solum, pupilli, pueri, Lucili, hoc unius fiet.* Similarly L. proposed *peila*=javelins, but *pilum*=pestle (ignoring the plural of the latter), etc.

Beiträge zur Sprache und Verstechnik des Homerischen Epos. H. Jacobsohn refers to the fact that the first syllable of the Homeric *ἴσος* and *νοῦσος* is always in arsis, which suggested to G. Meyer *ἴσσοσ* for Homer; but this and *νόσσοσ* lack inscriptional evidence, nor is there warrant for *σF > σσ*. J. would substitute the admitted earlier forms *ῥίσφοσ* and *νόσφοσ*. The original syllabification *ῥίσ-φοσ*, *νόσ-φοσ*, had become *ῥι-σφοσ*, *νό-σφοσ*, which both helped to preserve *F* and shortened the first syllable (cf. Cretan *ῥίσφοσ*, *ῥίσος*, *ἴσος*, and the universal *νοσείω*). The epic poet avoided the dilemma of dealing with syllables, short in pronunciation, but followed by two consonants, by placing them exclusively in arsis, where the ictus made the division again *ῥίσ-φοσ* and *νόσ-φοσ*; *ἴσος* and *νοῦσος* are artificial. Similarly *εἵνεκα* and *ἐνεκα* represent the original *ἐνφεκα*, which varied under the Hartel-Solmsen law according as the first syllable stood in arsis or thesis.

Galenos über echte und unechte Hippocratica. J. Mewaldt shows that Galen's knowledge of Hippocratean exegesis and criticism was derived from his teachers, *μαθηταὶ Κοίντου*, and traces this learning through the Alexandrian empiricists back to the great Herophilus and Praxagoras of Cos. Requested by his pupils he wrote commentaries to fifteen works of Hippocrates. He began with the *γνησιώτατα καὶ χρησιμώτατα*, but later included interpolated texts; hence his work *περὶ γνησίων τε καὶ νόθων Ἱππο-*



κράτους συγγραμμάτων. M. presents a passage from this work, which he has identified in G's preface to *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*, and shows its character by enumerating the above fifteen treatises with scattered comments of Galen on their genuineness, probably traditional judgments. M. shows that the methods of Homeric criticism were applied to the writings of Hippocrates. Galen's views however had no influence on the later Hippocratean corpus.

Aus dem Leben des M. Caelius Rufus. F. Muenzer identifies L. Calpurnius Bestia as the father of Atratinus (cf. Athen. Mitth. IV 217), hence Cicero's two defenses *de ambitu* (Cic. ad Quint. fr. II 3, 6 and *pro Caelio* § 7) were one and the same. The conjecture that Caelius, not Caecilius, accused Calpurnius Bestia (Pliny n. h. XXVII, 4) is strengthened (cf. Pliny VII, 165, where these names were certainly interchanged).

Miscellen: F. Leo emends with a commentary the comic fragment (Oxyrh. pap. VI, n. 855), which Grenfell and Hunt have assigned to Menander, as vv. 14/15 agree with a citation from the Perinthia in Suidas s. v. ἀβέλτερος. Leo, however, believes in an imitator of M.—R. Laqueur brings further evidence to prove that the epigram of Antipater of Sidon (Anthol. VII 241) was in honor of Ptolemy Philometor's son Eupator, who died 150 B. C. as a youthful ruler of Cyprus (cf. Rh. M. LXIII, 213 ff., Tebt. Pap. I 554).—U. Wilcken maintains, against W. Schubart (Das Buch bei den Griechen u. Römern 1907, p. 102), that *τεῦχος* in inscriptions 112–114 B. C. from Priene (ed. Hiller v. Gaertringen) meant volumen, a meaning *τεῦχος* kept as late as 177 A. D. (Berl. Griech. Urk. 970, 4). Only after the codex had triumphed, was the term *τεῦχος* applied to this (cf. also Birt, Die Buchrolle in der Kunst 1907, p. 21 ff. and Sandys, A Companion to Latin Studies § 295).—Gabriel Téglás publishes stamped military tiles from Dacia, which indicate the movements of Roman legions, viz., two inscribed LEGVD i. e. LEG(io) V D(acica), show that the LEG V MAC(edonica) sent north 167/8 A. D. adopted the name of its new headquarters. Further the rallying place of the Vexill(atio) Dacor(um) Parthic(a) for its campaign in the Orient has been determined by a tile discovered in the ruins of Potaissa (modern Torda), inscribed VEX. D. P. Corinthianus, its commander, returned from the Parthian war 191 A. D., covered with honors (cf. Corp. III 1193).—N. J. Krom shows that Strabo XV, 1, 10; 2, 9 and Pliny n. h. VI, 78 do not warrant V. Smith's inference (The Early Hist. of India<sup>1</sup>, p. 117) that the territory ceded by Seleucus to Chandragupta extended as far west as the modern Herat. (cf. Sandrocottus in Cent. Dict. Pr. N.)—B. Keil explains the unusual coin values on a bronze tablet from Thessaly as designations of weight.—K. Meiser proposes *πεδήτην* for *παιδευτήν* in Epictetus III 24, 99 so as to obtain an antithesis to *ἀκοδεσπότην* (cf. Suidas *πεδῆται*; Plut. de superst. 3, 165 D).—C. Robert shows the



arrangement of the chorus in Arist. Wasps 230 ff. (cf. Hermes XXXIII, p. 566 Anm. 1; A. J. P. I 402 foll.).

#### Fascicle 2.

Die geographische Schrift Apollodors. B. Niese upholds the testimony of Strabo and Steph. Byz., against Diels, etc. (cf. Susem. Alex. Lit. II, p. 36) as to a geography in iambic verse by Apollodorus, and believes in the genuineness of the fragments (cf. C. Müller, frag. hist. Graec. I 449 ff., where some should be assigned to the *Χρονικά* and the *Περὶ νεῶν*), and by comparing them with Ps. Scymnus shows that the latter had abbreviated and was the borrower.

Wann hat Ephorus sein Geschichtswerk geschrieben? B. Niese shows that Ephorus wrote his history in the time of Alexander or soon after; for he must have intended extending it beyond the siege of Perinthus 341/40 (cf. Diod. XVI, 76, 5), perhaps to 338 B. C. This view is confirmed by Clem. Alex. Strom. I 21, p. 403, where we learn that in one of the first three books, Ephorus regarded the crossing of Alexander into Asia in the archonship of Euainetus (334 B. C.), as an epoch making event, which, of course, implies a knowledge of the subsequent successes of A. and the late publication of the whole history. Ephorus' indebtedness to Callisthenes and Aristotle, and other matters are interestingly discussed.

Der Polybianische Gefechtsabstand. Th. Steinwender gives a detailed exposition of ancient military tactics, with modern illustrations; and upholds the traditional view, against Lammert and Delbrück, that according to Polybius (XVIII 29, 30) the soldiers of the phalanx standing three feet apart, as usual in battle, were met by the Roman legionaries standing six feet apart.

Zur Litteratur der Exempla und zur Epitoma Livii. A. Klotz presents a list of forty-one anecdotes, common to Val. Maximus and Seneca, and tries to show that these and others in Ps.-Frontinus, Macrobius, etc., were derived from a book of exempla derived from Livy, Caelius Antipater, Cato, etc. The author may have been Hyginus (cf. A. Gell. 10, 18).

Über das Wesen des römischen Triumphs. R. Laqueur shows from Livy (cf. 45, 39, 9 ff.; 38, 48, 13, etc.) that the Roman triumph was not, in its origin, a right pertaining to the imperium (Mommsen); but the sacred duty of the dictator, consul, or praetor, of dedicating the spoils of battle vowed by them at the auspicia before setting out on a military expedition. As conquests grew more important, the celebration of a triumph brought a dangerous distinction to the victorious general, hence the senate managed to make its consent a prerequisite. A refusal, however, did not absolve the general from his vow, hence the occasional celebration of a triumph on Mt. Alban, (beginning 231 B. C.), where it had no political significance. The develop-



ment of a religious act to a political honor is even more apparent in the case of the supplicatio, a development due to the growth, under Greek influence, of personal ambition. L. explains the restrictions in connection with the triumph, which Mommsen observed, etc.

*Festi codicis Neapolitani novae lectiones.* E. A. Loew gives a list of readings he obtained, upon the suggestion of W. M. Lindsay, from the burned fragments of the Farnesianus, which Croenert had omitted (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 346).

*Bemerkungen zur Perikeiromene des Menander.* C. Robert, admitting his own errors and approving many suggestions and emendations of others, makes a second experimental reconstruction of the *Περικειρομένη* (cf. *Der Neue Menander* 1908); for the discovery of the two Leipzig parchment leaves, with their seventy-three new verses, necessitated a complete revision (cf. A. Körte, *Zwei neue Blätter der Perikeiromene*, *Ber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1908 S. 145 ff.).

*Miscellen:* F. Jacoby shows how Propertius formed the group I, 7-9 of his elegies by placing the two propemptica 8 A. B. (cf. *Rh. M.* 1905, 73 ff.) between 7 and 9, which deal with the Hellenistic theme of love poem versus epic, and further added vv. 39-42 to 8 B, in order to effect a closer union; but the power of the blandum carmen, suitable in 7 and 9, interrupts in 8 B the exultation of the poor lover.—A. Körte, while approving Leo's treatment of the comic scene in Oxyrhynch. Pap. VI n. 855 (see above), supports its assignment to Menander's Perinthia and argues in agreement with Dziatzko (*Rh. Mus.* 31, p. 252) and Lindskog (*Studien zum antiken Drama*, *Miscellen* II 11 ff.) that the Perinthia preceded the Andria (cf. Terence, *Andr. prol.* v. 9 ff.), the former with its temulenta anus (*Andr.* 228 ff.) and servus cacans (*Oxyl.* v. 19), representing an earlier and coarser stage in Menander's art.—W. Rensch restores two Thessalian deeds of manumission (*I. G.* IX 2, n. 263 b, and n. 557). The former is dated with the names of *ταγοί* and *ταμίας*; the latter is an example of the rare Thessalian formula: (l. 18, 19) *ἀπὸ Ζηνοτίμου τοῦ Σωκράτους Παλαμήδης*; this is the only instance of a slave's bearing this name, which characterized intelligence (cf. Arist. *Frogs* v. 1451).—K. Regling follows Blanchet (*revue num.* 1908) in showing how Forrer erred (*Kelt. Numism. d. Rhein- u. Donaulande*, p. 299, 360) in assuming as genuine coins, the Philippi, Geryones, biuges, etc., which Ausonius introduced into his letter to Ursulus.—H. Grégoire makes a few contributions to L. Cohn's emendation of Philo's text (cf. A. J. P. XXXII, p. 464/5). The unintelligible *ποσθένης* (*Hermes* XLIII, p. 185) should be *πόσθαινα* (cf. *γάγγραινα*, *φλύκταινα*, etc.) = Posthitis.—C. Robert amends his note in his *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 41 A. 2 as follows: *θεῶν* die Handschriften; vgl. *Hermes* XIV, 1879, 314, W. Klein



Praxiteles S. 184 A. 2, Die Versuche die Überlieferung zu retten (Reisch bei Pauly-Wiss. V 1691 u. a.) richten sich dadurch von selbst, usw.

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Pp. 1-18. W. Kroll, Der lateinische Relativsatz. Some relative clauses may be explained according to the usual hypothesis as originally interrogative, but in the great mass of them the pronoun or particle was originally indefinite. The original position of the relative clause, still common in early and juristic Latin, was before the principal clause. The hypothesis that the pronoun was indefinite explains the omission of the demonstrative in popular style, the attraction of the "antecedent" into the relative clause, and the "*attractio inversa*" (e. g. *patronus qui vobis fuit futurus perdidistis*).

Pp. 19-33. E. Löfstedt, Zur Mulomedicina Chironis. Textual emendations; several lexicographical peculiarities.

Pp. 33. P. Kretschmer, Zur Hesychglosse βρά und alban. *vŕā*.

Pp. 34-43. L. Deubner, *Strena*. New-Year's present of money; originally a branch from a sacred temple, presented on the New-Year as a sign of good luck. Hence also "omen" in general (so already in Pl.).

Pp. 44-5. J. H. Schmalz, Vom "generellen Plural der Konkreta" im Lateinischen. S. sees an instance in Cic. ad Att. I 17, 3 *meos* (referring to his brother Quintus), *tuis* (Quintus's wife, who was Atticus' sister). (Cf. Kirk, below, p. 278.)

Pp. 45-6. P. Kretschmer, Altlateinische Inschrift von Corchiano. "*Med Loucilios feced*". Form *feced* shows great antiquity (ending *-ed* only paralleled in Duenos-inscr.).

Pp. 46-8. F. Vollmer, Das alte *absque*. Pl. Bacch. 412 *nam absque te esset ego illum haberem*, etc. *Que* = "and"; the clause is potential, with ellipsis of a preceding clause of like construction.

P. 49. F. Vollmer, *Aviare?* (Zu Glotta I. 264 Anm.) The verb does not exist; *saviare* is the correct reading CIL. XI. 6711.<sup>8</sup>

Pp. 49-50. W. H. Kirk, (and) Körber, Zu *incolumis* (Glotta II. 247 ff.).

Pp. 50-1. R. Sabbadini, *Ipsicilla* und *Ipsitilla* (Catull. 32. 1).

Pp. 51-2. G. Landgraf, *odiosus* = *molestus*. Examples from Classical Latinity (Cicero).



Pp. 52-67. E. Lattes, Etr. *varnalisla alfnalisle* e simili. The Etruscan affixes *-sla* (*-sa-la*), *-alisla*; geographical range of their occurrence, history, and use.

Pp. 67. E. Lattes, Ancora etr. *persu*, lat. *persona* (Glotta II. 270).

Pp. 68-70. E. Petrulakis, Kretische Inschriften. Three late and fragmentary inscriptions recently found.

Pp. 70-85. G. N. Hatzidakis, Neugriechische Miscellen. 1. *κοριορτός*—*κορνιαχτός*. (Phonetic rule: *ρτ* in Mod. Gk. becomes *χτ* when a *ρ* occurs in the preceding syllable of the word.) 2. *ἀπόχτι* (by dissimilation for *ἀποφτι*). 3. *τὰ Πιλάτα* = *οἱ Ἑβραῖοι* (in Thessalonike). Neuter gender analogical, as also in the following group. 4. *ἀπεθαμένα*, *ζωντανά*, *πάσπαλα*. 5. *χλωμός* = "blass"; from *χλωρός* by suffixal adaptation from some adj. in *-μος* of like meaning. 6. *χάλυψ*, *χάλυβος*, *χαλυβδικός*, etc. 7. *τώρα* = "jetzt"; derived from *τῇ ὥρᾳ*. 8. *βάλλω*, *βαίνω* und *βιβάζω*. Forms from these three verbs are much confused with each other in Mod. Gk.; the aorists however are distinct.

Pp. 85-7. S. Psaltes, Ngr. *ᾄς* = *ᾄφες* oder *ἔασε*? P. maintains the older derivation from *ᾄφες*, against Jannaris and Thumb.

Pp. 87-99. F. Skutsch, Die volskische *lex sacra*. DEVE: DECLVNE: STATOM etc. (Mommson, U. D., p. 320, Tafel XIV; Planta 240, Conway 252.) Has not arrived at complete interpretation, but proposes new interpretations of some words (notably ASIF = *asses*, acc. pl.) and analyses the general meaning of the whole. It is a tablet forbidding the removal from the temple of certain dedicated offerings except with the permission of the community.

Pp. 99-104. F. Skutsch, Die Konjunctive auf *-assim -essim*. Explained as periphrastic forms, pres. part. + forms of *sim*. *amassim* = *amans sim*. Cf. Oscan. *pa tensins* of the Cippus Abellanus, which would be a Lat. *patessint*, and is to be taken as transitive. That Lat. *patere* was originally transitive is shown by the derivative *patibulum*.

P. 104. F. Skutsch, *Turdus*. (= *cunnius*.)

Pp. 105-153. K. Witte, Zur Homerischen Sprache. (Cf. Glotta I. 132 ff., II. 8 ff.) V. Die Konstruktion von *εἶσω* mit dem Genitiv. Only twice in Homer, elsewhere with accus. *εἶσω* in Homer generally comes at the end of a verse, and its use with the gen. arose from the ellipsis of *δόμον* in the common phrase *δόμον Ἄιδος εἶσω*. VI. *ὁ ἀήρ*, *ὁ ἄλς* das Meer, *ἡ αἰών*. Confusion of gender in Homeric nouns caused by their use with two-termination adjectives, whose masc. and fem. forms were the same; thence in later imitative verses arise alterations in the gender of the nouns. VII. Zur Flexion homerischer Formeln. The strict rules for the construction of the last part of the hex-



ameter are responsible for numerous new formations and variations of word and phrase. Rich collection of examples, of which may be quoted this: . . . . πατρίδι γαίῃ and . . . . πατρίδα γαῖαν are common verse-endings. To put this phrase into the nom. or gen. the word γαῖα does not fit, and other words are therefore substituted, viz., πατρὶς ἄρουρα (late), and πατρίδος αἴης. VIII. πᾶϊς, παιδός. Nom. and voc. remain generally dissyllabic, because generally occurring before the bucolic diaeresis, where dissyllables fitted into the required dactyl; no such reason for preserving the old pronunciation of παιδός, etc. IX. Der Einfluss des Verses auf die Bildung von Komposita. "Es existiert in der epischen Dichtersprache eine nicht unbeträchtliche Zahl fünf- bzw. viersilbiger Komposita, Nomina wie Verba, die nicht nur eigens für die Verwendung im fünften und sechsten Fuss bestimmt, sondern auch, wie sich zeigen lässt, grösstenteils um dieser Versstelle willen geprägt worden sind". X. Spon-diazonten mit und ohne bukolische Diärese. Spondaic lines tend much more strongly than others to show the bucolic diaeresis (break in words at the end of the fourth foot). Cases where it does not occur are mostly due to extensions or imitations of formulaic words, compounds or phrases. A large number of them end in a plural case of ἄνθρωπος preceded by a dissyllabic word; these are demonstrably imitative. Spondaic lines without the bucolic diaeresis are to be regarded in general as secondary in construction. Witte believes it can be shown ultimately that the same is true of non-spondaic lines, in other words that the original epic verse really consisted of two lines, 4 feet + 2 feet. XI. ὁράασθαι-ιδέσθαι. The middle forms are secondary, and originally used from metrical necessity.

Pp. 153-156. A. Körte, Die Episynaloiphe. Vowel elided at the end of a line before initial vowel of the following line. In almost all such cases our MSS. follow the ancient grammarians in writing the consonant before the elided vowel at the beginning of the following line.

Pp. 156-164. P. Kretschmer, Griechisches. (Cf. below, 266 ff., 289 ff.) 1. Hyagnis. Also Agnis, i. e. *Φάγνις*; cf. Hes. ἄβαγνα: ῥόδα. Μακεδόνες. 2. Die Weihinschrift von Ligurio. (Cf. Kretschmer Herm. 36. 125.) Read *ἔ(μ)προ(υ)ροε* (Att. \**ἐμφρουροι* = *ἐν φρουρᾷ ὄντες*) *ἀνέθηκαν* \**Ἀνφοξυν*. 3. βούλομαι. Its starting-point is the perf. βέβουλα (Hom. Il. A 113), for \**βέβουλα*, which K. thinks is perf. to βάλλω and meant "I have decided", and so "I will". A phrase like *ἐν θυμῷ* or *μετὰ φρεσὶ* was at first used with it (these phrases are actually found with βάλλω in similar meanings), and then omitted. The present βούλομαι is secondary.

Pp. 164-170. E. Lattes, Vi sono in etrusco veri genitivi in -al e -ia -aia -eia?



Pp. 170-1. P. Linde, *Umbr. urnasier*. A syncopated form = "*or(di)nariis*".

Pp. 171-191. E. Löfstedt, *Plautinischer Sprachbrauch und Verwandtes*. Pleonastic doubling of synonyms, especially in pronominal words, in both early and late Latin (Vulgar Latinity): *ambo duo*, *par idem*, *idem unum*, etc. A collection of other rare and isolated Plautine usages, defended mostly as licenses of vulgar language, and generally paralleled in late Latin.

Pp. 191-6. C. Weyman, *Lexicalische Notizien*. 1. *carus* = liebend. 2. *cumque* = *quandocumque* (inscr. and late Latin, once in Horace). 3. *desputare* (emendation for *deputare* in Arnobius, cf. *consputare*. Meaning: "verabscheuen"). 4. *fulcio*, *fulxi*. 5. *glisco* = *gestio*, *cupio* (medieval Latin).

Pp. 196-201. S. Pantzerhjelm Thomas, *Zu *populus* und *populo(r)**. Derives the verb from the noun, which he thinks originally meant "army"; first used of the (originally military) *comitia centuriata*.

Pp. 201-3. F. Skutsch, *Zu *populus* und *populor** (and cf. Nöldeke, below, p. 279). *Populor* is simply a denominative verb with privative meaning, equal to *depopulor*; no reason for supposing that *populus* originally meant "army". Cf. Lt. *retare*, etc., German *köpfen*.

Pp. 204-8. N. A. Βέης, *Οικτήριον und verwandte Worte auf christlichen Grabinschriften*. (Cf. Nöldeke, below, p. 279.) Expressions for "tomb" in Christian inscriptions are *οικτήριον*, *κατοικτήριον*, *κατοίκησις*, *κατοικία*, *οἶκος* alone, and *οἶκος αἰώνιος*. Some of these, and notably the last, also occur on heathen inscriptions, but only in late (Christian) times; and probably the expression *οἶκος αἰώνιος* for grave was Christian in origin.

Pp. 209-221. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Zur Wortbildungslehre im Mittel- und Neugriechischen*. I. Mod. Gk. forms with the greatest freedom adjectives in *-(σ)ιμος* with the force of gerundives, replacing ancient *-τος* and *-τεος*. Even in Classical Gk. there are some such formations in *-(σ)ιμος*. II. The nominal suffix *-(σ)ιμον* is nothing but the neuter form of the adj. suffix just mentioned (against Jannaris and others).

Pp. 221-236. O. Lautensach, *Der Gebrauch des Aor. Med. und Aor. Pass. bei den Attischen Tragikern und Komikern*. Detailed statistics with quotation of occurrences. Shows gradual increase in number of verbs using aor. pass. as compared with those using aor. mid., from Aesch. (37 mid.; 35 pass.) and Aristoph. (58 mid.; 54 pass.) through Soph. (52 pass.; 43 mid.) to Eurip. (71 pass.; 62 mid.) and the other tragedians (17 pass.; 3 mid.).

Pp. 236-241. A. Klotz, *φαρμᾶκος?* Supposed length of the second *α* rests on six occurrences in Hipponax, all of which may



be read with *ũ*. This removes the difficulties which etymologists have had in explaining the word.

Pp. 241-5. F. Solmsen, *Zur Geschichte des Namens der Quitte*. *Κυδώνιον* perhaps only corrupted by popular etymology (influenced by *Κυδωνία*), cf. Alkman's *κοδύ-μαλον*. Lydian origin is likely.

Pp. 245-252. F. Solmsen, *Praesto esse und praestölārī*. Against Skutsch *Glotta* II. 389 ff. *Praesto* "*adsum*" not from *praes*, but from *prae* -*sto*. The denominative *praestolari* for *\*praestonari* by dissimilation, cf. Att. Gr. *λίτρον* for *νίτρον*, *leptis* (and *lepos*; secondarily by analogy from *leptis*?) for *neptis* (*nepos*).

Pp. 252-3. P. Kretschmer, *Praesto sum*. Suggests that the adv. *praesto* may be some ablative form (perhaps *prae-isto*?); it was so regarded by late grammarians.

Pp. 253-6. H. Ottenjann, *At enim—bat enim* und Verwandtes. German dialect parallels to these comic or popular pairs (*at—bat*, *heia—beia*, etc.).

Pp. 257-266. G. Thiele, *Spanische Ortsnamen bei Martial*. On the names in Mart. 1. 49 and 4. 55.

Pp. 266-272. P. Kretschmer, *Griechisches*. 4. *τάλαντον*, *Ἀταλάντη*. *τάλαντον* a secondary formation to pl. *τάλαντα* (so mostly in Hom.), which was orig. pl. to (*τάλας*) *τάλαν*. *Ἀταλάντη* fem. to *ἀτάλαντος*, "gleichwiegend, gleich (mit dem Manne)" = *ἀντιάνειρα*. 5. Zu den lakonischen Knabenagoninschriften. (*Annual of the British School at Athens* XII-XIV passim.) *Κασεν* must be no noun but an adverb, particle, postposition or the like; possibly for *καθ' ἑν* "in eins, zusammen"?

Pp. 273-5. J. Endzelin, *Varia*. 1. Zu gr. *συ* für *τυ*. Not from *τιυ* (Brugmann), but from *τυυ*, > *σ(σ)υ*. 2. Zu etr. *ārimos* "Affe". Lettish *ērms* is a loanword therefrom. 3. Zu lat. *crātis*. (: Lett. *krātiņš* "Käfig", Lith. *krotaĩ* "Gewitterwerk".)

Pp. 275-6. A. Klotz, *Ariamne = Ariadne?* Plin. Nat. Hist. 35. 99.

Pp. 276-7. E. Hasse, *Pulcher, Gnavus*. The first conn. with *blaceo*, the second with *genu* ("die Kniee rührend").

Pp. 277-8. A. Miodoński, *Zur lateinischen Syntax*. Two brief notes.

P. 278. W. H. Kirk, *Genereller Plural im Lateinischen*. Further examples (cf. above, p. 44).

P. 279. Th. Nöldeke, *Randbemerkungen*. I. Zu *Glotta* III. 206 ff. The expression "ewiges Haus" for grave is of Egyptian origin. II. Zu *Glotta* III. 201 ff. Semitic and other examples in support of Skutsch on *populari*.



Pp. 279–281. F. Kluge, *Nachlese zu Walde*.

Pp. 281–5. G. Herbig, *Eine etruskische Münzlegende?* *ialikovesi* or *iailkovesi*; probably Celtic, but unexplained.

Pp. 285–8. F. Skutsch, *Odium*. Reply to Walde, IF. 28. 396 ff.

Pp. 289–295. P. Kretschmer, *Griechisches*. (Cf. above, 156 ff., 266 ff.) 6. *αὐθέντης* “murderer” for \**αὐτο-θεντης* (*θείνω*) by haplology; to be separated from *αὐθέντης* of the *κοινή* “auctor, Täter, Urheber” (to which the adj. *αὐθεντικός*, and the other meaning of the word, “lord”, which persists in the Mod. Gk. *ἀφέντης* and the Turk. *effendi*). This second *αὐθέντης* is to be connected with Hesych. *συνέντης*; *συνεργός*, and the last part of the compound, \**έντης*, is therefore to be regarded as coming from a synonym of *ἔργον*, so that this *αὐθέντης* (“lord”) = *αὐτουργός*. 7. Zum Dialekt von Mantinea. On Hiller von Gaertringen’s *Arcadische Forschungen*. 8. *ἄρδω* und *πελάγρός*; *ā* may be due to dropping of *ϕ* and contraction of two alphas.

P. 295. F. Skutsch, *sistere* “aufhören”? Doubts the reading of the single passage (*Glotta* III. 186) where it is said to occur.

Pp. 296–383. *Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1909*; by P. Kretschmer and F. Skutsch.

Pp. 384–8. F. Skutsch, *Quisquilien*. 11. *Respiritus*. Cic. ND. II. 136—not to be emended. 12. Lat. *cōlei ὄρυς*, to *cōlum* sack or sieve for straining liquids. 13. Die Quantität von *esse* “essen” (cf. *Glotta* I. 113 ff.). Length of the *e* vouched for by Greek transliterated inscription, and by a papyrus. 14. Die Adjective vom Typus *Novocomensis*; from an ablative form, cf. *S. Augustinus Hipponeregiensis*. 15. *eliminare*, occurs as intrans. as well as trans. and reflex.

Pp. 388–393. K. Witte, *Zur homerischen Sprache*. XII. Über die Flexion der Nomina auf *-εύς*. The oblique cases regularly have *-ῆος*, etc., with long *e*-vowel. Exceptions are practically limited to proper names—starting with the genitive forms of a very few names, of which probably the first chronologically, and certainly the commonest, was *Τυδέος* (*υἱός*), from *Τυδεύς*; from this *Ἀτρείος* and (more rarely) *Πηλέος*; only scattering and occasional are other forms. These forms in *-έος*, etc., belong to the popular language, as against the true epic *-ῆος*, etc., and originated under the influence of metrical tendencies and analogies (cf. above, p. 105 ff.).

Pp. 394–417. *Indices*, by K. Witte.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

As Professor White's assault upon the logaoedic theory of Heinrich Schmidt tempted me a few months ago (A. J. P. XXXIV 106) to bring forth from its pigeonhole my 'put past' (A. J. P. VIII 254) lecture on Sappho, so WILAMOWITZ'S *Sappho und Simonides* (Weidmann) has moved me to compare the bright light that WILAMOWITZ has shed on the poetess with the crepuscular vision of forty years ago. This new volume of WILAMOWITZ'S is dedicated to the memory of Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, and the author tells us how he followed to the grave the illustrious scholar whom he had never seen in the flesh; and as I am one of the few survivors of that distant time, I may be permitted to add my personal reminiscences to WILAMOWITZ'S eloquent tribute. Welcker lived to a great age. Born in 1784, he died in 1868. In 1852, when I was one of those who gathered about the long table in the anteroom of the University Library at Bonn, he seemed to me—a lad not yet twenty-one—an ancient of days. A close contemporary of Boeckh, whose lectures I had followed a few semesters before, his bearing was that of an old, old man. He spoke slowly, deliberately. Whether his vision was impaired at that time I do not know, but he had the far-off look characteristic of the blind. At all events, he saw what we could not see. ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ is the Greek word. What was clear to his mind's eye he tried to conjure up for us. The image of Greek antiquity rose like an exhalation from his discourse—a golden mist, as I have said elsewhere. The word 'sinnig' seems to have been made for him. He was gentleness, benignity itself whenever he was consulted by the young foreigner. A great celebrity, he was sought by visitors to Bonn, and I shall never forget how one sunny day as I was taking my usual walk in the Poppelsdorfer Allee, I was accosted by a young Englishman, who addressed me in a German not to be reproduced phonetically: 'Kunnen Ssie mir ouohl ssagen, ouo dur Hur Professor Ouelcker bleibt?'

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Sappho was Welcker's love. Whether he ever had another does not appear. He was a bachelor all his days, and his famous vindication of Sappho, written in his early prime (1816), has made him her knight for all the ages. Sappho is no lay figure. She is a personality, and WILAMOWITZ introduces his essay by a treatise on 'Persönlichkeit', a word which like 'personality' in English has come very much to the front of late years. Goethe



seems to have started the business in his *West-östlicher Divan*, and according to WILAMOWITZ, it is completely threshed out in the cultivated circles of German society, just those circles in which personality is often reduced to a minimum. Unless I am mistaken, even among people of English speech, 'personality' has gradually taken the place of 'character', 'individuality', 'idiosyncrasy'—idiosyncrasy, once a popular word. 'My father was a man of highly flavoured personality', one was heard to say the other day. Twenty-five years ago he would probably have said, 'My father was a man of marked character'. Now, 'highly flavoured' tells the tale. It is an appeal to the subtle sense by which Laura Bridgman sorted clothes. Of course, 'character' and 'personality' are not synonymous. Eucken has a long discourse on personality in his *Grundlinien zu einer neuen Lebensanschauung*, but I do not see that he has helped us much. In Goethe's famous lines, 'Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille, Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt', the poet has given us in a few crystal drops all that can be condensed from the nebulosity of the philosopher. The Greeks, we are told, knew nothing of personality, that there is at most a faint adumbration of it in a passage of Aristotle. That can only mean that the ancient Greek had no word for 'personality', just as he had no word for 'humanity' or 'humanism'. He would doubtless have shivered at the Modern Greek *προσωπικότης* and *ἀτομιστικότης*, but he had the thing, and one is tempted to shy at the subtle observer the comic missile of *αὐτότατος*. The first personality in Greek literature was Hesiod, as everybody knows, and WILAMOWITZ passes in review those whom he considers persons, those whom he considers types. About some of them there may be debate. There can be none about Sappho, *θαυμάσιον τι χρῆμα*, to quote Strabo, whom one is almost ashamed to quote, so threadbare is the quotation; and it may be doubted whether it has been freshened up by WILAMOWITZ's calling Strabo 'der ziemlich philiströse Strabon'. One is almost tempted to search the Lunenburg heath of that highly respectable author for other sympathetic utterances. Of this *θαυμάσιον χρῆμα* WILAMOWITZ begins his discourse by a sentence which is comprehensible only from the Berlinese point of view, fully comprehensible only by those who have followed the processes of Berlin courts. 'When the name Sappho', he says, 'is mentioned to-day, more people will think of sexual perversion than of a great poetess'. Krafft-Ebing, and Mantegazza are not unknown to the Western World, and Paris is said by Parisians to be a poor second to Chicago, but, after all, the prevalent Anglo-Saxon conception of Sappho is that of the poetess, and her fabled love for Phaon—a natural love—has at least in the popular mind eclipsed the sinister interpretation of burning Sappho's affection for the maidens of her school. The vindication of Sappho has led WILAMOWITZ through sewage in which few but professional



classicists—a race with imperforate nostrils—will care to follow him, for it rests upon the proof that ‘Lesbian love’ is something other than it is commonly supposed to be, something too vile to be associated with the name of the world’s greatest poetess, something so vile that Horace has put it in the lowest sink of one of his malodorous epodes—a thing not to be elaborated, or rather allaborated, orally or otherwise.

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Reading the other day Professor HUMPHREYS’ commentary on *Demosthenes De Corona* (American Book Company), a commentary quick with notes of personal observation and experience and full of pregnant hints for the student of the orator, I was arrested by the difficulty which that eminent scholar found in the words τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν (§ 3). ‘Both to lose’, he remarks, ‘and fail to win, say too much’, but he gives no answer to his own problem; and I wondered whether his difficulty lay in the sense or the tense of διαμαρτεῖν. But as I went on, I found that with the manly directness characteristic of Professor HUMPHREYS he refuses to be bound by ‘theoretical difference between the aorist and the present infinitive’, which, he says, is often neglected. And so under § 86 he remarks that ‘the distinction between the aorist and the present in the dependent moods and in the infinitive and part. must not be insisted on. They are often varied for the sake of variety’. Now, I have maintained repeatedly and sometimes at considerable length (A. J. P. XXIII 242) that the ‘theoretical’ difference between the modal tenses of apobasis and paratasis (A. J. P. XXIII 106) is the same as that between the indicative aor. and imperfect, and as Professor HUMPHREYS has more than once explained and explained happily the difference between the latter two, it might seem incumbent on me to rebel against his dictum. But here as elsewhere there is great danger of falling into formulae, such as the well-worn ‘general and specific’, which is often applied where it does not hold, and we must not lose ourselves, as some scholars have lost themselves, in a Sahara of statistics (A. J. P. XXIX 243; XXX 105, 476) beyond the reach of immediate feeling. A finer analysis than is commonly employed may be advocated, but we must watch the period of the language; and though the *Graeculi* continued to be more sensitive to the shift of the modal tenses than we are (A. J. P., l. c.), we must not overlook the trend towards the aor. ἀκούε ἀντὶ τοῦ πείσθητι, says the scholiast on Aischyl. Cho. 506. Nay, says Verrall, it should be πείθου. But what are we going to do with πῖνε ἀντὶ τοῦ πῖθι of the Homeric scholiast (Il. 14, 5)? Under § 86 just cited Professor HUMPHREYS quotes as a specimen of indifference Dein. 1, 27 where ἀνάγνωθι, the tense of urgency, is followed by ἀναγίνωσκε, the tense of impatience; and in § 4 he maintains that the aorist could have been used just



as well as the present. The text runs, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω, οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι, where the ordinary formulae ('despatch' and 'detail') seem to work fairly well, and it may be worth noting that according to Preuss ἀπολύσασθαι is the only inf. tense of this verb in Demosthenes. But Professor HUMPHREYS is doubtless right in his protest against over-analysis especially in the stage of study for which his commentary is intended. The student will still be on Greek soil, or at all events, no worse off than those 'slow bellies', the Gortynians, at least according to Stahl, G. V., p. 152.

It is evident then that it is not the tense of διαμαρτεῖν that is the trouble, but the sense of the word; and the combination τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν recalls another irresolution of another eminent scholar. Commenting in a recent number of Classical Philology on the rival translations of the Apollonios of Philostratos, Conybeare's and Phillimore's, Professor Shorey remarks:

There is nothing funnier even in Tredwell than the rendering which our two scholars have given of the words (I, 13): ἀλλ' ὁμῶς συκοφαντοῦσιν οἱ τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις αἰτῶν, ὡς διαμαρτία ἐρωτικῇ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπενιαντίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυῶν ἔθνος. This Conybeare renders: "And yet there are those who accuse him falsely of an addiction to venery alleging *that he fell a victim of such sins, and spent a whole year in their indulgence among the Scythians*" (italics mine). Professor Phillimore is less outspoken: "alleging some sentimental vagary, which they say kept him a whole year in Scythia".

There is no question about the fun of Conybeare's rendering, which seems to have been inspired by the old English version of Rev. Edward Berwick (1809):

Yet some still accuse him of sacrificing to Venus and of indulging in the pleasures of love, adding that he passed a whole year in Scythia for that purpose.

Still, I wish Professor SHOREY had given his own version by way of contrast, but like Professor HUMPHREYS in the Demosthenic passage, he has left us in doubt as to the correct rendering, to which τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν may help us. Everything turns on the question whether διαμαρτία is intellectual or moral. Volumes have been written on the lightheartedness of the Greek, as shown by the word ἀμαρτάνειν, which is commonly taken as the equivalent of our 'sin'. ἀμαρτάνειν has no necessary stain upon it. It is intellectual rather than moral. And yet the 'lighthearted Greek', with his ἄγος, his μύσος, his μίασμα, had a more shuddering sense of blood-guiltiness than the sons of, Arminius or the descendants of the Berserkers. ἀμαρτεῖν, 'fail', and συμφορά, 'accident', are euphemisms, if you choose, for 'sin' for 'crime'. But what does ἐρωτικῇ διαμαρτία χρησάμενον mean, judging by the light of the Demosthenic passage? Is it anything



more than ἐρώτων διαμαρτών? We have to do with self-exile in consequence of disappointment in love, and those who have read Hippokrates περὶ αἵρων, c. 21, will understand why Apollonios is said to have gone to Scythia to cool off. It was the last place in the world to which a man could resort in order to sacrifice to Venus. Exile was one of the most familiar *Remedia Amoris*, and Burton's *Anatomy* has a chapter on the subject of Love Melancholy, with the usual delightful medley of authorities, going far back beyond the age of Philostratos—which was a sentimental age. The ταῦρος χηρεύων of Sophokles, not cited by Burton, comes up to the mind, and the modern psychological novelist would doubtless adduce the story of Bellerophon with the tempting explanation of the hero's wandering over the Aleian plain and eating his heart, as he thought of wasted opportunities; for Bellerophon had blood in his veins, and it was the reverence for Ζεὺς Ξένιος that restrained his passion, as it restrained the passion of his fellow-martyr, Peleus, as Pindar tells us (N. 5, 31): τοῦ μὲν ὀργὰν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι. Eros is a κνίδη (P. 10, 60), the ὀργά is the too familiar *ira* of Horace, and the 'steep talk', the 'giddy talk' of Hippolyta needs no interpretation for those who haunt the cabarets of our great cities.

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Professor FAY's articles in which he has vivified the chapter of word-formation and made sense-words out of suffixes (A. J. P. XXXI 454 foll., XXXIII 377-400; XXXIV 15-42) would naturally appeal to a man of my peculiar temperament, and I found myself on the verge of making a spectacle of my old age by etymologizing a number of suffixes in a fashion that in my hands would doubtless resemble the processes of Plato's Cratylus. Anything, I said to myself, is better than the tricks that are played with the demonstrative, and to that extent I am in sympathy with Westphal, who forty years ago and more ridiculed the 'da' theory, according to which 'da' answered for all the cases. It is this very doctrine of the cases that has given me more trouble in my syntactical studies than anything else (A. J. P. XXXI 362; XXXIII 487). Years ago I wrote a review of what was the science of that day (A. J. P. II 83 ff.), and made no secret of my discontent. The theory of the moods and tenses is by no means perfect, but in comparison with the theory of the cases it works like a charm. You can actually make a fair show of reproduction by means of your theory of the moods and tenses, but the so-called mixed cases defy analysis. We cannot tell which element in the mixture decides the construction, and the rule refuses to work when we translate English into Greek. What are we to do with the genitive? One of the younger scholars who are pushing forward the lines of syntactical re-



search, W. HAVERS, the author of the 'Jener-Deixis', has been studying the relations of genitive and dative, and, accepting a hint of mine in my note on Pindar (P. 3, 40), has set up the category of the *Dativus sympatheticus* in lieu of the current nomenclature, which to me is meaningless. In point of fact, it is not so difficult to distinguish between the genitive and the dative, when they are rivals,<sup>1</sup> and many years ago I was careful to speak of the Genitive of the Owner and the Dative of the Possessor.

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But the genitive itself, or the genitive and its two selves? Kuhn's theory of the genitive as a fossilized adjective I adopted enthusiastically at the time of its promulgation. Whitney resigned himself to it. Whitney's attitude towards such things was largely the attitude of resignation. After a while the phonetists fell foul of Kuhn's theory, and it was relegated to the limbo of exploded fancies. Of late it has shown signs of life, and many of the phenomena of the genitive seem to find their natural explanation in an equivalence of genitive and adjective, as Schuchardt has recently urged in the matter of the puzzling genitive of apposition. No wonder then that I stare at the genitive terminations, and wish that some Jinn, like Professor FAY, would evolve some sense-word that might give vitality to the case. Anthropocentric as I am in dealing with the phenomena of syntax, how I should hail some etymology that would enable us to see things as the Semites saw them. How plastic, how drastic are the father of lies, the mother of a horn (= rhinoceros); the son of thunder, the daughter of the horse-leech, the daughter of Zion, the sons of Belial. Of course, family figures occur often enough in Greek poetry, but the commentators tell us not to take them seriously (O. 8, 1). Why not? The best poetic translation of the adjective is often the family figure. That admirable translator, Mr. Myers, renders (N. 8, 18): πορτία . . . Κύπρῳ 'the isle of Kypros'. That is what I call a *raison démonstrative* translation. Kypros, daughter of the deep, is in line with the child of Aphrodite, and the bride of the sun of the Seventh Olympian. In Dr. Petersen's admirable essay on the diminutives in -ιος he acknowledges the patronymic -ιος (A. J. P. XXXII 95) as one of the sources of the diminutive connotation. Is it only a connotation? What if it were the head of the corner? Little-john, the son of John, may be a giant, and μέγα is a common epithet for θηρίον. But behind the πατρική πτώσις lies the κτητική πτώσις which has given its name to our English genitive. No choice of nomenclature could have been more characteristic of nationality.

<sup>1</sup> In v. 16', says Jebb on Bakchyl. 3, 15, 'βρῦει takes the gen. a verb of fulness (ap. Soph. O. C. 161), with no difference of sense, unless it be that the dative is more animated and picturesque'.



Whatever science may make of the terminations of the genitive, the compound is older than the case; and the growing together of the genitive and the noun in Greek, reversing the process of the *status constructus* in Hebrew, is in line with other developments in language. The repugnance of the genitive to separation from its regimen, of which investigators are making more and more, is a survival of the original state of things, which still obtains in the English possessive. When there is nothing for the genitive to lean upon, it acquires a manner of forlorn independence (A. J. P. XXVII 358), such as we find in the genitive absolute, such as we find in the genitive at the head of the sentence (A. J. P. XXIII 25). When the preposition associates itself with the pure genitive, as it is called to distinguish it from the ablative genitive, the genitive does not depend on the preposition, but on the idea of locality postulated by the preposition—as in *εἰς διδασκάλου*—and this explains more than one case-structure that baffle the syntactician, or, if you choose, the student of semantics, such as *ἐπί* with the genitive, where one cannot well take refuge in the ablative genitive, which fails also to explain the difference between *ἐπί* with the genitive and *ἐπί* with the dative (A. J. P. XVIII 118). But that is an old story.

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It is more than twenty-five years since I heard an eminent man of letters in a public discourse attribute to Pindar the well-known line of Simonides on a victory with the mule-car: *χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων*. I marvelled that a man of his rare culture should have spoiled the old story recorded in Aristotle, Rhet. III, c. 3. But the other day, turning over the pages of Landor's Pericles and Aspasia, I discovered the source of the error. In a letter to Cleone, Aspasia, an Ionian woman and therefore not inclined to favour Pindar, is supposed to write: 'Pindar never quite overcame his grandiloquence. The animals we call *half asses* by a word of the sweetest sound although not the most seducing import, he calls "the daughters of the tempest-footed steeds". My eminent man of letters was a great admirer of Landor's, as I knew, and doubtless more familiar with Pericles and Aspasia than with Aristotle's Rhetoric. But what of the translation 'steeds', a recurrent trouble (A. J. P. XXXI 364, 492)? If 'steed' is a 'stallion', as it is, *ἵππων* is not to be translated 'steeds' but 'mares', unless indeed one should prefer the Scottish 'she-horses'; for mules, the cross between the jack and the mare, are meant, and not hinnies. The hinny, which is the cross between the stallion and the jenny, is seldom bred. It is a poor affair, and the two hybrids are very different. 'The hinny neighs like a horse, the mule brays like the ass. The mule's ears, tail and general aspect are asinine. The hinny



more nearly resembles the horse, is of slighter build and of strength inferior to the mule', and, which is even more to our purpose, its lack of speed was notorious in antiquity. Pliny says of it (N. H. 8, 44): *effrenis et tarditatis indomitae*. The racers on coins are distinctly mules, not hinnies—as, for instance, on a coin of Messana, figured in my *Pindar* (p. 170). One cannot help asking. Is not this lesson in translation a lesson in eugenics?

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In the programme that accompanies the new *Passow* (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht), the editor, WILHELM CRÖNERT, holds out no hope of an early completion of the work. If the older *Passow* was sixteen years in building, how can we expect a much more speedy termination of a much more ambitious enterprise? But the aged scholar must not despair. Little did I dream that I should live to see the great Oxford Dictionary so near its goal as it is now. When s. v. *Crop* I was referred to *Neck* for an explanation of *Neck and Crop*, I said sadly that I should not be able to consult *Neck* (A. J. P. XXII 232). To be sure, when *Neck* came, it gave no satisfactory answer to the problem, the solution of which was reserved for Wright's Dialect Dictionary. Up to the appearance of Wright, my private interpretation of the phrase was based on the physical process of seizing an objectionable member of society by the scruff of the neck and the slack of the breeches corresponding to the crupper. 'All in a moment his roan Rolled neck and crop over, lay dead as a stone'. But according to Wright, 'crop' means 'scruff of the neck', and I have had to surrender very reluctantly my picturesque interpretation (A. J. P. XXVIII 114). Doubtless similar surrenders will be made necessary by the new *Passow*, but whatever may be made necessary by the new *Passow*, it will have to be used warily, like all other dictionaries. When Lewis and Short came out, a young scholar—destined to high distinction—sent me for publication in the *Journal* a list of what he considered flagrant blunders. My gentle nature rebelled against such a proceeding before the useful compilation had a chance to shew its usefulness. 'Lexicography is full of pitfalls', I replied, 'as you yourself have shewn by the mistakes you have made in your criticisms'. Liddell and Scott is a quarry of such things, as I found out long before I undertook a collaboration which came to a sad end. My articles were slumped with Professor Godwin's in the Preface, all manner of liberties were taken with my copy (A. J. P. III 515), and the article on *ἔως* either arrived too late or was thrown aside—whether to the advantage of the student or not may be discerned by a comparison of A. J. P. IV 416 ff., with the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott. One thing the editors allowed to stand under *πρίν*, and that is the right explanation of the ellipsis in Od. 15, 393-4: οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ, πρίν ὤρη, καταλέχθαι. The ellipsis



is *ἐστί* and not *ἔη*, as is stated in Syntax of Classical Greek, § 85. Like some other things in that manual, it must have been put in for the purpose of refutation, and the refutation omitted. Nothing could be more absurd than the assumption of the ellipsis of an impossible construction, and for Homer *πρὶν ἔη* is an impossible construction; and I am not surprised that Mr. Platt has recently advanced the conjecture *πρὶν ἔρη* after the well-known Pindaric passage (P. 4, 43), though I cannot accept it. *πρὶν ἐστί* is causal, like *ἕως ἐστί* (A. J. P. IV 417; XXIV 387), and is equivalent to *οὐ γὰρ πᾶ ἐστί*.

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The scope of the new *Passow* is, as I have said, ambitious. It is to take in the whole thesaurus of the Greek language down to the Byzantine time. The line is drawn at Procopius and the subsequent Byzantine historians, although the contemporary poets and philosophers are included. Inscriptions and papyri are to be conscientiously exploited—even the papyri of the Byzantine time. Coins, gems, and vases are to furnish material. The new Latin Thesaurus is to yield its treasures, and the glosses likewise. Especial attention is to be paid to the dialects, the ancient lexicographers, scholiasts and grammarians, to the Septuagint and other versions and the New Testament. The texts are to be critically studied, and corruptions indicated. Etymology is to be handled briefly, exegesis concisely, the references are to be distinguished by their abundance, their exactness, their analytical arrangement. The first fascicle runs from A to *αἰμορρυχίας*. An interesting and important feature is the category VERB (*reitung*), which is appended to some of the more considerable articles, and which may redeem in some measure the pellmell disorder of the examples—an offence to my soul as a syntactician. As in most German works, the art of abridgment is carried to an extreme, but those who have had some experience with the advertisements in German newspapers, where ‘e. fr. Pf.’ represent ‘ein frommes Pferd’, will have no serious difficulty. Further notice is reserved.

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From early youth I have indulged in the habit of making summaries of such books and articles as happened to interest me at the time, and I have in manuscript reams of such things, extending from Becker's *Römische Alterthümer*, which I abridged in 1852 with a view to my doctoral examination in 1853, down to Mr. Grundy's *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, of which I have had a word to say (A. J. P. XXXIII 338). Of late this mass has been so infiltrated by my own peculiar vein that very little of it has proved available for the Journal, and in the few specimens that I have published from time to time the serious



reader must have been annoyed by the unreasonable demand on his attention that is necessary to eliminate cryptic criticism. Of course, the less I know of the subject in hand, the more faithful is my summary, and therefore I regret that I have been forced to renounce my project of condensing for the readers of the Journal Professor VON PÖHLMANN's most interesting and timely volume—*Geschichte der sozialen Frage u. des Socialismus in der antiken Welt, Zweite, vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage* (München, Oskar Beck). There is great danger, as we all know, of projecting—etymologically a bad word—there is great danger of projecting the ideals and wishes of the present into the past, of finding more communism and socialism in antiquity than the facts will permit in the present state of our knowledge; and one such instance out of many I will note for the readers of *Brief Mention*. It has been maintained, says Professor VON PÖHLMANN, that the modern cry for liberty, equality and fraternity is simply a cry for a return to the old conditions of social life. The history of classical antiquity is from this point of view nothing but the history of the crowding out of communism by private property. The village green, the village common, is a survival of the olden time—of the time when flocks and herds were kept together, grazed now on summer, now on winter pasture, where there was one fold and one shepherd—the head of the community, who saw to the just division of the common products. Unfortunately, he says, there is no proof that the original conditions of things were as simple as that; the accepted progress through the stages of the hunter, the nomad, the tiller of the soil, according to VON PÖHLMANN, lacks convincing proof, and once more the historical parallel bars break down under the gymnast (A. J. P. XXXI 111).

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In the Preface to his Wonder Book, Hawthorne says that 'classical myths <are> capable of being rendered into very capital reading for children. . . . So long as man exists, they can never perish; but, by their indestructibility itself, they are legitimate subjects for every age to clothe with its own garniture of manners and sentiment, and *to imbue with its own morality*'. How easily all impurity may be made to fall away from Greek mythology, especially in the refined air which Hawthorne and his companions breathed, has been signally exemplified by an extract from Emerson's Journal (viii, p. 26), to which my attention has been called by a friend who is curious in matters philosophical. From this extract I learn that Ganymede was known to the great thinker only as a cupbearer—only as a male neat-handed Phyllis. How else could he have 'delighted' in Martial II 43, 14, 'as showing the elegance of self-service, his own practice'? If my Pindar should ever reach another edition, which is unlikely, I shall know how to annotate virginibus puer-



isque, O. I 45: τῶδ' ἐπὶ χροίῳ, and I am surprised that Professor Post should not have included in his selection Martial IX 42, XI 73. Surely the phrase 'left-hand marriage' would not offend the most fastidious. To the initiated all this 'dainger d'estre trop coquebin' simply illustrates a danger to which the classical scholar is not exposed. Your classical scholar is clad in the white robe of the anatomical theatre and his indignation is stirred only when some pedant like Browning takes advantage of the ignorance of innocence (A. J. P. XXXII 484).

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The intaglio of irony is a dangerous figure, to the practice of which Americans are too much given; and I am an American. Knowing this failing of mine, I have read with care my comment on Professor Goodell's article about μή, in the last volume of the Journal, but I must confess that I cannot see how any one acquainted with the English language could have summarized my views, as has been done in the April number of the *Rivista di Filologia*, not the least valuable and suggestive of the periodicals that come into my hands. 'A proposito del precedente articolo del Goodell, del quale in somma l'a. accetta le conclusioni.' This is a summary with a vengeance, a summary at which no one will be more surprised than Professor Goodell himself. If the summarizer had only translated my words (A. J. P. XXXIII 499): 'According to Professor Goodell the conceptual has come to its own. According to my view there is only an extension based on the primal volitive'. Professor Goodell and I are poles asunder.

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The typographical and other oversights that mar the pages of the last number of the Journal and haply this number also are a manner of tribute to the vigilance of my friend and collaborator, Professor C. W. E. MILLER, whose absence is doubtless responsible for sundry errors of the press. I have done my best. πόθειον δέ μιν ἐσθλὸν εἶντα. He would never have suffered 'Olymthiac' to pass (p. 112, l. 24) nor the egregious η in the penult of Δημοσθένης (l. 32), nor 'choriamic' for 'choriambic' (p. 114, l. 33.) He would have deleted the XII (p. 214, l. 35). He would have prevented P(ythian) ibid. from becoming Ps(alm) and 'afin' (p. 115, l. 15) would not have lost its 'que' in that ominous verse.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE DIALOGUE OF TACITUS ONCE MORE.

#### *A Rejoinder.*

To the Editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

Sir: You have been singularly generous in allotting so much space in years gone by to the present writer's work on the 'aureus libellus' of Tacitus. I should, therefore, have hesitated long before claiming still more, were it not that the first number of the current volume contained an attack on a recent contribution of mine which, if left unanswered, might imply my acquiescence in its justification. I shall be as brief as possible, presuming in the reader an acquaintance with the original paper and Principal Peterson's criticism.<sup>1</sup>

Before proceeding to examine my opponent's objections it is only fair to state that, since the publication of the article in *Classical Philology*, I have twice repeated the laborious measurement of the *Agricola* quaternion. The result, while it differed slightly from my former calculation, still approximated to it so closely that the conclusion drawn by me was in no way invalidated. The final revised figures will be given in the new edition of my *Dialogus* now passing through the Teubner press.

1. Dr. Peterson maintains that a calculation based on averages—they are based, by the way, on the measurement of 960 half-lines—constitutes a 'slender foundation for a process claiming arithmetical exactitude', and he then cheerily proceeds for the next four pages to deal in averages of his own which ex hypothesi ought, therefore, to possess but little validity! It is the same old story, 'dum duo idem faciunt, non est idem'. As a matter of fact, I never claimed mathematical infallibility for the averages in question and I should not be worried in the least, if still another revision revealed an excess or lack of a few lines,

<sup>1</sup> For this reason I shall merely note in passing that the rectification of Sabbadini's arithmetical slip in calculating the extent of the large lacuna, the observation regarding the discrepancy between the 'sex folia' of Decembrio and the 'sex paginae (pagellae)' of the MSS. and the significance of certain variants taken by Decembrio from the archetype were one and all pointed out for the first time and discussed in my article, a trifling circumstance which Dr. Peterson apparently forgot to mention in again dealing with the self-same topics. Cp. especially p. 12 'Students of the text of the *Dialogus* will note', etc.; p. 13, 'It is easy to calculate that the lacuna amounts to 4/15'.



for, as I was careful to state, we cannot fix the precise proportion of unequal lines in the Dialogue archetype. It is quite sufficient in matters of this kind to attain to a reasonably close approximation, that will methodically justify an inference.

2. The extant written portion of the archetype does not yield, we are told, the same measurements as Annibaldi's diplomatic reproduction. Of course, it doesn't. But for the purpose of spacial comparisons only a printed text is available and its use is justified, because the lines are retained, they not being printed continuously. In fact, Dr. Peterson himself has also operated with the printed, not with the written text.

3. But even supposing I had satisfactorily accounted for the four pages up to the juncture, where a second lacuna is postulated on internal grounds, Dr. Peterson contends that my 'arithmetical processes are found completely to collapse' for the one page or half folio still left according to the statement of Decembrio (*folia duo cum dimidio*). According to Peterson's own 'estimate', the text from c. 36 to the end took up at least three folios. Now, as we must assume, what Peterson himself admits, Decembrio 'to have been correct', it necessarily follows, one should suppose, that there must be something wrong about that 'estimate'. But so far from drawing this only logical conclusion, Dr. Peterson, after proposing one explanation only to reject it at once, argues at length that the entire *Dialogus* was written by an entirely different scribe from the one who had penned the original, still extant quaternion, but identical with the one who had written the closing portions of the *Agricola*. It was a finer script and there were more lines to a page. This hypothesis is based upon an alleged discovery of Annibaldi, who believed he recognized in a page of the original, which had been erased to make way for the *Germania* text, clear traces of the above mentioned characteristics. But the correctness of this view is open to very serious objections, as may be shown by the very first folio of the *Agricola* which Guarnieri added to the archetype torso. For the recto of only 28 lines contains no fewer than 345 cm., while the verso takes up but 302.9 cm., with 89 abbreviations of all kinds on the recto to 40 compendia, all of a very simple nature, on the verso. By parity of reasoning, therefore, we should be compelled to assume two scribes for this one folio—a palpable *reductio ad absurdum*. Dr. Peterson has simply conjured up a very serious difficulty which is purely imaginary, in order to explain it by an intrinsically improbable hypothesis. But not content with this, he caps the climax with another assumption, for which there is not a shred of evidence or a shadow of plausibility. 'Is it conceivable', he asks, 'that the Hersfeld codex was composite, consisting of two portions, one written in the 10th and the other in the 13th century'? 'An affirmative answer would make the transmission of the *Dialogus*, under the name of Tacitus, a greater mystery than ever'. It certainly would, and it is not



'conceivable', why one should resort to such an explanation, so long as there isn't any mystery at all about the codex Hersfeldensis at present, even though we may never learn just how its various parts were so lamentably rent asunder and scattered. 'It would probably have to imply that a copyist in the 13th century added two folia to complete the text of a 10th century MS. of the Agricola and then went on to transcribe the Dialogus and the Suetonius from some unknown original'. Surely conjectural fancy can reach no higher flight than this and it is disconcerting to be brought down to terra firma again by being told 'It must suffice to state the conundrum without any further attempt to answer it'. Doubtless it would take a θαυμασιώτατος λυτικός to do so successfully.

I feel convinced that Dr. Peterson's labyrinthian structure is built on quicksands. If the closing page of the Dialogus must have been more closely written than the preceding two folios, in order to vindicate the quite unimpeachable testimony of Decembrio, there is nothing to prevent us from simply conceding this to have been actually the case. For it would be the most natural and sensible thing in the world, that a scribe, coming to the end of an entire treatise, should all but inevitably desire to include what was still left on the recto or verso of a folio. But to accomplish this, he would often be compelled to write more closely and even to add a few more lines if possible. If this process was adopted in the case of the Dialogus, all real and fancied difficulties vanish without creating new insoluble ones, such as postulating two different, non-contemporaneous scribes, with different styles of writing for a MS. of such relatively small bulk as the codex Hersfeldensis must have had.

Dr. Peterson styles Decembrio 'a careful observer' and he very justly says that the present tense in 'post hec deficient sex folia' points to personal observation. Under these circumstances it requires considerable courage to state, that in the determination of the great lacuna 'no certain result has as yet been reached' (p. 3), while convinced that 'it is easy to calculate, that the lacuna amounts to 4/15 of the whole treatise, or rather more than one-fourth' (p. 3). But the secret of Dr. Peterson's reluctance to accept this admittedly certain calculation is, that it is absolutely fatal to his cherished belief that c. 36-41 inclusive were spoken uno tenore by Maternus, even if we wholly disregard the internal reasons<sup>1</sup> which make this assumption impossible. For if

<sup>1</sup> These have been more fully set forth and strengthened in my new edition and I shall only state here that Dr. Peterson goes quite astray in citing 'ut subinde admoneo' as a proof that Maternus is the speaker throughout and thereby shows himself conscious of indulging in redundancies. Those words, on the contrary, if they prove anything, show how absurd it would be for Maternus, after reminding his hearers twice of the main theme at issue, to do so a third time in c. 40 (non de otiosa re, etc.). What obtuse and inattentive listeners he must have had!



there be anything incontrovertibly certain, it is, that Secundus took a prominent part in the debate—Tacitus tells us so himself twice (c. 1 cum singuli . . . causas adferrent and c. 16)—and that the lacuna contained a discussion of the historical development of Greek eloquence (c. 36 eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit). But if so, then in Dr. Peterson's view, these six folia must have comprised the close of Messalla's speech, the usual interloquium, an entire speech of Secundus, whose contents, by the way, would be extremely problematical, and finally that part of Maternus' closing speech which dealt with Greek orators. Even that mythical second scribe with his alleged 'finer and closer script' would have been sorely puzzled to crowd so much matter within the given compass.

There are other items in Principal Peterson's paper to which I must take exception, but as they have no bearing upon the questions dealt with in my article, their discussion may well be omitted here.

To conclude, however, with a pleasanter note, there is one point in which I find myself in full accord with my critic, as will be seen from my treatment of these questions in my Prolegomena. It is the observation, that the archetype was virtually free from all the less common compendia and that the MS. errors directly traceable to these were, therefore, due to abbreviations in the apographa and I only differ from Dr. Peterson in including not only X, but also Y and in disregarding an intervening independent archetype of the 13th century. The compendia in the 15th century copy of Guarnieri show, that we need not postulate a still earlier source to account for their prevalence.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

MUNICH.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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Aristotle's *Politics*; ed. by A. D. Lindsay. New York, *Dutton*. 18+264 pp. 12°. (Everyman's lib.) 35 c. net; 70 c. net.

Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. *De motu animalium* and *De incessu animalium* by A. S. L. Farquharson. New York, *Oxford University*. 78 pp. 8°. 70 c. net; completing Vol. V, \$4.15 net.

Aurelius (Marcus), *The Golden Book of*. Boston, *Caldwell*. 1912. Illustrated, \$1.

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## I.—NEVE AND NEQUE WITH THE IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.<sup>1</sup>

In previous numbers of the Journal<sup>2</sup> the earlier and the later use of these connectives, particularly in prohibitions, has been discussed. In this investigation the remaining uses of these two particles with the subjunctive have also been taken into consideration, and the usage of the intervening period examined, with the purpose of presenting a complete history of these connectives from the earliest times down to Apuleius. As these particles are particularly abundant in Cato's *Disticha*, this author was also included. For the usage of the earliest period I am indebted to Bennett's *Early Latin*, Vol. I, but the statements regarding the usage of the two following periods are based upon the writer's own collections, made from the latest Teubner texts and those in the Loeb Classical Series, so far as published. In the entire field examined one figure stands forth with prominence, Ovid, who is conspicuous above all others for the frequency with which he uses *neve* and *neque* and for the varied uses he makes of these connectives. Including both principal

<sup>1</sup> Schmalz, in 1907, in his *Antib. d. Lat. Spr.* II, p. 145, says: "Wünschenswert wäre eine Untersuchung über den Gebrauch von *neve* im Vergleich mit dem von *neque*," and Blase, in 1903, in *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* II, I, p. 198 f., had, in effect, expressed the same sentiment.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elmer, *A. J. P.* XV (1894), p. 299 f.; XXII (1901), p. 80 f.; Clement XXI (1900), p. 166 f.; XXII, p. 87 f. Cf. also Ashmore, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assn.* 32 (1901), p. 85 f., and for Livy's usage, Lease, *Class. Phil.* III (1908), p. 302 f., and for the subject in general, Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*<sup>4</sup> (1910), and Blase, *l. c.*



and subordinate clauses these particles were used by Ovid 370 times! Next to Ovid comes Cicero with 216 and Livy with 176, and next to these *sed longo intervallo* is Caesar and Tacitus, each with 51. It is a striking fact, but due, of course, to the character of the subject matter, that a writer of such scope as Plin. Mai. makes use of these connectives only 13 times, or as Varro (R. R., L. L.) only 7 times and Val. Max. only 6 times. It is to be noted, too, that in principal clauses some writers do not make use of them at all, as Varro (R. R., L. L.), Caesar, Nepos, Sen. Rhet., Vell., Val. Max., Gaius and Gellius, but it is in principal clauses that their use is most common in poetry, as Vergil, 28 princ., 6 sub.; Mart., 33-5; Sil., 17-3. In contrast to this stands the usage of Cicero with only 26 princ. to 200 sub. and Livy with 21-155.

Any discussion of the use of the connectives *neve* and *neque* properly takes as its starting point the fact that the regular negative with both the imperative and subjunctive is *ne*. When the need arose to add a negative clause with these moods, *et ne* would naturally suggest itself, with a possible *ac ne* or *—que ne*, depending upon the character of the connection. None of these connectives, however, became the form in common use, but logically they deserve attention by way of introduction to the discussion which follows, as well as for the reason that hitherto they have not received adequate treatment.

#### A. ET NE.

##### 1. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

a) *Imperative*: Catull. 62. 59 Et ne pugna; Verg. Aen. 10. 599, Val. Fl. 8. 436, Stat. Ach. 1. 534. Compare *Neve* p. 262 B. In Orat. Obliq., cf. Tac. Hist. 4. 14 for *et ne* and for *neve* or *neque* p. 267.

b) *Subjunctive*: Cato Agr. 113. 2 ne accedat et ne siveris, Ter. Eun. 77 et ne adflictes neque addas, Lucr. 1. 1103 *ne . . et ne . . neve*, Ovid Pont. 1. 2. 113, Val. Fl. 4. 37, Apul. Phil. 78. 12 (*Th.*). Note Ps. Quint. Decl. 88. 6 *et ne putassis*; 69. 7.

##### 2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

a) *Et ne . . . , indic.*, or jussive sub.: Ovid Ibis 245 Et ne diceret, dixit; Tr. 4. 6. 12; 235, Tac. Ann. 1. 60; 3. 67; 4. 6 *Et ne . . utque*; Just. 2. 4. 7; 29. 1. 7; Apul. Met. 256. 1 (*H.*), and after a question, Livy 40. 14. 5.



b) *et ne* (i. e. not after a period): Livy 1. 42. 1 munire et ne esset, iungit, and so 3. 53. 4; 8. 16. 5, Cic. Verr. 1. 24, Cels. 57. 37, Sen. N. Q. IV, *pr.* 20, Curt. 5. 12. 20, Plin. Mai. 17. 266, Quint. 11. 3. 176, Tac. Ann. 14. 3; 15. 9, Plin. Pan. 83. 4, Just. 2. 4. 13; 5. 8. 2; 8. 3. 13; 35. 1. 6, Apul. Met. 109. 15; in poetry Ovid Met. [7. 340]; 11. 695; 14. 186, A. A. 2. 393, Rem. Am. 465, Ibis 235; 245, Trist. 4. 6. 12. Cf. Cato Agr. 46. 1 et uti ne . . . , vertito.

c) *ut . . et ne*: Cato Agr. 32. 1 (cf. 1. 1 uti ne . . neve . . et ne) 137. 1, Sen. Suas. 1. 13, Suet. Aug. 35. 3 ut . . et ne . . neve. Cf. Cic. De Or. 1. 132 ut . . et ut ne, Flor. 2. 19. 5; quo . . et ne, Cic. Att. 13. 11. 1 ut et . . et ne.

d) *ne . . et ne*: Cato Agr. 32. 2; Cic. Verr. 1. 24, Off. 1. 89; 129; Sen. Dial. 4. 18. 1; Ben. 5. 22. 2; Quint. 8. 5. 7; Suet. Claud. 35. 2. Cf. Livy 43. 2. 12 ne . . neve . . et ne.

e) *et ne . . non*: Cic. Fam. 14. 18. 2 videte et ne . . non liceat.

#### B. —QUE NE.

Tib. 1. 6. 19 *neu* decipiat digitoque ne trahat et ducat, Val. Fl. 4. 125 *Nec* det —que ne crede; 2. 5 sinit ne . . . — que ne deserat; 7. 80 contremuit ne . . seque ne putes.

#### C. AC NE.<sup>1</sup>

##### 1. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

a) *Imperative*: to the two passages cited by the Thes. Ling. Lat. col. 1075 (Plaut. As. 462, Sil. 15. 160) add:

Sil. 17. 445 state *ac ne* prodite, Val. Fl. 4. 159 consulite *atque*<sup>2</sup> . . . *ne* temnite, and Stat. Theb. 15. 161 da *ac ne* sperne.

b) *Subjunctive*: Cic. Att. 2. 24. 1 *Ac ne* sis perturbatus, Plin. Mai. 17. 25 *tondeantur ac ne* radantur.

2. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. The most common variety, in anticipating an objection, is treated first.

a) *Ac ne* . . . indic. Cicero = 19 (Verr. 3. 108; 181, Balb. 44, Cluent. 107, Scaur. 7, Cat. 3. 10, Arch. 1. 2, Phil. 3. 24, Rep. 6. 12, De Or. 1. 8; 34; 2. 191; 235, Fam. 5. 7. 3; 12. 9; 7. 26. 2, Att. 1. 11. 1; 2. 18. 2; 8. 3. 7 (De Or. 1. 8. *Ac ne* . . concedat), Bell. Alex. 58. 1,

<sup>1</sup> The treatment of *ac ne* in the Thes. Ling. Lat. is far from being adequate.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the formula *atque ne* was not used, tho *atque non* was occasionally found. Cf. Lease, A. J. P. XXX (1909), p. 298, note 3.



Nepos = 2 (Att. 2. 3; 10. 4), Celsus 327. 23, Val. Max. = 4 (3. 2; 4. 3 ext. 1; 4. 5. 4; 5. 3 ext. 1), Curt. = 2 (3. 2. 15; 8. 9. 29), Petron. = 2 (27; 127), Plin. Mai. = 4 (10. 82; 14. 52; 20. 50; 28. 40), Quint. 4. 1. 69, Tac. = 10 (Hist. 1. 18; 38; 55; 3. 5, Ann. 4. 41; 6. 19; 11. 19; 33; 12. 60; 13. 18), Suet. = 7 (Aug. 84, Cal. 37. 3; 41. 1, Claud. 15. 4, Nero 23. 1; 24. 1; 38. 3 *ac ne non*), Just. = 2 (38. 2. 7; 4. 13), Apul. = 2 (Met. 291. 15, Phil. 20. 1). This usage is more common in prose (55) than in poetry (7). Its frequency in Cicero (19) and in Tac. (10) is to be noted. Poetry: Hor. C. 1. 18. 7, Ep. 1. 1. 13; 18. 58; 19. 26; 2. 1. 208, Lucan. 4. 141; 7. 797; i. e. only in two poets.

b) *ac ne* . . . indicative: (Lex Anton., of 71 B. C. (Schn. 309) *ac ne locentur, sancitum est*), Cic. Att. 6. 9. 1 (Ellipsis), Livy 30. 18. 3, Celsus 270. 19, Val. Max. = 3 (2. 1. 10; 2. 7. 7; 4. 1. 14); Curt. 5. 2. 2, Plin. Mai. = 7 (5. 55; 7. 164; 9. 32; 169; 13. 22; 18. 251; 291), Tac. = 5 (4. 2. 29; 319, Ann. 12. 5; 15. 64; 16. 7), Suet. = 4 (Iul. 41. 3, Aug. 38. 2; 40. 2, Nero 37. 2). In prose this usage is found 23 times; in poetry only 3 times (Verg. Ecl. 3. 4, Calp. Ecl. 3. 33, Stab. Theb. 6. 926); cf. also Verg. Geo. 3. 70 . . . imperative, and is most common in Plin. Mai. (7) and Tac. (5).

c) *ut* . . . *ac ne*: Val. Max. 9. 1 ext. 2, Quint. 1. 4. 16, Suet. Cal. 14. 1, Nero 17; 32. 2. Cf. Plaut. Amph. 126 *ut* . . . *atque ut ne*.

d) *ne* . . . *ac ne*: Cic. De Or. 1. 166 *recusaret ne caderet ac ne liberaretur*;<sup>1</sup> Livy 4. 7. 6 *ne qua* . . . *ac ne*, Tac. Ann. 15. 19 *ne* . . . *ac ne* . . . . . *quidem*.

e) *Inconcinnity*: Tac. Hist. 2. 34 *transitum simulantes ac ne terreret*; 3. 46 *victoriae ignarus ac ne ingrueret*; Suet. Iul. 88 *placuit nominari ac ne ageretur*.

#### D. ET NON, —QUE NON, AC NON.

Instead of *ne* with these moods one sometimes finds *non*.<sup>2</sup> (With an imperative *non* is exceedingly rare, being found, in

<sup>1</sup> Draeger H. S. II,<sup>2</sup> p. 696, and Schmalz Synt.<sup>4</sup>, p. 280, say that this usage begins in Silver Latin.

<sup>2</sup> For *non* with the subjunctive cf. Draeger H. S. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 312, Blase H. G. III, pp. 136, 155, 233, and Schmalz Synt.<sup>4</sup>, p. 478. To the lists in Blase for *utinam non* with the pres. add: Ovid Pont. 1. 2. 108, Mart. I Praef., Quint. 2. 5. 17; for plpf.: Ovid Pont. 1. 5. 28, Ps. Cic. ad Oct. 8; for impf.: Quint., 1. 2. 6.



fact, according to Schmalz Synt.<sup>4</sup>, p. 220, only three times (Cat. 66, 80, Ovid Ep. 16. 164, A. A. 3. 129). But at least three more are to be added: Ovid Pont. 1. 2. 105 *non* petito, Trist. 5. 5. 63 *non* parcite, and Cato Dist. 4. 6 *non* suggere. If, however, Cat. 66. 80, *non prius* tradite, cited also by Blase H. G. III, p. 245, but not by Draeger H. S. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 328, is to be regarded as a legitimate example, two others of like character are to be added: Sen. H. F. 585 and Calpurn. 5. 24. In these three passages, it is to be noted, *non* is closely connected with the adverb *prius* or *ante*). From the use of *non* would naturally develop the use of *et non* as a connective, independently of its use where *non* modifies a particular word.

Ovid Tr. 5. 17. 23 *utinam vivat et non moriatur*, and so Juv. 16. 27; Ovid Pont. 3. 1. 165 *utinam sint tuasque non aspiciant*; Apul. Flor. 24. 26 (*H.*) *utinam suppeteret ac non clauderet*. Cf. Apul. Met. 111. 11 *non parentibus ac nec ulli monstremus nec quicquam norimus*, and Livy 5. 5. 11 *ut nec . . . et non*.

#### E. NON . . . NEC.

To the three occurrences cited by Draeger H. S. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 312 (Sen. Ben. 7. 16. 4; 23. 2, and Claud. 14) add: Sen. Ep. 103. 5 *non abhorreat nec agat*; Thy. 185; Lucan. 7. 320; 8. 738, Quint. 2. 1. 5; 6. 1. 29; Juv. 11, 186; Sen. Dial. 9. 35, two pfs.; Pers. 1. 7, Mart. 5. 34. 9 pres. and pf. Cf. also Val. Fl. 5. 57 *non dividat ossaque nec tumulo nec separe contegat*; Juv. 6. 448 *non . . . nec . . . et non*; Tac. Dial. 13 *non . . . nec . . . nec . . . et nec . . . nec*, Plaut. Trin. 133 *non redderes neque quicquam neque emeris neque venderes nec faceres*. Note also Ovid A. A. 3. 129 *non onerate nec prodite*, and Hor. Ep. 1. 1. 30.

#### F. NEC . . . NEU, ETC.

The use of various connectives in the same sentence is also to be noted (Livy 5. 51. 1 has *ut nec . . . et non*), as Ovid. Fast. 4. 921 *parce—que aufer neve noce. Nec amplectere*; Juv. 14. 201 *pares nec subeant neu credas* (cf. pp. 264 and 273); Cato Agr. 1. 1 *uti ne . . . neve . . . et ne*; Lucr. 1. 1105 *ne . . . et ne . . . neve*; Livy 43. 2. 12 *ne . . . neve . . . et ne*. Compare also Ovid Tr. 4. 6. 12 *et ne sint*, cavet with Met. 7. 137 *neve valeant, canit*.



## G. UTQUE.

This connective deserves brief consideration. Tho not used by Cicero or Caesar (but in Bell. Hisp. 2. 2), it was frequently used by Ovid, as in Tr. 4. 1. 65, Her. 15. 119, etc. Compare *utque* venias, oro in Her. 5. 57 with *neu* deseret, oro in Met. 7. 850. Cf. also Tac. Hist. 3. 49. *Ut . . utque* is found in Verg. Aen. 2. 665, Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 39, Tib. 1. 7. 19, Ovid Tr. 5. 8. 37, Vell. 2. 16. 3, Suet. Claud. 12. 2; 22; *et ne . . utque* in Tac. Ann. 4. 6; *utque . . . nec* in Ovid Ibis 609.<sup>1</sup> But though *utque* and *nēque*, and *utve* and *nēve* were used, *nēque* was never developed, at least in poetry.

## I. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

## I. Imperative.

From the earliest times down to Apuleius (excluding inscriptions) *neve* and *neque* are used with the imperative 183 times. Of these, it is to be noted, 179 are found in poetry and only 4 in prose (*nec* is used once by Cicero, once by Sen. Phil., and Cato uses *neve* and *neque* each once after *ne*). This usage is most common in Class. Latin (133) and Silver Latin (43), but rare in Early Latin (7). The unusually large number in Class. Lat. is due to the presence of Ovid. In this writer this form of expression is found more often, 116 times, than in any other. In fact, the nearest approach to Ovid was made by Statius with 16 and Vergil with 14. This is, of course, due to the more personal and didactic character of Ovid's poetry.

## A. TWO IMPERATIVES = III.

This usage is more common in poetry (109) than in prose (2). In prose but one connective, *nec*, was used, and that by Cic. and Sen. Phil. In poetry, however, both particles were used, *neve* 24 times, *neu* 9, but *neque* 4 times, *nec* 72. The use of *neve* (*neu*) begins with Hor.<sup>2</sup> and next appears in Tib. (2), Ovid (17!), then in Sen. (4), Luc., Pers., Val. Fl. (2), Sil., Stat. (3), Cato; of *neque* (*nec*) with App. Claud., Plaut., Lucil.; Catull., Cic., Verg. (2), Hor. (2), Prop. (3), Ovid (48!); Sen. (3), Calp. (2),

<sup>1</sup> It may be here added that later Amm. Marc. uses *utque* 10 times: 17. 4. 7: 20. 4. 13: 8. 21; 9. 5; 11. 20: 28. 2. 5: 6. 7; 18: 30. 2. 11: 7. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The name alone means that the usage is found but once in that writer.



Val. Fl. (2), Stat. (7), Mart. (2). It is to be noted that of the 33 occurrences of *neve* (neu) Ovid alone furnishes over half (17), of the 76 occurrences of *neque* (nec) the same poet furnishes 48; that *neve* (neu) was not used in prose, and that in all, *neve* (neu) was used 33 times, *neque* (nec) 78. In regard to the form of the connective that was used, it may be stated that in the case of *neve* the longer form was preferred (24-9), but in the case of *neque* the shorter (74-4). This preference for *nec* is to be accounted for not only by metrical considerations, but also by the general tendency toward the use of the shorter form, of *nec* rather than *neque*, of *ac* rather than *atque*, etc.<sup>1</sup> For the pres. subj. cf. p. 275.

1) EARLY LATIN = 3 *neque* (nec), (*neve* (neu), found only in inscriptions): App. Claud. (p. 36, *B.*) obliscere nec aequae, Plaut. Poen. 1129 mirari noli neque contemplarier, Lucil. (581 *B.*) persta nec transi vel da.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN<sup>2</sup> = 77 (*neve* (neu) = 20, *neque* (nec) = 57).

a) *Neve* (neu) = 20 (neu = 4),<sup>3</sup> all in poetry: Hor. Ep. 1. 11. 23 sume neu differe, Tib. 1. 8. 49 utere. Neu torque; 3. 10. 11 veni: neu torque, and 17 times in Ovid (neu = 1, Pont. 4. 16. 48); Rem. 689 (—to). Her. 11. 126; 17. 112, Met. 4, 223; 491; 9, 563; 10. 546; 13. 748; 15. 777, Trist. 1. 2. 3; 1. 5. 37; 3. 1. 3; 3. 4. 76; 4. 4. 41, Pont. 1. 8. 1, Fast. 4. 922 (for Fast. 1. 288, see Part II, E, a). Note Her. 17. 112 desine *neve* nosce, sed sine *nec* habe.

b) *Neque* (nec) = 57 (nec = 54).

In prose this construction is found only once, Cic. Att. 12. 22. 3 habe nec existima (for Servius (Cic. Fam. 4. 5. 5) see crit. note). In poetry (*neque* = 3, *nec* = 53); Cat. 8. 10 noli nec sectare, nec vive; Verg. G. 3. 96; A. 3, 394 teneto, nec horresce; Hor. C. 2. 7. 19; 3. 7. 29 (*neque*), Prop. 3. 10. 16; 4. 7. 87; 11. 89 and 48 times<sup>3</sup> in Ovid; Am. 3. 2. 24; 3. 4. 44, Her. 3. 91; 138; 11. 60; 16. 11; 195; 17. 114, A. A. 1. 77; 394; 2; 211; 224; 313; 3. 131. 238. 486. 553. 756, Rem. 93, Met. 1. 462;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lease, Class. Phil. III (1908), p. 304 f., Class. Rev. XVI (1902), p. 313 f., A. J. P. XXVIII (1907), p. 39 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Draeger H. S. I,<sup>2</sup> p. 328, Schmalz Anm. 496 to Reisig Vorles., and Blase, H. S. III, p. 245. In these, however, the lists of occurrences are far from complete.

<sup>3</sup> Draeger, l. c., cites only 7 occurrences in Ovid.



2. 464; 3. 477; 5. 281; 8. 93; 433. 551; 9. 122. 792; 11. 669; 13. 839; 14. 376, Trist. 1. 1. 59; 1. 9. 65; 2. 181; 3. 3. 51; 5. 6. 46 (neque), Pont. 1. 9. 24; 2. 2. 7; 2. 2. 42; 2. 7. 83 (neque), 3. 1. 147, Fast. 2. 174; 675; 3. 497; 829; 4. 526; 5. 412; 6. 380.

Note the use of the fut. and pres. imperative side by side: Ovid A. A. 3. 238 caveto nec resolve; Met. 1. 462 esto nec assere. Cf. Rem. 689 crede neve caveto, and Am. 1. 8. 85 faciant nec timeto.

3. SILVER LATIN = 31 (neve = 8, neu = 5, neque = 0, nec = 18). In the prose of this period this construction was found but once, with *nec* (Sen. Ep. 59. 1).

a) *Neve* (neu) = 13 (neu 5): Sen. H. F. 655, Phaed. 131, Oct. 254, 271, Lucan 2, 39, Pers. 6. 66 (neu), Val. Fl. 6. 539 (neu), 7. 225, Sil. 12. 329 (neu), Stat. Ach. 1. 357, Theb. 8. 94; 328 (neu), Cato Dist. 1. 2 (neu).

b) *Neque* (nec) = 18 (neque = 0): in prose, Sen. Ep. 59. 1; in poetry: Sen. Troad. 710, Med. 605, Calpurn. 7. 19; 57, Val. Fl. 1. 525; 4. 251, Sil. 17, 29; 15. 191, Stat. Silv. 2. 2. 141; 4. 1. 29, Ach. 1. 941, Theb. 2. 118; 4. 4. 80; 6. 174; 12. 816, Mart. 4. 14. 11; 7. 93. 7.

#### B. AFTER A PERIOD = 26.

The use of *neve* or *neque* with an imperative to begin a new sentence belongs exclusively to poetry. It is to be noted that *neve* and *neu* were each used twice in this way, but that *neque* was not used at all, and *nec* 22 times. *Neve* begins with Plautus, and is later used by Ovid (2), and Dorcatius; *neque*, with Verg. (1), Tib. (2), Ovid (15!), and is later found in Lucan, Val. Fl., Sil., and Mart.

1) EARLY LATIN = 1 (neu).

Plaut. Merc. 1021 Neu quisquam prohibeto.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 21 (neve = 2, neu = 1, neque = 0, nec 18).

a) *Neve* (neu) = 3 (neu = 1): Ovid Met. 11. 136, Tr. 4. 4. 41, and *Neu*: Dorcatius, p. 357 (B.). Cf. Verg. A. 8. 40 neu terrere, after a semicolon, and *Et ne*, p. 256.

b) *Neque* (nec) = 18 (only nec): Verg. A. 3. 394, Tib. 1. 4. 21; 1. 8. 27, and 15 in Ovid: Am. 1. 11. 19 (—to), Her. 5. 87; 99; 16. 31; 339; 17. 171, Med. Fac. 69, A. A. 1. 631; 2. 215; 533; 3. 783; 807, Pont. 3. 1. 89, Fast. 6. 291; 923; and two after



a colon, Her. 17. 129, Met. 13. 623, one after a question, Verg. G. 2. 96. Cf. p. 271, l. 3.

3) SILVER LATIN = 4 (only *nec*): Val. Fl. 4. 477; 5. 502, Sil. 3. 146, Mart. 3. 2. 12. After a semicolon, Val. Fl. 4. 603, Stat. Silv. 1. 4. 34, Theb. 9. 659; after a question, Lucan 9. 1081, and in a parenthesis, Stat. Theb. 3. 714.

#### C. AFTER A SUBJUNCTIVE = 5.

This construction (e. g. *sim nec puta*) is only found in Ovid: Am. 1. 8. 85 (—to), Her. 3. 91, A. A. 1. 440; 3. 272, Met. 10. 302.

#### D. AFTER AN INDICATIVE = 1.

Stat. Theb. 12. 594 *adsum nec crede*. Cf. p. 272.

#### E. NEVE . . NEVE AND NEQUE . . . NEQUE.

*Neve . . neve* was not so common (4) as *neque . . neque* (11). Neither combination is found in prose. The former was used by Verg. (2), Tib., and Sil., the latter by Ovid (9), Tib., Hor. and Mart. (*Nec ter* and *nec sept.* are found in Ovid).

1) EARLY LATIN = 0.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 14.

a) *Neve—neve* = 3: Verg. G. 4. 47 *neu sine neve ure neu crede*; 2. 299 *Neve vergant neve sere neve pete neu laede neve insere*; Tib. 1. 2. 35 *neu tenete neu quaerite neu ferte*.

b) *Neque . . . neque* = 11.

1) *With two imperatives* = 7 (*neque* = 2): Ovid Am. 1. 13. 21 *nec consulto nec diserto*; Her. 13, 204, A. A. 2. 595, Met. 2. 135, Rem. 693, A. A. 3. 475 *neque . . nec*, Hor. C. 1. 9. 15 *nec . . neque*.

2) *With imper. and subj.* = 4; Tib. 1. 1. 38 (*neu . . nec*, Postgate), Ovid A. A. 1. 75, Am. 1. 8. 63 (note 2. 2. 25 *nec quaesiveris nec time*), Met. 8. 433. (*Nec . . nec . . nec*; Ovid Am. 1. 4. 43 (3 imps.), 15. 475 (4 imps.), Am. 1. 4. 35, Rem. 587, Rem. 219 (*nec sept.*)).

3) SILVER LATIN = 2.

*Neu . . neu*: Sil. 2. 700; *nec . . nec*: Mart. 13. 110 (cf. 5. 8. 47, text). Cf. Livy 38. 38. 8, an early treaty).

#### F. NE . . NEVE AND NE . . NEQUE.

In prose, *ne . . neve* and *ne . . neque* are each used but once, and by one author, Cato. In poetry *ne . . neve* is used 12 times,



by Plaut., Verg. (7), Ovid, Sen. (2), Stat., but *ne . . nec* 3 times, Ovid (2), Stat.

1) EARLY LATIN = 3.

a) *Ne . . neve* (neu) = 2; Cato Agr. 144. 1 (—to). Plaut. Stich. 20 *ne lacruma neu fac*.

b) *Ne . . neque* = 1: Cato Agr. 145 *oleum ne tangito utendi causa neque furandi causa*.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 10, all in poetry.

a) *Ne . . neve* (neu) = 8 (with 2 vbs., exc. Verg. Aen. 12. 72): Verg. A. 2. 607; 6. 833; 7. 97; 202 (*neve*), 9. 114 (*neve*), 12. 72 (*neve*), 566 *ne qua esto neu quis ito*; Ovid Met. 10. 352 (*neve*).

b) *ne . . nec* = 2: Ovid Met. 3. 116; 7. 507.

SILVER LATIN = 4, all in poetry.

a) *ne . . neve* (neu) = 3 (neu = 0): Sen. Phoen. 556, Thy. 94, Stat. Theb. 5. 670. (This construction is found 8 times in two official documents in Livy 38. 11 and 38. 38.)

b) *ne . . nec* = 1: Stat. Silv. 5. 1. 180 *ne concute nec crucia*.

G. *NE . . NEVE . . NEVE* = 0, AND *NE . . NEC . . NEC* = 1.

Ovid Am. 1. 76. 3 *ne dubita nec oculis nec capillis parce*. (Cf. Cic. Verr. 1. 143 *ne admittito neve dato neve redimito*, and Leg. 3. 11, both in laws. Cf. also C. I. L., XI, 4766 *nequis violatod neque evehito neque exferito*.)

H. *NEC* AND *NEVE* (NEU) = 3, IN POETRY.

Ovid A. A. 2. 334 *sit modus! Neve prohibe nec porrige*; A. A. 3. 755 *carpe nec perungue neve praesume*; and Sil. 2. 700 *audite neu rumpite nec postferte*. Cf. Apul. Met. 8. 8 (p. 183. 14). Compare their use with the subjunctive, p. 273, and see E, *supra*, 2. b, 2 on Tib. 1. 1. 38.

I. *ET NE*, *AC NE*, ETC.

*Et ne* was used by Verg., Val. Fl. and Stat. once each; *ac ne* 5 times: Plaut., Sil. (2), Val. Fl., Stat.; —*que ne* once: Val. Fl. 4. 125. Cf. pp. 256 f.

#### SUMMARY: THE IMPERATIVE.

A tabular form of presentation has been adopted for the purpose of showing with clearness the exact usage of each period, the kind of connective that was selected, and the extent of its



use (a doubled negative and the use of both *nec* and *neu* in the same sentence were excluded).

A) POSITIVE.

Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	neve	neu	neque	nec	neve	neu	neque	nec	
Early Latin.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	4
Classical Latin.....	0	0	0	1	18	5	3	79	106
Silver Latin.....	0	0	0	1	8	5	0	22	36
Total.....	0	0	0	2	26	11	4	103	146

B) AFTER NE.

Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	neve	neu	neque	nec	neve	neu	neque	nec	
Early Latin.....	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
Classical Latin.....	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	2	10
Silver Latin.....	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	4
Total.....	1	0	1	0	7	5	0	3	17

NOTES.

- a) *Positive*:
- 1) This usage is more common in poetry (144) than in prose (2).
- 2) *Neque* (nec) was used more often than *neve* (neu) in every period. In early Latin the difference is only slight, 3-1, but in Classical Latin it becomes more marked, 83-23, and in the Silver Age it is 23-13.
- 3) In prose, *neve* (neu) was not used at all, *nec* only once by Cicero and once by Seneca, one the stylist of the Classical period, the other the stylist of the Silver Age.
- 4) In poetry, both connectives were used, but with this difference: with *neve* the longer form was preferred (26-11), but with *neque*, the shorter (103-4). In fact, in the Silver Age, *nec* alone was used, in both prose and poetry. Cf. under pres. subj. p. 275.
- 5) Certain forms of expression were only found in poetry: the use of *neve* (neu) and of *neque* (nec) after a period, or after an indic. or subj., or with the particle repeated, and the use of *nec* . . *neu*. Cf. p. 262 f.



As in poetry *neque* (nec) was used 107 times to *neve* (neu) only 37 times, the question arises, what part did metrical considerations play in the selection of the particle? Are we to look to the metre as an explanation for the fact that the classical poets used *neque* (nec) almost three times as often as *neve* (neu) to connect two imperatives (57-20)? In seeking for an answer to this question the following facts are to be considered. In the three passages where *neque* was used (Ovid Tr. 5. 6. 46, Pont. 2. 7. 84; Hor. C. 3. 7. 29) it was used before a vowel, a condition of affairs permitting the use of *nec*.<sup>1</sup> had that form been desired, but precluding the use of *nēve* or *neu*, as *neu* was avoided before a vowel (cf. Lease, Class. Phil. III, p. 306). Metrical convenience, therefore, may have decided the use of *neque* (or *nec*) in these three passages. With *nec*, however, the particle in most general use, the situation is different. In all the uses of the imperative *nec* was used 73 times before a consonant (in Ovid 63, Verg. 4, Hor. 1, Prop. 3, Tib. 2), and hence there was nothing in the metre to prevent the use of *neu*, had the poet desired to use that connective, but in the 6 passages where *nec* was used before a vowel (Ovid Her. 11. 60, A. A. 1. 440; 3. 756, Tr. 1. 9. 65, Pont. 1. 9. 24, Fast. 4. 5. 26) *neque* could, of course, be used, but neither *nēve* nor *neu*. It is evident from the above that metrical considerations *may* have had some influence in determining the particular connective used, when before a vowel, i. e. only 9 times out of a total 82, and not in the vast majority of cases. A similar conclusion was reached regarding the preference for *neque* (nec) with a pres. or perf. subj. Note the use of *neque* before a cons., Hor. S., 1. 10. 73, before a vowel, Ovid A. A. 2. 226; 3. 468, Tr. 3. 4. 77, but, on the contrary, before a cons., with a permissible *neu*, 92 times. Cf. Part II. Hence, with the imperative and subj. pres. and perf., the metre could have influenced the use of *neque* (nec) only in 11 cases at the most, but in 168 the poet used this connective from preference.

Though the facts of literary usage are so overwhelmingly in favor of the use of *neque* (nec), it is to be noted that in official

<sup>1</sup>Both Ovid and Horace, as also the rest of the Augustan poets, occasionally use *nec* before a vowel. Vergil, in his Eclogues, uses *nec* thus but once (6. 2), in his Georg., once (*h*, G. 4. 216). Horace, only 3 times (C. 2. 9. 4; 15; *h*, Sat. 1. 9. 31). Catullus shows only two examples, 43. 3 and before *h*, 10. 21, but Ovid and Tibullus use it more freely.



documents, as laws, decrees of the senate, etc., there is a decided preference for the use of *neve* (neu). In the *C. I. L.*, Vol. I, in the *Sen. Cons.* of 59-44 B. C. (Kübler, *Caes.* III, 2), in the laws to 11 B. C., quoted by Bruns, *Fontes Iur. Rom.*<sup>1</sup>, the only connective used with the imper. and subj. was *neve*, and that too, in both positive and negative sentences. So also for the most part in the laws quoted by Cicero (*Verr.* I. 143, *De Leg.*). But, though in the legal style the prevailing particle was *neve*, *neque* was sometimes used, as in *Cic. Leg.* 3. 6; 11; and 2. 19. Cf. also the formula for the *Ver Sacrum*, *Livy* 22. 105, and in treaties before 188 B. C., quoted by *Livy* 38. 11 and 38. Cf. further Bennett, *Early Lat.* I, pp. 173, 364.

The use of the imperative in *Oratio Obliqua* is also entitled to consideration.

*Neve* (neu) was thus used by *Caes.* B. C. 3. 16. 5, the author of *Bell. Alex.* 34. 2, by *Curt.* 3. 8. 2, *Tac. Ann.* 1. 44; 2. 72; 2. 83; 16. 10, *Hist.* 2. 48 (bis), *Frontin.* 47. 42; but *neque* (nec) by *Nepos Them.* 6. 5, *Livy* 21. 22, 6; 9, *Curt.* 5. 13. 5. Note also the use in *parataxis*: *Caes.* 5. 58. 4 *neu*, *Sall. Cat.* 33. 5; 58. 21, *Or. Ph.* 16, *Tac. Ann.* 15. 63, *Frontin.* 4. 7. 42, all with *neve*; but *neque* (nec) in *Cic. N. D.* 3. 12, *Livy* 44. 36. 11; 30. 37. 3; *Tac. Ann.* 6. 12, *Verg. A.* 11. 444, *Prop.* 1. 4. 28; with both *nec* and *neu*, *Livy* 25. 9. 4.

b) After *ne*: excluding the only two passages in prose, one with *neque*, one with *neve*, in Cato, the usage of the poets is decisive for the use of *neve* (neu) after *ne* (12-3).

#### CONCLUSION.

The use of *nēque* and *nēve* is to be accounted for by the fact that there were two particles serving as their base, *nē* and *nē̄*. As *nē* is the original negative,<sup>1</sup> it follows that *nēque*, and not *nēve*, was the original connective. The fact that in *I. E.* *nē* was used with the subj. and opt., that in Oscan *nep* (i. e. *neque*) was used in prohibitions (cf. Buck, *Gram. Osc. and Umbr.* 313 and *A. J. P.* XXII, p. 91), also points to the primitive use of *neque* in Early Latin. In the literature of this period only *neque* (nec) is used to connect two imperatives, and with the pres. subj. it is used about four times as often as *neve* (neu), and is almost exclusively used with the perf. subj. (Part II); cf. p. 275

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gram.* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 817 and Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*,<sup>4</sup> p. 203



note 4. At the time, however, that *nē* began to be regarded as the appropriate negative with the imperative, the feeling could easily arise that the logical continuative with that mood would be *et ne* (cf. p. 256), or a compound of *nē* of similar force. As *nēve* was the only compound to hand, it was pressed into service, though strictly a disjunctive, and not a conjunctive, particle. The intruder, however, was not accorded a general welcome. It would seem, judging by popular usage, that the need was generally felt for a purely conjunctive particle. As *neque* met this requirement, it was retained and found general acceptance, while *neve* was restricted to the legal and more formal style. It is significant that in prose the imperative is only connected by *nec*, that with the pres. subj. *neve* was not used until the Silver Age and then only twice, but *neque* (*nec*) was used 44 times (cf. p. 275, n. 3), and with the perf. subj. *neque* (*nec*) was used in prose 24 times, but *neve* (*neu*) not at all. For the preference for *neque* after *ut*, except in the Early Latin, cf. Part II. To the above considerations is to be added the evidence of the Romance languages, from which *neve* has disappeared without leaving a trace.

## II. SUBJUNCTIVE.

The present subjunctive with *neve* or *neque* is found in the first three periods of Latin literature in 378 passages. Of these 29 occur in Early Latin, 202 in Classical Latin, and 147 in Silver Latin; in prose 70.

### A. PRESENT.

#### a) TWO PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVES = 122.

This usage belongs chiefly to poetry, where 100 such passages are found, to 21 in prose (0-7-14). *Neve* appears first in prose in Plin. Mai., and was used but once. *Neque*, on the other hand, was used 21 times, Cic. (7), Livy, Sen. (5), Quint. (2), Q. Decl., Tac. (2), Plin. Min. (3). In poetry, both *neve* and *neque* appear in the earliest period: *neve* in Plaut., then in Verg. (2), Hor. (4) Ovid (6), Tib. (2), Calp., Val. Fl., Sil. 3; *neque* in Naev., Plaut. (3), Catull. (2), Verg. (3), Hor. (3), Tib. (4), Prop. (4), Ovid (27!), Sen. (6), Luc. (2), Val. Fl. (5), Sil. (4), Stat. (5), Mart. (9), Juv., Cato *Dist.*

Summary: in prose: *neve* = 1, *neu* = 0, *neque* 2, *nec* = 19; in poetry: *neve* = 10, *neu* = 10, *neque* = 4, *nec* = 76.



## 1) EARLY LATIN = 5 (all in poetry).

*Neu* = 1 (Plaut. Poen. 29), *neque* (nec) = 4 (Naev. Com. Fgt. 112 (nec), Plaut. Asin. 775, 784, Vid. 51 (nec)).

## 2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 64 (prose = 7).

a) *Neve* (neu) = 14 (neu = 7), prose = 0. Verg. A. 7. 265; 8. 582 (cf. 9. 216 ferat. Neu sim), Hor. C. 1. 2. 41; 51, Sat. 2. 5. 24, Ep. 1, 18. 110, Ovid Her. 1. 80; 18. 67, Met. 6. 40; 7. 520; 15. 426, Pont. 4. 88, Tib. 1. 2. 10 (cf. 1. 4. 41 cedas. Neu neges), Lygd. 3. 6. 10.

b) *Neque* (nec) = 50 (nec = 46), prose = 7. Prose: Cic. Rep. 1. 3, Sest. 143, *neque*; *nec*: Lael. 21, Off. 1. 92; 1. 134, Planc. 15, Cael. 14. Poetry: Cat. 11. 21; 68. 49, Verg. E. 8. 89, A. 4. 618; 11. 354, Hor. C. 2. 11. 4, Sat. 1. 10. 73 (*neque*), 2. 1. 44 *ut* pereat *nec* noceat, Tib. 1. 1. 9; 1. 7. 57; 1. 9. 59, 3. 4. 1, Prop. 1. 1. 36 (*neque*), 2. 18. 36; 3. 20. 29; 4. 5. 3, and in Ovid 27 times (all *nec*): Am. 1. 6. 26, Her. 6. 157; 19. 68, A. A. 1. 146, 463; 2. 325; 3. 319, Met. 6. 4, Tr. 1. 1. 11; 3. 4. 77; 4. 5. 34; 5. 3. 40, Ibis 117, 255, 261, 283, 358, 561, 609 *utque* . . *nec*, 620, 629, Pont. 3. 7. 11, Fast. 1. 688, 692; 4. 757; 5. 688, 692; 4. 757; 5. 688 (*et* . . *nec*; cf. 1. 691). For the use of *nec* in parataxis cf. p. 267.

## 3) SILVER LATIN = 53 (prose = 15).

a) *neve* (neu) = 6 (neu = 3), prose = 1. Plin. Mai. 19. 59 sit *neve* adimat; poetry: Calp. 4. 88 (neu), Val. Fl. 5. 240<sup>1</sup> (*Kr.*, neu), Sil. 2. 20 (neu), 15. 511; 17. 367 oro: patiare *neve* sinas. Cf. Tac. Hist. 3. 25 *precabatur manes neve se aversarentur*.

b) *neque* (nec) = 47. Only *nec* is used. Prose = 14: Livy 44. 36. 11 (21. 41. 6 = *nec* solum), Sen. Dial. 6. 6. 3; 8. 5. 7 (*licet*), Ep. 15. 8; 17. 9; 99. 16 nihil . . *nec* (1. Pl.), Quint. 1. 4. 12; 8. 3. 6; Decl. 149. 6, Tac. Dial. 22, Ann. 3. 12 nemo . . *nec*, Plin. Min. 4. 16. 3; 6. 22. 7, Pan. 38. 3 (2. 2. 3 *nec di sinant* is to be regarded as a potential). Poetry = 33: Sen. H. F. 1080, H. O. 1328, Thy. 29; 31, Oed. 676, [Oct. 276 *utinam*], Luc. 2. 343; 5. 576, Val. Fl. 1, 799; 5. 648; 678; 7. 482; 8. 395; Sil. 2. 301; 9. 348; 475; 16. 260, Stat. Silv. 1. 106; 5. 2. 88, Theb. 3. 373; 11. 623; 704, Mart. Sp. 11. 4; 1. pr.; 1. 35. 14; 7. 72. 11; 9. 42. 4; 58. 4; 10. 33. 7; 78. 15; 12. 14. 2, Juv. 12. 130, Cato Dist. 30. Note: Val. Fl. 7. 182 *deveniat. Nec subeat metus aut ne* time; Mart. 13. 126 *unguentum numquam nec vina relinquo*.

<sup>1</sup> Langen Val. Flacc., 5. 240 reads *ne*.



## b) AFTER A PERIOD = 80 (prose = 17).

After a period *neve* was used only by Ovid<sup>1</sup> (*neve* = 12, *neu* = 2), *neque* only by Plaut., Enn. and Cic.; in all *neque* = 3, *nec* = 63. This usage is found chiefly in poetry, 63 times (*neque* = 2, *nec* 47 (0-28-19) and in Ovid, *neve* = 12, *neu* = 2), with only 17 in prose, *neque* 1, *nec* (0-2-14). In prose *nec* begins with Cic. (2), and is later found in Sen. (2), Quint. (6), Tac. (3), Apul. (3). In poetry, *neque* was only used twice, in Early Latin (Plaut., Enn.), *nec* being used thereafter (47); Verg., Prop. (2), Tib. (3), Ovid (22), Sen. (2), Pers., Lucan, Val. Fl. (2), Sil., Stat., Mart. (7), Juv. (4). Compare the use of *Ac ne* and *Et ne*, p. 256 f.

1) EARLY LATIN = 2 (*neque*).

Plaut. 605 *Neque creduis*; Enn. Trag. Frg. 363 *Neque extollas*.

## 2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 44 (prose = 3).

a) *Neve* (*neu*) = 14 (*neu* = 2), found only in Ovid: 1st. Pers.: Met. 7. 520; 13. 306; (after a semicolon, Her. 18. 67, *neu*); 2d Pers.: Met. 14. 32 (*neu*), 131 (*neu*), 464, Trist. 2. 421; 5. 8. 21, Ibis 481. 485, Pont. 2. 9. 73; 3d Pers. Met. 11. 430; 14. 16, Ibis 93. 361 (cf. Verg. G. 2. 299).

b) *Neque* (*nec*) = 30. All *nec* except one. Prose = 3. Prose: Cic. De Or. 3. 191 *Neque conturbet Rep.* 4. 6 *Nec praeponatur*, Off. 1. 2 *Nec velim*; poetry = 27: Verg. E. 2. 34, Tib. 1. 6. 75; 3. 12. 11, Lygd. 3. 6. 45, Prop. 1. 9. 25; 4. 6. 47 (in parenthesis: Verg. E. 9. 6; 10. 46), and in Ovid 21 times: Am. 1. 11. 26, Her. 6. 157; 16. 83, A. A. 1. 135; 2. 121; 333, Rem. 243. 352 (in parenthesis), Ibis 255. 261. 275. 297, 303. 349. 493. 561. 629 (9 in Ibis alone!), Pont. 1. 8. 59, Fast. 4. 63; 100; 151. Note Ovid Her. 16. 83 risit "*nec te tangant*" and Cic. De Or. 3. 48 *Praetereamus . . . . . Neque commoremur*.

3) SILVER LATIN = 34. Only *nec* is used. Prose = 14. Prose: Sen. Dial. 9. 10. 5, Ep. 116. 6 (both 3d Pers.), Quint. 2. 17. 10; 3. 6. 101; 4. 2. 34; 8. 4. 12; 10. 7. 18; 11. 1. 13 (all 3d Pers., exc. the last, and all = *nec quisquam* exc. the first and last), Tac. Dial. 32. 1, Hist. 1. 84; 2. 47, Apul. Met. 54. 8 *nec putetis*, and 69. 23; 142. 20 *nec putes* (cf. *nec . . neu*, p. 273). Poetry (20): Sen. Thy. 677, H. O. 848 (3. Per.), Pers. 5. 157 (2. Per.). Luc. 10. 375 (3. P.). Cf. also 7. 320, cited on p. 259. Val. Fl. 4. 124; 7. 182 (3. P.), Sil. 6. 484, Stat. Silv. 1. 1. 17, Mart. Sp. 5. 3; 1. 70. 7; 4. 20. 2 (*bis*), 9. 26. 7; 10. 5.

<sup>1</sup> In Hor. Ep. 1. 13. 16 the text has been changed.



13; 1. 117. 13 *pete*. *Nec roges*; Juv. 12. 93 and possibly 3. 302; 8. 188; 9. 99. (After a semicolon: Tac. Ann. 3. 50, Sen. H. O. 759, Stat. Theb. 11. 711; after a question, Sen. N. Q. 7. 30. 2 *nec miremur*.) Cf. p. 263, l. 2.

Note: *neque enim* *sinant*, Tac. Ann. 1. 43 and compare the use of this combination with a perf. subj., Part II.

c) AFTER AN IMPERATIVE = 63 (prose = 6, Apul.).

In this usage *neque* was not used at all, *nec* on the contrary is found 47 times. In prose, only *nec* was used (6), but in poetry *neve* 8 times (0-7-1), *neu* 8 (0-6-2), and *nec* 41 times (1-29-11). In prose this construction was only used by Apul. (6), in poetry, *neve* (*neu*) appears first in Cicero, then in Verg. (2), Ovid (7), Tib. (3), Sen., Stat., Cato, *nec* first in Plaut., then Verg., Hor., Tib. (3), Prop. (2), Ovid (22!), Sen., Pers. (2), Luc., Calp. (2), Val. Fl., Stat. (4).

1) EARLY LATIN = 1 (*nec*), poetry. Plaut. Amph. 985 *discedite: nec quisquam fuat*. (cf. Truc. 787, text).

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 42, poetry.

a) *Neve* (*neu*) = 13 (*neu* = 6). Cic. Frg. 30. 20 (B.) *usurpa neu superet*, Verg. G. 2. 37 (*neu*), A. 9. 233, Ovid A. A. 1. 489, Met. 10. 546; 13. 472; 14. 32 (*neu*), Pont. 3. 3. 85; 3. 7. 30, Trist. 1. 288, Tib. 1. 2. 3 (*neu*), 3. 12. 7 (*neu*), 1. 10. 17 *servate. Neu pudeat*.

b) *Nec* = 29 (*neque* not used). Verg. A. 12. 801, Hor. C. 3. 29. 6, Tib. 1. 4. 62; 9. 23; 3. 9. 3, Prop. 4. 5. 41; 11. 94, and in Ovid 22 times: Am. 3. 14, 16 (—to), A. A. 1. 146; 584; 2. 226; 323; 3. 468; 665, Her. 15. 55, Rem. 321. 513, Met. 8. 792; 9. 698; 14. 23; 15. 175, Trist. 1. 1. 50, Pont. 2. 3. 11; 2. 6. 14; 3. 7. 11, Fast. 1. 680; 2. 506; 4. 755; 6. 778. Note Fast. 4. 755 *da. Nec obsit. Nec noceat*.

3) SILVER LATIN = 20 (prose = 6).

a) *Neve* (*neu*) = 3 (*neu* = 2), all in poetry. Sen. Troad. 553, *libera, Neve putes*, Stat. Theb. 3. 718 *solare neu sint*, Cato Dist. 1. 12 *fuge neu studeas*.

b) *Nec* = 17 (*neque* = 0), prose = 6 (Apul.). Apul. Met. 62. 3; 96. 6 (—to); 100. 23; 113. 10; 123. 5; 270, 18; poetry (11): Sen. H. O. 848, Pers. 3. 73; 6. 76, Luc. 4. 165, Calp. 4. 80; 5. 63, Val. Fl. 8. 103, Stat. Ach. 1. 75, Silv. 2. 2. 97; 3. 1. 110; 7. 94 *da nec . . nec . . nec*.



## d) AFTER AN INDICATIVE = 6 (prose = 1, Apul.).

This usage begins in Ter., with *neque*, and was later used by Ovid (twice with *neve* (neu), once with *nec*), appearing again in Mart. with *nec*, and found only once in prose, Apul., with *neve*. Ter. Eun. 1080 stertit: neque metuas; Ovid Her. 16. 361 vici neve putes; 18. 67 deast; neu referam; Tr. 5. 2. 65 veni nec cruciet; Mart. 1. 54. 4 locum rogamus nec recuses, Apul. Phil. p. 13. 6 idoneum non est neve iuretur. Cf. p. 263.

e) NEVE (neu) . . . NEVE (neu) = 8, NEQUE (nec) . . .  
NEQUE (nec) = 52.

In these combinations *neve* is used 10 times (5 in prose), *neu* 6 times (1 in prose), *neque* is used 22 times (8 in prose), *nec* 84 times (23 in prose).

*Neve* (neu) . . . *neve* (neu) begins in prose in Cato, and is later used by Sall. and Sen.; in poetry with Ovid (2), Hor. (2), and Tib. *Neque* (nec) . . . *neque* (nec) is used by Cic., Livy, Sen. (5), Quint. (4), Tac., Apul. (3), and by Plaut. (6), Verg. (3), Hor., Tib., Prop. (2), Ovid (17!), Mart. (4), Luc. (2).

EARLY LATIN = 7 (prose = 1).

a) *neve* . . *neve* = 1 (Cato Agr. 143. 1).

b) In Plautus = 6; *neque* . . *neque* = 4 (Ba. 847, Men. 221, Ps. 272, two verbs, Asin. 854 one vb.). *neque* . . *nec* = 1 (Ba. 476), and *nec* . . *nec* = 1 (Poen. 859).

b) CLASSICAL LATIN = 31 (neve = 6; neu = 6, neque = 4, nec = 47), prose = 1.

a) *Neve* (neu) . . *neve* (neu) = 6. Sall. Cat. 51. 43 censeo: neu quis referat neve agat; Ovid Met. 2. 138; Fast. 4. 765 valeant. Neve redigam neve gemam, Hor. Sat. 2. 5. 89 adito neu desis neve abundes, A. P. 191 Neve . . neu . . *nec* . . *nec*, Tib. 2. 1. 19 pellite neu eludar neu timeat. Cf. 1. 6. 17 neu . . neve . . neu . . caveto.

b) *Neque* (nec) . . . *neque* (nec) = 25 (neque = 2), all in poetry except one (Cic.).

(1) *Imper.* and *Subj.* = 3; Ovid Am. 1. 8. 65, Rem. 680, A. A. 2. 725 (neque . . *nec*. Cf. Met. 8. 433 pone age nec intercipe nec decipiat; Fast. 4. 759 placa. Nec dryadas nec labra nec Faunum videamus; Trist. 1. 1. 5. habe. Nec(*quater*).

(2) *With two subjs.* = 13 (neque = 1): Verg. G. 1. 37, Hor. Ep. 10. 8 (cf. A. P. 191), Tib. 1. 4. 47, Prop. 4. 5. 48, and 9 in Ovid: A. A. 1. 495, 505, 516, 521; 3. 795, Rem. 517, 639, Ibis 117, A. A. 2. 507 (neque . . *nec*). Cf. Pont. 1. 2. 109 subeam nec pre-



mantur nec pulset; Fast. 1. 689 *et neque . . neque*, also Ibis 109, 114, A. A. 3. 443. (3) *With one subj.* = 7: Cic. Or. 196, Ovid Am. 3. 14. 21 nec posuisse nec sustinuisse sit, 3. 14. 24, Med. 73, A. A. 1. 621; 2. 231, Prop. 2. 18. 33. (4) *With indic. and subj.* = 2: (already found in Ter.; cf. d, *supra*) Verg. E. 10. 17 nec paenitet nec paeniteat, G. 1. 36 nec sperant nec veniat. Note also nec . . nec . . nec . . nec in Prop. 2. 13. 19.

3) SILVER LATIN = 22 (neve = 2, neque = 8, nec = 37).

a) *neve . . neve* = 1. Sen. Ep. 7. 8 neve similis fias neve inimicus.<sup>1</sup>

b) *neque (nec) . . neque (nec)* = 21 (poetry = 6). Prose, *nec . . nec* = 5 (Sen. Ep. 40. 3, Quint. 2. 2. 5; 8. 2. 14, Tac. Dial. 13 (1. P.), Apul. Met. 146, 6 (2. P.); *nec . . nec . . nec* = 1 (Quint. 1. 11. 2); *neque . . neque* = 2 (Livy 22. 39. 22, Quint. 8. 2. 22); *neque . . nec* = 2 (Apul. 106. 20; 137. 8), but with one main verb = 5 (*nec . . nec*: Livy 28. 43. 8, Sen. Dial. 5. 72; 9. 13. 1; *neque . . neque*, Sen. Ep. 96. 4, *nec* (4 times), Sen. Ep. 116. 5). Poetry: *nec . . nec*, one verb: Mart. 13. 10. 1, two verbs: Mart. Sp. 1. 2; 10. 70. 11; 11. 99. 8, Lucan. 1. 94 nec credite nec petantur, 2. 637 concute. Nec relinquo nec feras. Cf. Sil. 11. 400 combibat nec pudeat nec pugnet, Plin. Mai. 16. 178 *nec . . nec . . neque . . aut*, Apul. 112. 10 *neque* conferas *et* respondeas. In prose: *neque* = 8, *nec* = 23; in poetry: *neque* = 0, *nec* = 12. (Fronto p. 96 (N.) also has *nec . . nec*).

f) NEC . . NEVE (neu) = 8, (prose = 2, Apul.).

This usage is found in prose only in Apul., but in poetry 6 times (Prop., Ov. (3), Juv., Petron.).

Prose: Apul. Met., 183. 14 *maritare, modo ne convenias neve conferas nec accumbas nec adquiescas*; 158. 8 *nec putetis neve aestimetis*. Poetry: Prop. 1. 8. 9 *utinam . . nec . . neve*; Ovid Rem. 628, Met. 8. 709 (neu), Tr. 1. 1. 13 (cf. Verg. G. 3. 435, latest texts<sup>2</sup>), Juv. 14. 201 (neu), Petron. 4. 5 *nec . . nec . . neve*. For the corresponding use with the imperative cf. p. 264.

g) NE . . NEVE (neu) = 23, NE . . NEQUE (nec) = 9.

*Ne . . neve* (neu) was used in prose 8 times (Cato (4), Cic., Cels., Plin. Mai. (2)), in poetry 15 times (Plaut., Lucr., Cat. Verg. (3), Hor., Ovid (4), Sil., Stat. (2), Mart.); *ne . . neque* (nec) was

<sup>1</sup> O. Hense, Sen. Epist. 123. 7 quotes Joehring: "neve apud Senecam nusquam inveni". Cf. also Troad. 553 *neve putes*.

<sup>2</sup> Schmalz Synt.<sup>4</sup> p. 247 cites Verg. for this usage.



found in prose once (Vitruv.), in poetry 8 times (Plaut. (3), Ter. (2), Sen. (3)).

1) EARLY LATIN = 10 (prose = 4).

a) *ne . . neve* (neu) = 5 (neu = 1): Cato Agr. 5. 4 (neu); 8. 3; 143. 1 (bis), Plaut. Poen. 38.

b) *ne . . neque* (nec) = 5 (nec = 0) in poetry: Plaut. Asin. 778, Capt. 437 (ne) *deseras neque des*; Vid. 53, Ter. And. 205, Eun. 77.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 12 (prose = 2).

a) *ne . . neve* (neu) = 11 (neu = 3): Cic. Leg. 2. 64, Lucr. 4. 39, Catull. 61. 126 (nec v. l.), Verg. G. 1. 80; 2. 253 (neu); 3. 435 (neu), Hor. Ep. 16. 27 (neu), Ovid Her. 10. 90, Met. 7. 529; 13. 135, Tr. 5. 6. 8. Cf. Cic. Or. 29 *sit aut ne sit . . . neve*.

b) *ne . . neque* (nec) = 1: Vitruv. 1. 1. 7 *ne sit neque habeat*. Cf. Cic. Leg. 2. 60.

3) SILVER LATIN = 10 (prose = 3).

a) *ne . . neve* (neu) = 7: Celsus 362. 26, Plin. Mai. 17. 107; 18. 328, all *neve*. Poetry: Sil. 17. 381, Mart. 4. 19. 10, and *neu*: Stat. Theb. 3. 240; 11. 133.

b) *ne . . nec* = 3: Sen. Thy. 134. 749, H. O. 1328.

h) *NE . . NEVE . . NEVE* and *NE . . NEQUE . . NEQUE* = 6.

The former = 3: Plaut. Poen. 18 (neu = *ter*), (cf. C. I. L., I 119. 10 *ni . . nive . . nive*), Lucr. 2. 415 *ne . . neu . . neve*, Hor. C. 1. 36. 10 (neu = *sex*) *ne . . . neque . . . neque*; Plaut. Asin. 785 f., *ne . . nec . . nec* = 2: Plaut. Asin. 799, Lucan 2. 260.

i) *ET NE*, *AC NE*, etc.

For these usages cf. p. 256 f.; for *et non*, *que non*, *ac non* and *non . . . nec* cf. p. 258 f. For *neque enim* cf. p. 271.

#### SUMMARY: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE (excluding negative doubled, and *nec . . . neu*).

##### A) POSITIVE.

Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	<i>neve</i>	<i>ne u</i>	<i>neque</i>	<i>nec</i>	<i>neve</i>	<i>neu</i>	<i>neque</i>	<i>nec</i>	
Early Latin . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	9
Classical Latin . . . . .	0	0	3	7	27	16	2	98	153
Silver Latin . . . . .	2	0	0	34	3	5	0	65	109
Total . . . . .	2	0	3	41	30	22	7	166	271



## B) NEGATIVE.

Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	neve	neu	neque	nec	neve	neu	neque	nec	
Early Latin . . . . .	3	1	0	0	1	0	5	0	10
Classical Latin . . . . .	1	0	1	0	6	4	0	0	12
Silver Latin . . . . .	3	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	10
Total . . . . .	7	1	1	0	9	6	5	3	32

## NOTES.

a) *Positive.*

1) With *neve* the longer form is more common (32-22); with *neque* the shorter (207-10). In Early Latin *neque* outnumbers *nec*, but in Class. Lat. is only used 5 times to *nec* 105 times, while in Silver Latin *neque* was not used at all, *nec* 99. This preference for *nec* was in accordance with the general tendency. Cf. pp. 261 and 265, n. 4. In fact, *nec* was not only the only form used in Silver Latin with the pres. subj., but it was also the only form used after an imperative (cf. p. 271 c.), after a period (exc. in Early Lat.), and in the formula *nec . . neu*.

2) These constructions were much more common in poetry (225) than in prose (46).

3) *Neve* (*neu*) appears first in prose in Plin. Mai. and later in Apul. Note prose usage: *neve* = 2, *neque* (*nec*) = 44.

4) In every period *neque* (*nec*) was used more often than *neve* (*neu*): 8-1, then 110-43, and in Silver Latin 99-10. Note that in Class. prose *neque* (*nec*) was used 8 times, but *neve* (*neu*) not at all. Compare the discussion under the imperative, p. 267.

b) After *ne*: 1) prose usage is emphatic for the use of *neve* (*neu*), 8-1, the only occurrence of *neque* being in Vitruvius. So also in Class. Lat. *neve* (*neu*) is more common (11-1).

2) Of the 9 occurrences of *ne . . neque* (*nec*) 8 are in poetry. In fact in principal clauses *ne . . neque* (*nec*) was found only 3 times in prose, with the imperative (Cato), with the pres. subj. (Vitruv.), and with the perf. subj. (Sen.), but in poetry 13 times. In subordinate clauses, however, this formula is more common in prose, but in both is rare compared with *ne . . neve*.

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[To be completed in the next number.]



## II.—THE ACCUSATIVE OF EXCLAMATION IN EPISTOLARY LATIN.

In Vol. XXIX of this Journal I concluded an article on "The Accusative of Exclamation in Plautus and Terence" as follows: "In subsequent papers I hope to show that the development here indicated for this construction in Latin comedy continued along similar lines for later writers and in other fields". Other tasks have hitherto prevented my fulfilling this promise, and it is not until now that I find myself in a position to add the second installment dealing with another literary *genre*, Epistolary Latin. I was led to choose this as the next field of study by the well-known resemblance between the diction of the comic drama and that of Cicero's letters, cf. Tyrrell, *The Correspondence of Cicero*, Vol. I, pp. 59ff. (second edition), and especially p. 64: "In the criticism of Cicero's letters we may go further, and say that to quote an analagous usage in Plautus or Terence is far more relevant than to quote an analogous usage from the Oratory or Philosophy of Cicero himself". In fact, one of the illustrations which Tyrrell cites of this close parallelism is the "copious use of ejaculatory phrases" (p. 61). In order to obtain a cross-section through the use of this construction by the classical aspirants for epistolary fame, I have joined to the instances in Cicero's correspondence those in the letters of Seneca and Pliny as well, though it need hardly be said that the numerous differences between these three authors render their juxtaposition in this way more or less mechanical.

The same year in which my first article was published there appeared the posthumous work of C. F. W. Müller as a supplement to Stolz's *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, entitled *Syntax des Nominativs und Akkusativs im Lateinischen*. On pp. 159f. the "Akkusativ zum Ausdruck der Verwunderung, Bewunderung, des Unwillens, usw." receives the same sort of treatment as I complained of in my former paper. Müller's collection of examples is far from complete, only about one-fourth of the instances in Plautus being cited, and about one-sixth of



those in Terence, there is no attempt to set up categories, and no recognition of the fact that this construction has a history and course of development. The only rule formulated is as follows: "Cicero hat vor Sachen so vorherrschend *o*, dass die wenigen Stellen aus den Briefen an Atticus, an denen es fehlt, verdächtig werden (Rhein. Mus. 1898, S. 127 fgg.<sup>1</sup>), bei Personen hingegen fehlt die Interjektion öfter (Coni. Tull., p. 13 fg., Q. fr. III, 4, 3, Pis. 1, 3, Rab. Post. 17, 45 m.). Die späteren scheinen keinen Unterschied gemacht zu haben". This law was first enunciated in Müller's *Coniecturae Tullianae* (Königsberg, 1860), pp. 13 f., was defended by him in *Rhein. Museum* LIII (1898), pp. 127 ff., and was observed in his edition of Cicero's letters. After initial misgivings it was accepted by Lehmann, *De Ciceronis ad Atticum Epistulis Recensendis et Emendandis* (1892), pp. 203 ff., and has exerted a great influence upon all editors of the letters during the last half century. It is true that the instances in the letters, examined by themselves, give a superficial plausibility to the rule; but I am convinced from a broader study of the construction that the rule is false and that the qualms which Lehmann felt at first are justified. Under all these circumstances it will be worth while to study the matter in more detail.

It will be noted that even Müller did not claim that his rule was observed by later authors ("die späteren"), and the usage of Seneca and Pliny will confirm this. Secondly, in Horace's *Satires*, which are also colloquial in tone and practically contemporaneous with the letters, occurs the phrase *divitias miseras!* (*Serm.* II, 8, 18), which violates Müller's law and which, thanks to the meter, defies emendation. Thirdly, it finds no substantiation in Cicero's predecessors. We have already noted the close stylistic resemblance of the letters to Latin comedy; but no confirmation for such a rule can be quoted from Plautus and Terence. Of course, I do not claim that Cicero's usage is identical with that of comedy—it is in fact quite different. But the one ought at least to be a natural outgrowth of the other; there ought to be only the same kind of a difference between the letters and Terence as there is between Terence and Plautus. And in my opinion this is exactly the case. Now in Plautus there are twelve instances of this construction without *o* (or any other interjection) "vor Sachen", and thirteen "bei Personen" (cf.

<sup>1</sup> This article was written by Müller himself.



A. J. P. XXIX, pp. 308 f.). In Terence there are four of the former,<sup>1</sup> and sixteen of the latter (in these are included eleven instances of *miseram me*, and two involving interrogative pronouns; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 312 f.). The fact of the matter is that Müller, never having collected the examples in early Latin, did not know the real situation and consequently had no foundation upon which to base conclusions about the construction at any later period. Finally, in my opinion, not even the instances in the letters, impartially considered, justify Müller's rule. The text of these instances, however, has been brought into such suspicion by his emendations that it will be advisable to postpone the consideration of them until the last. In the meanwhile, I hope that I have shifted the burden of proof. It is extremely unlikely that Cicero's usage in this particular stands entirely by itself. To prove that it does requires conclusive evidence; wholesale conjectures and forcing the critical method will not suffice.

Before analyzing the usage in Cicero's letters, it may be well to summarize the conclusions reached in my earlier paper, especially since I wish to alter the statement of them in one or two minor particulars. Apart from the matter of word order, which I advanced hesitatingly as perhaps due more to accident than to deliberate intention,<sup>2</sup> and theorizing as to the origin of different phases of the construction,<sup>3</sup> the principal results are as follows:

I. Plautus' usage is exceedingly plastic. So far from *o* being required, it is not even the predominating construction, being considerably less frequent than both the non-interjectional and *edepol* categories and hardly more numerous than *hercle*. Full statistics are given in the table on p. 299 below.

II. (a) In Terence *o* has become the largest category, though the instances without any interjection are a close second. (b) Half of the latter consist of the phrase *me miserum*.<sup>4</sup> (c) *ah*

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Müller (*Coniecturae Tull.*, p. 14 n.) wrote: "A Terentio quidem ut eadem lex observata videatur, uno loco correcto opus est Phorm. 134".

Cf. A. J. P. XXIX, p. 305. This is, however, accepted at full value by Professor Skutsch in *Glotta* II (1910), p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 307 f. and 313.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 312. There are also a few examples in Plautus, cf. *ibid.*, p. 309.



occurs twice with personal pronouns.<sup>1</sup> (d) No interjection accompanies the construction, whenever an interrogative pronoun is part of the phrase.<sup>2</sup>

III. In both Plautus and Terence *heu* (*ehou*)<sup>3</sup> occurs rarely and only with personal pronouns.<sup>4</sup>

IV. In both Plautus and Terence, when a personal pronoun belongs to the construction, either no interjection is employed (cf. II [b]), or it is *heu* (cf. III) or *ah* (Terence only, cf. II [c]); *o* is never found.

In view of the development just sketched, what further alterations should we expect in the later history of the construction? The answer is not difficult. There would naturally be further extension of the *o* category, and there is but one direction in which any considerable extension can take place, viz.: at the expense of the non-interjectional usage. There is also the possibility that the personal pronouns will lose some of their repugnance to being associated with *o* in this construction. We shall soon see that these are exactly the lines of development followed.

I have found one hundred and nineteen instances of the accusative of exclamation in Cicero's letters.<sup>5</sup> Of these 18% contain the word *res*, for which Cicero had an extraordinary fondness in this construction. Cf.

Ad Att. I, 16, 5: *o di boni, rem perditam!*<sup>6</sup>

V, 10, 3: *o rem minime aptam meis moribus!*

VI, 4, 1: *o rem totam odiosam!*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ter. Ad. vss. 309 f.: *ah me miserum, uix sum compos animi.*  
and ibid., vss. 329f.: *ah me miserum!*

In my former paper I was reluctant to construe *ah* in these two instances directly with the following accusatives of exclamation, because they are separated by the verse end and because *ah* occurs nowhere else in comedy in this construction; but cf. Cic. De Re Publica I, 38, 59: *a te infelicem*, and Catullus XV, 17: *ah te miserum* and XXI, 11: *ah me me*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. loc. cit., p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ter. Hec. vs. 74; *ehou me miserum*, the only example of *ehou* in this construction in comedy and not cited in my first paper. I failed to cite also Phormio vs. 187; *heu me miserum*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. loc. cit., pp. 306 and 312.

<sup>5</sup> The same limitations and restrictions are observed as in my former paper, cf. A. J. P. XXIX, pp. 303 f.

<sup>6</sup> For the text of Cicero's letters I use the new edition by Purser in the Oxford Classical Texts.



- VII, 9, 3: o rem miseram!  
 VII, 21, 1: o rem miseram et incredibilem!  
 VII, 23, 1: o rem acerbam!  
 VIII, 3, 6: 'o rem', inquis, 'difficilem et inexplicabilem!'  
 VIII, 8, 1: o rem turpem et ea re miseram.  
 VIII, 8, 2: o rem lugubrem!  
 IX, 2a, 1: o rem difficilem planeque perditam!  
 IX, 18, 2: o rem perditam!  
 X, 4, 5: o rem miseram!  
 X, 4, 8: o rem foedam!  
 X, 11, 4: o rem undique miseram!  
 XI, 7, 6: o rem miseram!  
 XIII, 35, 1: o rem indignam!  
 XV, 4a: o rem odiosam et inexplicabilem!  
 XV, 5, 1: o rem miseram!  
 XV, 9, 1: o rem miseram!  
 Ad Fam. XII, 3, 2: o rem miseram!<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy, though perhaps accidental, that in every one of the above instances the modifier follows the noun. The construction *o rem* + does not occur in Plautus and Terence. The only parallels are Plautus, Stich. 356: *edepol rem negotiosam*, Epid. 72: *eu edepol res turbulentas*, ibid. 212 and Stich. 379: *hercle rem gestam bene*, Miles 1056: *eu hercle odiosas res*, and Trin. 592: *edepol re gesta pessume gestam probe*. Possibly the fact, that in Plautus *edepol* (*eu edepol*) always, and *hercle* (*eu hercle*) usually take the above mentioned word order (cf. A. J. P. XXIX, p. 305), has something to do with the usage in Cicero.

The first instance above cited (ad Att. I, 16, 5) should also be noted. In his eagerness to attach as many *o*'s to the accusative of exclamation as possible Müller inserted a comma here in his edition, as follows: *o, di boni, rem perditam!* It is true that this is the only instance of this sort in the letters, but this punctuation ignores the use of *pro di immortales*, *pro deum fidem*, *pro Iuppiter*, and *o Iuppiter* as concomitants of this construction in comedy (cf. loc. cit., pp. 305 and 310 f.).

I shall now cite the other instances where *o* occurs "vor Sachen" according to Müller's rule, reserving until later such

<sup>1</sup>Cf. also ad Att. VII, 25: [o] rem miseram and XIII, 22, 2: [o] rem acerbam, the text of which is discussed below, pp. 292 f. and 291 respectively.



instances as involve a disputed text. Owing to Müller's arbitrary emendations, however, this exception involves practically all the instances which by any possibility may never have had the *o*.

Ad Att. II, 12, 1: *o* suavis epistulas tuas uno tempore mihi  
datas duas!

II, 21, 4: *o* spectaculum uni Crasso iucundum, cete-  
ris non item!

IV, 19, 1: *o* exspectatas mihi tuas litteras!  
*o* gratum adventum!  
*o* constantiam promissi et fidem miram!  
*o* navigationem amandam!

V, 10, 3: *o* illud verum ἔρδοι τις!<sup>1</sup>

VI, 1, 18: *o* ἀνιστορησία turpem!

VII, 22, 1: *o* celeritatem incredibilem!

IX, 17, 1: *o* tempus miserum!

IX, 18, 2: *o* copias desperatas!

XI, 7, 3: *o* multas et gravis offensiones!

XII, 4, 1: *o* gratas tuas mihi iucundasque litteras!

XII, 5, 1: *o* stultitiam, nisi mea maior esset, singu-  
larem!

XII, 49, 2: *o* tempora! (followed by infinitive of ex-  
clamation).

XIII, 25, 3: *o* Academiam volaticam et sui similem!

XIII, 31, 4: *o* gulam insulsam!

XIII, 39, 1: *o* incredibilem vanitatem!

XIV, 16, 2: *o* Dolabellae nostri magnam ἀπιστείαν!

XV, 10: *o* Bruti amanter scriptas litteras!  
*o* iniquum tuum tempus, qui etc.

XV, 12, 2: *o* negotia non ferenda! quae feruntur  
tamen.

XVI, 5, 4: *o* dies in auspiciis Lepidi <lepide> de-  
scriptos et apte ad consilium reditus  
nostri!

XVI, 13a, 1: *o* casum mirificum!

Ad Brut. I, 17, 4: *o* magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum,  
quod verearis, ita cavere, ut, cum  
vitare fortasse potueris, ultro accersas  
et attrahas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceded by *o* rem minime aptam meis moribus (already  
quoted).

<sup>2</sup> Written by Brutus to Atticus.



[Ad Octav.] 6: o meam calamitosam ac praecipitem senectutem !

o turpem exacta dementique aetate canitiem !

7: o miseram et in brevi tam celerem et tam variam rei publicae commutationem !

Ad Fam. VII, 12, 1: o castra praeclara !

X, 14, 1: o gratam famam biduo ante victoriam de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis !

XI, 28, 3: o superbiam inauditam alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunito licere !

XII, 23, 1: o multa intolerabilia locis omnibus !

Ad Quint. Frat. II, 6, 1: o litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas expectatas, ac primo quidem cum desiderio, nunc vero etiam cum timore !

II, 15, 4: o iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras !<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing remarkable about the above list, which could easily be paralleled from Plautus and Terence.

Passing by for the present those instances where there is a possibility that Cicero did not employ *o* "vor Sachen", let us consider the use of *o* "bei Personen".

Ad Att. II, 2, 2: o magnum hominem et unde multo plura didiceris quam de Procilio !

IV, 13, 2: o hominem nequam !

IV, 15, 7: o virum !  
o civem !

VII, 11, 1: o hominem amentem et miserum qui etc.

VII, 18, 2: o perditum latronem !

X, 16, 3: o, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem !

XII, 2, 2: o miros homines !

XII, 38, 2: o hominem cavendum !

XIII, 46, 3: o Vestorium neglegentem !

XIII, 47: o magistrum molestum !

XIII, 52, 1: o hospitem mihi tam gravem ἀμεταμέλητον !

XIV, 1, 1: o prudentem Oppium ! qui etc.

XIV, 15, 1: o mirificum Dolabellam meum !

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also three instances in Ad Att. X, 14, 1 and XIV, 16, 1 on p. 292 below.



- XIV, 17, 3: o perditum hominem!  
 XIV, 18, 1: o hominem impudentem!  
 XV, 27, 3: o turpem sororis tuae filium!  
 XVI, 14, 2: o Sesti tabellarium hominem nequam!  
 Ad Fam. VII, 20, 3: o medicum suavem!  
 IX, 20, 1: o hominem facilem!  
                   o hospitem non gravem!  
 XII, 30, 3: o hominem semper illum quidem mihi  
                   aptum, nunc vero etiam suavem!

In the above category Cicero displays almost as much fondness for the word *homo* (10 out of 22 instances<sup>1</sup>) as we have previously (p. 279) noted for the word *res*.

It is illuminating to bring into immediate juxtaposition with the above those passages where *o* does not appear "bei Personen".

- Ad Att. X, 3a, 2: homines ridiculos!  
 XIII, 44, 1: populum vero praeclarum quod etc.  
 XV, 3, 2: de sella Caesaris bene tribuni; praeclaros  
                   etiam XIV ordines!  
 XV, 13, 3: Itane Gallo Caninio? <o> hominem ne-  
                   quam! quid enim dicam aliud?  
                   cautum Marcellum! me<sup>2</sup> sic, sed non tamen  
                   cautissimum.  
 Ad Fam. V, 2, 8: hominem gravem et civem egregium!  
                   qui etc.  
 IX, 20, 1: at quem virum! non eum, quem etc.  
 Ad Quint. Frat. I, 2, 6: quem hominem! qua ira! quo spiritu!  
 III, 4, 3: lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui etc.

In this group ad Att. XV, 13, 3 is especially instructive. No manuscript reads *o* at this point. It was first inserted by Manutius in his edition (Venice, 1563). This insertion is not only unnecessary *per se* but is rendered still less plausible by the fact that no *o* appears with *cautum Marcellum* in the next phrase but one thereafter. Manutius' 1563 edition is inaccessible to me, but I have consulted the 1570 edition "cum correctionibus P. Manutii et annotationibus D. Lambini". This reads *ita ne Gallo? o hominem*, etc. The word *Caninio* in Purser's text is due to

<sup>1</sup> Note also four others in the next group.

<sup>2</sup> The last part of this citation belongs below (p. 286); it is quoted here to complete the context.



Corradus; M reads *Gallo animo*. Lambinus (p. 393 of the 1570 edition) reports the MSS as reading *Gallo aninio* and himself accepts Corradus' emendation. It should be noted that Manutius dropped *aninio* from his text. Now no reader accustomed to watching grammatical details, let alone an editor, could fail to observe that *o* predominates with the accusative of exclamation in Cicero. Therefore, when Manutius could discover no meaning in *aninio* and decided not to print the word in his text, he did not delete it entirely; the last letter he retained and construed with the next phrase. If Manutius had employed the same conventional system as modern editors, his text would have read *ita ne Gallo?* [*anini*]*o hominem nequam*, etc. This, in my opinion, is the origin of *o* in this place. But not only do other, undoubted instances of *hominem* + without *o* occur elsewhere in Cicero (see last list), but they are also numerous in Plautus and Terence (cf. my previous paper *passim*). Again, the text without *o* is the *lectio difficilior*, and as such is entitled to the preference. Lehmann (De Cic. ad Att. Epistulis Recensendis et Emendandis, p. 203) viewed the whole problem in the proper light: "Nam ut Livius, Tacitus aliique scriptores dicendi genere saepe utuntur ad normam regulamque directo atque certis legibus vinculisque constricto, ita Cicero, arbiter ille potentissimus orationis, tam libere tamque solute in scribendo versatur, ut cavendum putemus, ne tali ratione ipse Cicero potius corrumpatur quam scribarum errores corrigantur. Sane facile est ita concludere: 'Viginti locis Cicero hoc vocabulo utitur; uno loco lectio abhorret; age, corrigamus atque Ciceronis genus dicendi sequamur'. Facile ita concluditur neque vero recte; nam tam Proteus Cicero est in oratione varianda, ut certum eius genus dicendi saepius non facile deprehendatur". This is a sensible position; and if Lehmann was afterwards induced to abandon it, we have only another illustration of the fact that, despite the old proverb, first thoughts are sometimes best. In fact, Lehmann's initial attitude was even stronger than he supposed, for he accepted Müller's statement of the facts without serious question and did not know how vulnerable it was at many points.

As to ad Fam. IX, 20, 1 and ad Quint. Frat. I, 2, 6 it should be noted that these fall under rule II (d) on p. 279 above; cf. also ad Att. X, 17, 1 (p. 287 below).

For reasons which will presently appear, I have omitted from the last two lists all instances involving personal pronouns, which



Müller rightly included under his "bei Personen" category. With this exception, then, Müller's concession (*Syntax des Nom. u. Akkus. im Latein.*, p. 160) that "bei Personen hingegen fehlt die Interjektion öfter" (sc. als vor Sachen) rests entirely upon these two lists, in which *o* is omitted ten times out of thirty-two instances.

We have seen (pp. 277 f. above) that Müller's rule as a whole finds no substantiation in writers later than Cicero, in his contemporary (Horace), or in his predecessors (Plautus and Terence). This particular phase of his rule fares no better than the whole. So far from there being any special tendency in Cicero's letters to omit *o* "bei Personen", the ratio of omissions is actually higher in Plautus and Terence. Out of 16 instances in Plautus (pronouns are again omitted) *o* fails to occur in ten, or 62% (cf. A. J. P. XXIX, pp. 306 and 309); in Terence the percentage of omissions is 33, five out of fifteen (cf. *ibid.* pp. 311 f. and 312 f.).<sup>1</sup> We have just noted that in Cicero the proportion was 10 in 32, or 31%.

We have now to consider the instances which involve personal pronouns. Here a new, but perfectly natural,<sup>2</sup> development awaits us; *o* occurs as follows:

Ad Att. VII, 23, 1: *o me miserum!*

XIII, 29, 3: *o te ferreum, qui illius periculis non moveris!*

[Ad Octav.] 6: *o me numquam sapientem et aliquando id quod non eram frustra existimatum!*

Ad Fam. VII, 20, 3: *o medicum suavem<sup>3</sup> meque docilem ad hanc disciplinam!*

XIV, 4, 3: *o me perditum,  
o adflictum!*

Ad Quint. Frat. III, 1, 17: *o me sollicitum!*

As we have seen (rule IV on p. 279 above), this usage does not occur in Plautus or Terence; yet there is no reason to suspect the text here. It is found in Cicero's other writings, in Horace

<sup>1</sup> In Plautus "vor Sachen" *o* is omitted twelve times out of 19, or 63%; in Terence the ratio is 4 in 20, or 20%. The percentage in the letters depends upon the text adopted in the passages still to be discussed, pp. 286-94 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 279 above.

<sup>3</sup> The first half of this quotation has already been cited in its proper place (p. 283), but is repeated here to give the context of the second half.



Serm. I, 9, 11 f.: o te, Bolane, cerebri felicem, and in later authors. The pronouns, however, do not abandon the whole field to *o* at once; in the greater number of cases the old usage prevails:

Ad Att. II, 19, 1: me miserum!

III, 20, 1: me miserum!

IX, 6, 6: me miserum, quod tu non valuisti!

IX, 12, 1: miseros nos!

X, 10, 1: me caecum, qui haec ante non viderim!

XV, 13, 3: hominem nequam! quid enim dicam aliud? cautum Marcellum!<sup>1</sup> me sic, sed non tamen cautissimum!

Ad Fam. III, 11, 2: me miserum, qui non adfuerim!

XIV, 1, 1: me miserum! (followed by two infinitives of exclamation)

XIV, 1, 5: quid, obsecro te, me miserum! quid futurum est?

Ad Quint. Frat. I, 4, 4: sin plane occidimus, me miserum!

These two lists must bear the main burden of proof for Müller's statement that "bei Personen hingegen fehlt die Interjektion öfter" (sc. als vor Sachen), for we have already seen (p. 285) that this statement finds little substantiation "bei Personen" other than pronouns. In fact, had Müller written "bei Pronomina" instead of "bei Personen", his statement would have corresponded to the actual usage in Cicero's letters; but even so, it would have been misleading in view of the construction's earlier history. So far from there being a special tendency in the letters to omit *o* with pronouns, the situation is just the opposite. Cicero has introduced the *o* in seven passages where Plautus and Terence would not have used it. The 60% of pronouns without *o* represent no innovation, but resistance to the pressure of a new development.

Finally, we come to the omission of *o* "vor Sachen", a matter complicated in most cases by more or less uncertainty as to the text. Müller (Coniect. Tull., p. 13) was willing to concede but five passages (ad Att. II, 14, 2; X, 10, 6; XIII, 33, 1; XIII, 44, 1; and XIV, 5, 2), where there was the least chance of the interjection's being absent. To these Lehmann (De Cic. ad Att.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. previous note. Manutius' insertion of *o* at the beginning has been discussed on pp. 283 f. above.



Epist. Rec. et Em., pp. 204 f.) added seven others (ad Att. VII, 18, 2; VII, 25; X, 14, 1 (bis); XIII, 6a; XIII, 22, 2; and XIV, 16, 1), and Müller accepted this extension to his list (Rhein. Mus. LIII [1898], p. 128). In every one of these doubtful cases, however, both Müller and Lehmann decided in favor of the *o*. In my opinion, still three other passages must also be considered (ad Att. II, 13, 1; VIII, 5, 1; and X, 17, 1).

The first instance to be considered belongs to an old category.

Ad Att. X, 17, 1: *quam in me incredibilem ἐκτένεια!*<sup>1</sup>

This comes under rule II (d), p. 279 above, of which we have seen illustrations also in ad Fam. IX, 20, 1 and ad Quint. Frat. I, 2, 6 (p. 283 above).

Ad Att. II, 13, 1: *facinus indignum! epistulam αὐθιγὰν tibi a Tribus Tabernis rescriptam ad tuas suavissimas epistulas neminem reddidisse!*

Müller (Coniect. Tull., p. 13, n. 2) refused to consider this an accusative of exclamation, and of course he had a perfect right to do so. But in my opinion the fact that an infinitive of exclamation follows is decisive, cf. ad Att. XII, 49, 2 (p. 281 above) and ad Fam. XIV, 1, 1 (p. 286 above).<sup>2</sup>

Ad Att. X, 10, 6: <*o*> *vim incredibilem molestiarum!*

There is not a scrap of manuscript evidence for reading *o* here. It was conjectured by Müller (Coniect. Tull., p. 13), in order to make this passage fit into his theory. Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 204) accepts it for the same reason, but without a single word of defense, though (as we shall see) he has found some sort of defense for every other instance. The situation was thus desperate enough, even when Müller's law seemed to require the emendation. Now that the earlier history of the construction is becoming known and the instances in Cicero are seen in their true light, the insertion of *o* is absolutely uncalled for.

Ad Att. II, 14, 2: <*o*> *occasionem mirificam, si qui nunc dum hi apud me sunt emere de me fundum Formianum velit!*

<sup>1</sup> There is a corruption in the context, but no reason to suspect this phrase.

<sup>2</sup> Several examples of *o facinus indignum* in Terence are cited in A. J. P. XXIX, p. 311. In one case, Eun. 70, most editors delete the *o* for metrical reasons.



Again, the *o* has no manuscript authority and merely represents a conjecture by Müller (loc. cit., p. 13) for the same purpose as before. Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 204) defends it on the principle of haplography. When needed, this is a useful and valuable paleographical principle. But we have already found three undoubted examples of *o* being omitted "vor Sachen", and still more are to follow. Haplography should find no welcome here.

Ad Att. XIII, 44, 1: *o* suavis tuas litteras! (etsi acerba pompa. Verum tamen scire omnia non acerbum est, vel de Cotta) populum<sup>1</sup> vero praeclarum quod propter malum vicinum ne Victoriae quidem ploditur!

*o* does not appear in M at this point and was conjectured by Müller (loc. cit., p. 13).<sup>2</sup> It is defended by Lehmann (loc. cit., pp. 138 and 204) because letter 44 in this book appears in the manuscripts as a continuation of letter 43 and because the last word of 43, *post*, takes the form *posco* in three MSS, O, R, and P. It is well known that the modern division of books XII and XIII into separate letters rests upon no ancient authority; in M each book is written as an unbroken whole. Some of the early printed editions divide book XII into as few as four letters! In the editio Hervagiana (Basel, 1533) the line of demarcation is incorrectly put before instead of after *post*, so that letter 44 begins *Post suavis*, etc. This circumstance led O. E. Schmidt (Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero, p. 457 n) to the following refutation of Lehmann's argument: "Dieser Briefanfang hat mir die Augen geöffnet über die wahre Natur einer Lesart in ORP, die Lehmann als eine der Hauptbeweisstellen der Echtheit und Unabhängigkeit dieser Überlieferung von M betrachtet. M liest nämlich *consequemur biduo post. Suaves tuas litteras*; die genannten Hdn. dagegen *consequemur biduo. Posco suaves tuas litteras*. In dem *o* vor *suaves* fand nun Lehmann jene Interjektion, die C. F. W. Müller hier und an anderen Stellen durch Konjektur einsetzen will. In Wahrheit verhält sich die Sache so: erst wurde der Text anders abgeteilt als in M, so dass *post*

<sup>1</sup> This instance has already been cited on p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Müller cited ad Att. II, 12, 1: *o* suavis epistulas tuas. He might have cited also ad Att. IV, 19, 1; XII, 4, 1; XV, 10; ad Quint. Frat. II, 6, 1; and II, 15, 4 (see pp. 281 f. above). But these parallels prove nothing.



den nächsten Satz eröffnete, und dann durch Konjektur dieses *post* in *posco* verwandelt, weil der Gedanke, dass Cicero die angenehmen brieflichen Plaudereien des Atticus erwartet, so oft eine Rolle spielt, z. B. XII, 4, 1; 16, 2; 46, 2; etc." This convincing refutation was naturally not acceptable to Müller (Rhein. Mus. LIII [1898], pp. 128 f.), who nevertheless had nothing tangible to offer in rebuttal. Schmidt's conclusion finds further support in the fact that the other accusative of exclamation in the same sentence (*populum vero praeclarum*, etc.) also has no *o*.

Ad Att. XIII, 33, 1: <o>neglegentiam miram!

Still again the *o* rests entirely upon Müller's conjecture (loc. cit., p. 13). Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 204) supports it as follows: "quod graeca vocabula antecedunt, *o* facile omittebatur". It must be frankly conceded that Greek words are a frequent source of corruption in the text. But in this particular instance the Greek words at the close of the previous letter (*πομπεύσαι καὶ τοῖς προσώποις*) have come through safely, and we have now seen that an accusative of exclamation without *o* need not be ipso facto an object of suspicion.

Ad Att. XIII, 6a: <o>operam tuam multam qui et haec  
cures et mea expedias et sis in tuis non  
multo minus diligens quam in meis!

This was the passage which caused Müller to point out the prevalence of *o* with the accusative of exclamation in Cicero (loc. cit., pp. 13 f.). He did not consider this an example, however, but proposed to read *mult<um> am<o>*. Lehmann, on the other hand, proved that *non* (before *multo*) belonged in the text and that this was inconsistent with Müller's emendation (loc. cit., pp. 204 f.). Therefore, he had recourse to the old expedient and inserted *o*. Haplography can again be the only justification for this reading, and we have already seen (p. 288 above) that its assistance is supererogatory in cases like this.

Ad Att. XIV, 5, 2: *o* meam stultam verecundiam! qui etc.

The sole support for reading *o* here is that it appeared in Cratander's edition (Basel, 1528); Müller was ignorant of this fact and placed the interjection in his text by emendation. Tyrrell conjectured *en*. Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 204) defends *o* as follows: "Muellerus coniecit <o> ; nunc nihil est, quod quis conici-



endum putet; nam istud *o* Cratander primus in textu posuit, atque ille quidem ex codicibus; nisi forte quis credit, Cratandrum eadem atque Muellerum studia in Ciceronis genere dicendi posuisse"; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 77. It is at once apparent that this passage stands somewhat apart from those previously considered, since here the *o* is not merely the conjecture of a modern editor, but actually appears in Cratander's edition. The question immediately arises as to the value of this evidence and (more specifically) as to whether Cratander's text was derived from manuscripts now lost, as Lehmann supposes, or merely represents an emendation on his part. Lehmann considers the latter alternative impossible unless we assume that Cratander had made as careful a study of this construction as Müller has since done. But in a similar passage already considered (pp. 283 f. above) we have seen that such an assumption is unnecessary. No careful scholar could fail to note the prevalence of *o* with the construction, and it was the path of least resistance for any editor or commentator (in whatever century) upon any author (of any period) to supply the *o*, whenever his attention happened to be directed to the matter. Thus, upon Ter. Eun. 418 Donatus commented as follows: "hominem perditum) deest 'o', ut sit: o hominem perditum. sed sic melius sonat; maioris enim stuporis est hoc modo pronuntiatum" (Wessner, I, p. 362).<sup>1</sup> It is therefore easy to see how Cratander (or if Cratander found the *o* in some manuscript, the process is merely pushed back one step further to that manuscript's scribe) came to insert the *o*. If it should be asked, why then Cratander did not proceed to emend every other such instance, the answer is not far to seek: the text is bulky and an editor has innumerable problems to engage his attention and no special interest in this one—at least not until Müller brought it into the limelight. Even Müller, who attempted to cite every case in question, failed, as we have seen (pp. 286 f. above), to notice half of them. Something called Cratander's attention to the matter here. He was nearing the end of his task and had an impression that *o* belonged to the construction. Accordingly, he introduced it into his text and bothered his head with the matter no further. But now the problem cannot be dismissed so cavalierly. In this matter I am willing to follow the general principle

<sup>1</sup> From such language one would suppose that this usage was unique in Terence! For another instance, cf. Pliny, Epist. II, 20, 5 and my comment, p. 297, note 3 (end); below.



which Lehmann himself (loc. cit., p. 84) has formulated for evaluating such readings in Cratander: "c, i. e. lectiones a Cratandro in textu novatae, codicis instar sunt, ubicumque cum iis codicibus qui nunc exstant aut cum Z, v. c. consentiunt; ubicumque c neque in iis, quibus nos utimur, codicibus est neque in Z, v. c. videtur fuisse, unum iudicium valet: si c veram atque necessariam lectionem esse apparebit, in textum recipiatur; si id iudicio non efficietur, ne recipiatur neve tamen neglegatur, quod nescimus, an ita codices Cratandri habuerint". Surely no one can longer maintain that in this case *c* provides a "necessariam lectionem".<sup>1</sup>

Ad Att. XIII, 22, 2: o rem acerbam!

In this passage *o* is read by c, v. c., and codd. Bosii, and is omitted by O, R, P, M, and s. (cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., p. 204). The value of *c* we have just discussed; Bosius' unsavory reputation in matters of this kind (cf. Schanz, Geschichte d. röm. Literatur, I, 2, p. 333, 3d ed.) prevents much stress being laid upon his "codices"; v. c. refers to "lectiones veteris codicis (fortasse Z) in margine ed. Lambinianae posterioris". Concerning the value of these readings, under the conditions which here prevail, Lehmann expressed himself as follows: "v. c., ubicumque  $\Sigma + \Delta$  ab eo dissentit neque Z adest, non ille quidem plane reiciendus, sed caute adhibendus est" (loc. cit., p. 95). Finally, there is probably realized here the fear which Lehmann expresses on p. 92 of his book, viz.: "ne quid ex editione Bosiana a. 1580 in ed. post. Lambinianam a. 1584 migrasset atque ea re auctoritas eius minueretur". To choose these authorities, which must be used "caute", "subtili iudicio", and only when they provide a "veram atque necessariam lectionem", in preference to manuscripts like O, R, P, M, and s, especially when there is nothing blameworthy in the latter reading, would be the height of absurdity.

Ad Att. VII, 18, 2: o perditum latronem!<sup>2</sup> o vix ullo otio  
compensandam hanc rei publicae tur-  
pitudinem!

<sup>1</sup> The latest authority is still more favorable to my contention, cf. Sjögren, Commentationes Tullianae (Upsala, 1910), p. 94: "Hoc igitur pro certo habemus, editionem Cratandrinam nec pro fundamento recensionis esse habendam et subtili iudicio adhibendam."

<sup>2</sup> This instance has already been cited on p. 282 above. It is repeated to give the context for what follows.



The second *o* is vouched for by Card. Mal., l, and ZB (cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., p. 204); it is omitted in N, H, O, P, M, and s. The situation here is very similar to that in the last passage. ZB refers to the readings which Bosius claimed to have taken from Z. In spite of efforts to rehabilitate Bosius' reputation in connection with this particular manuscript, suspicion must inevitably rest upon any reading so derived. By l are meant "lectiones a Lambino in textu ed. prioris novatae"; of these Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 88) says: "multo cautius l adhibenda est quam c". By Card. Mal. is meant a manuscript once belonging to Nicolaus Cardinal Rodulfus, which was used by Malaspina in a book of critical notes (Venice, 1563). Surely these authorities in a matter of this sort can not be thought to outweigh N, H, O, P, M, and s.

Ad Att. XIV, 16, 1: renavigare. O loca ceteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine paene fugienda.

This text is read by M<sup>2</sup>, v. c., and R. M<sup>1</sup> reads renavigareo; E and O omit *o*. In my opinion, the evidence is in favor of *o*, and this instance should be added to those on p. 282 above.

Ad Att. X, 14, 1: o vitam miseram maiusque malum tam diu timere quam est illud ipsum quod timetur.

Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 204) summarizes the situation as follows: "*o* scribendum esse inde apparet, quod M et P illud *o* cum graeco vocabulo quod antecedit coniunxerunt; *o* evanuit in O et R; adest in W, adfuisse denique *o* in Z inde suspicor, quod Lambinus, qui in editione priore *o* omittit, in *Erratis* eius voluminis *o* inserit". Cf. also Müller, Rh. Mus. LIII (1898), p. 129. In my judgment, Lehmann has made out his case and *o* should be read; consequently, these two instances should be added to those on p. 282 above.

Ad Att. VII, 25: o rem miseram!

The more or less untrustworthy authorities with which we have just been dealing (Ant., l, q. v. c. et L(mgo), codd. Bosii) plus z (ORP) have *o* in this passage as against Δ (M, s), which omits it (cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., p. 204). Of course, if either set of



authorities presented an obviously and intrinsically "veram et necessariam lectionem", our course would be clear. As it is, the decision must depend upon technical grounds, upon the comparative values and relationships of the different manuscripts. Unfortunately, no unanimity has yet been obtained on these questions. Lehmann and those who accept his conclusions would unhesitatingly pronounce in favor of the authorities cited first. But O. E. Schmidt with adherents perhaps no less numerous would be likely to prefer Δ. Schmidt (Philologus LV [1896], p. 726) has summarized his views succinctly and forcefully: "Da von W nur geringe Bruckstücke übrig sind und die nicht sehr zahlreichen aus W herübergenommenen Lesarten in C und c sich mit Konjekturen und Interpolationen in schwer lösbarer Gemeinschaft befinden, da Z verloren ist, das aber, was Lambin und Bosius aus Z melden, nicht immer mit Z identisch, noch weniger aber von Konjekturen und Interpolationen frei ist, da z kontaminierte Hdn. sind, die neben sehr wenigen M ergänzenden guten Lesarten zahlreiche Konjekturen und Interpolationen aufweisen, da ferner auch der Veronensis und Petrarca's Abschrift daraus verloren ist, so bleibt der Text von M<sup>1</sup> als der einzige zusammenhängende, unverfälschte Text der Atticusbriege die Grundlage der Textgestaltung". This view is also accepted by Schanz, cf. Geschichte d. röm. Literatur, I, 2, p. 334 (3rd edition): "Aus dieser Darstellung geht hervor, dass für unsere Briefe, obwohl es stets Pflicht der Herausgeber sein wird, alle genannten Textesquellen soweit als möglich zu rekonstruieren, doch immer der Mediceus 49, 18 Führer sein wird". Towards this view I am myself inclined and therefore judge that in the passage before us *o* should not be read.

Ad Att. VIII, 5, 1: *sed en meam mansuetudinem!*

The *en* is due to Tyrrell; M reads *sed in eam*; s, P, *sed meam*; R, *sede meam*; O, *sede in eam*; L(mgo), ZB, *sed o meam*. Lehmann (loc. cit., p. 99) prefers the last, which is the vulgate. Strange to relate, this was unacceptable to Müller, who proposed *sed <vide>* (cf. Rh. Mus. LIII [1898], p. 127). There can be no doubt that Δ read *sed meam*, and little doubt that z read the same. In view of the paleographical importance of M and of the not inconsiderable list of instances in which this construction takes no *o*, I am of the opinion that *sed meam* should be our text at this point.



If my judgment is accepted in the foregoing discussion, we find twelve passages (out of the fifteen considered<sup>1</sup>) where *o* does not occur "vor Sachen". Accordingly, we obtain the following table of percentages:

	Plautus	Terence	Cicero
<i>o</i> omitted "vor Sachen".....	63%	20%	17%
<i>o</i> omitted "bei Personen" other than personal pronouns.....	62%	33%	31%
<i>o</i> omitted with personal pronouns.....	100%	100%	60%

As already stated (p. 279 above) these developments were to be expected. That portion of Müller's law which declares that *o* is omitted more frequently "bei Personen" than "vor Sachen" in Cicero's letters is baldly true, but is also without special significance and in view of the construction's history is actually misleading. A résumé of Cicero's usage as a whole will be found in the table at the end of this paper.

In view of the rapid extension of the *o* category and the large rôle always played by such phrases as *me miserum*, *te infelicem*, etc., in the history of the construction, it would not be surprising if the tone of commiseration, pity, deprecation, disgust, etc., inherent in these phrases should be transferred to the non-interjectional usage as a whole. Furthermore, since these phrases are frequently not seriously intended, a secondary connotation of irony, banter, derision, mock modesty, etc., might also easily arise. I believe that both developments had already begun in Cicero's time. My present collections of instances do not enable me to define exactly the rise or extent of this usage. It seems to have played no part worth mentioning in Plautus and Terence. But in Horace it is found at Serm. II, 8, 18: *divitias miseras!* In Cicero's letters we are still in the early stages of this development. In ad Att. XIV, 5, 2, *meam stultam verecundiam*<sup>2</sup> is equivalent to *me stultum verecundia* and in tone is the same as *me miserum*. In ad Quint. Frat. III, 4, 3: *lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui mihi aut inimicitias putet periculosas subeundas fuisse aut infamiam sempiternam!* the irony is self-evident. In ad Fam. V, 2, 8, *hominem gravem et civem egregium!* is a sarcastic fling at Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos in a letter to his

<sup>1</sup> I. e. in addition to the fifty-seven instances without *o* already cited on pp. 279-82 above.

<sup>2</sup> See next note.



brother, Q. Metellus Celer. Ad Att. XIII, 33, 1: *neglegentiam miram!*<sup>1</sup> Atticus had accused Cicero of carelessness in regard to filing a statement of his income as required by law. Inasmuch as Cicero had sent an agent for this very purpose and had been repeatedly assured that the matter had received attention, he ironically begins his letter as above. Ad Att. VIII, 5, 1: *sed meam mansuetudinem!*<sup>1</sup> Cicero was seeking to recall a caustic letter which he had sent to his freedman, Dionysius, in care of Atticus. He wishes to emphasize to Atticus the generosity of this procedure on his part and at the same time to avoid the appearance of boasting. The tone of mock deprecation is neatly expressed by the accusative of exclamation without *o*. There are several other passages in the letters which could plausibly be cited in this connection; but it is unnecessary to do so, since I freely admit that this development is a new one and consequently that an omitted *o* does not necessarily involve this significance. On the contrary, it should also be noted that the accusative of exclamation may be sarcastic in tone and nevertheless be accompanied by *o*.

The epistolary form of Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium* is largely make-believe; they are really nothing but philosophical disquisitions in disguise. It is therefore natural that so colloquial and informal a construction as the accusative of exclamation should occur in them less frequently than in any of the writers hitherto studied. Nevertheless, some twenty-two instances occur.

XCVII, 4: *o <di> boni, rem perditam!*<sup>2</sup>

stands alone in its class, but is an acknowledged quotation from Cic., Att. I, 16, 5, cf. p. 279 above.

XLIII, 5: *o te miserum, si contemnis hunc testem!*

XLVI, 3: *o te hominem felicem, quod etc.*

LVI, 3: *o te, inquis, ferreum aut surdum, cui etc.*

Instances like these have already been noted in Cicero, p. 285 above. In Seneca, however, there is no example of a personal pronoun without *o*. The following instances are of the usual type and present no unusual features:

XI, 9; *o felicem illum, qui etc.*  
*o felicem, qui etc.*

<sup>1</sup> The text of these passages is discussed on pp. 289 f. and 293 above.

<sup>2</sup> Citations are from Otto Hense's edition, 1898.



- XLVIII, 7: o pueriles ineptias!  
 LXIII, 2: o infelicem stultitiam!  
 LXVIII, 8: o magnum virum!  
 LXX, 21: o virum fortem!  
                     o<sup>1</sup> dignum, cui fati daretur electio!  
 LXXVIII, 23: o infelicem aegrum!  
 LXXVIII, 24: o infelicem aegrum!  
 LXXXII, 12: o hominem dignum, qui etc.  
 LXXXII, 21: o efficacem contionem!  
 LXXXVI, 11: o hominem calamitosum!  
 LXXXVIII, 13: o egregiam artem!  
 LXXXVIII, 38: o hominem litteratum! . . . .  
                     o virum bonum!  
 IC, 31: o dementia nostram!  
 CXIII, 26: o tristes ineptias!

There remains only CIV, 28: haec usque eo animum Socratis non moverant, ut ne vultum quidem moverent. <o>illam mirabilem laudem et singularem: usque ad extremum nec hilariorem quisquam nec tristiores Socraten vidit. The *o* here is due entirely to Buecheler and does not appear in the manuscripts. In view of our preceding study the emendation is unnecessary. This will seem the more likely when it is observed that the exclamation is ironical. Seneca does not seriously mean that Socrates' ἀπάθεια was unique and surprising, but just the opposite. Every Stoic could do as much. In §25 he asks: quid est cur timeat laborem vir, mortem homo? and in §26: denique quem umquam ista destituere temptantem? cui non facilia apparere in actu? non quia difficilia sunt, non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt. He then cites Socrates as an example and narrates his numerous trials and afflictions, concluding as above. His object was not to prove that Socrates was exceptional but that we all ought and could do the same.<sup>2</sup>

It should again be noted that this sarcastic usage without *o* does not prevent a sarcastic implication in the passages with *o*. Several of the instances above cited would prove the contrary.

As regards formality Pliny's Epistulae lie midway between those of Cicero and Seneca, and his use of the accusative of ex-

<sup>1</sup> *O* is omitted in p.

<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, genuine feeling is expressed by Herc. Fur. 1004: scelus nefandum, triste et aspectu horridum. Here the meter precludes the possibility of an *o* having dropped out.



climation occupies the same relative position.<sup>1</sup> Since only one of Pliny's works is extant in addition to the *Epistulae*, for the sake of completeness I have included instances from the *Panegyricus* in the following discussion.

Epist. VIII, 13, 2: o te beatum, cui etc.<sup>2</sup>

Pan. LXX, 2: o te dignum, qui etc.

LXXIV, 1: o te felicem!

LXXIV, 4: o nos felices!

This list includes all the cases involving a personal pronoun, except Epist. II, 10, 1 (see below).

Epist. I, 9, 6: o rectam sinceramque vitam,  
o dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni  
negotio pulchrius!

o mare,

o litus, verum secretumque *μυστήριον*, quam  
multa invenitis, quam multa dictatis!

V, 16, 6: o triste plane acerbumque funus!

o morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius!

VI, 11, 1: o diem laetum!

VI, 11, 3: o diem (repetam enim) laetum notan-  
dumque mihi candidissimo calculo!

VII, 20 2: o iucundas,  
o pulchras vices!

Pan. VII, 1: o novum atque inauditum ad principatum  
iter!

LXXX, 3: o veras principis atque etiam dei curas,  
reconciliare etc.

LXXXVI, 2: o rem memoriae litterisque mandandam!

The above instances present nothing which calls for special comment.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that not a single accusative of exclamation occurs in the correspondence with Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> Citations are taken from C. F. W. Müller's edition of Pliny.

<sup>3</sup> Note should also be taken of Epist. II, 20, 5: *clamat moriens hominem nequam, perfidum ac plus quam periurum, qui sibi per salutem filii peierasset*. Professor E. T. Merrill in his edition ad loc. explains as follows: "the construction is a vivid adaptation of the actual accusative of exclamation to that of the direct object of *clamat*; cf. Liv. XXI, 62, 2: *infantem triumphum clammasse* (in direct form 'triumpe')." Perhaps better parallels would be Cic. Att. XI, 9, 2: *venerunt scelus hominis clamantes* and Hor. Serm. I, 2, 130: *miseram se conscia clamat*. It must be further noted, however, that



There remain the passages in which *o* does not accompany the construction; every one of them exhibits the developments already noted in Cicero and Seneca.

Epist. II, 10, 1: *hominem te patientem vel potius durum  
ac paene crudelem, qui tam insignes  
libros tam diu teneas!*

In urging Octavius to publish his poems Pliny banteringly charges him with being too hard-hearted to gratify his friends.

Epist. II, 20, 2: *primum inpudentiam hominis, qui venerit  
ad aegram, cuius marito inimicissimus,  
ipsi invisissimus fuerat!*

Pliny has some good stories to tell about Regulus. The exuberance of his spirits appears with the very first words: *assem para et accipe auream fabulam, fabulas immo*. As he comes to the accusative of exclamation you can fairly see him rolling the sweet morsel under his tongue. The playful, bantering tone is reflected in the omission of the *o*.

Epist. IV, 21, 1: *tristem et acerbum casum Helvidiarum  
sororum!*

This is written in sincere pity and sorrow, cf. Cic. ad Att. XIII, 22, 2: *rem*<sup>1</sup> *acerbam*, referring to the assassination of Marcellus.

Pan. XIX, 4: *felices illos, quorum fides et industria non  
per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab  
ipso te nec auribus tuis, sed oculis  
probabantur!*

The irony in this case consists in the injection of the phrases *non per internuntios et interpretes* and *nec auribus tuis* with their implication of less happy times gone by.

Pan. LVIII, 4: *miseros ambitionis, qui ita consules semper  
ut semper principes erant!*

This is spoken in mock commiseration of some of Trajan's predecessors.

there is some manuscript authority for reading *o hominem nequam*, etc., which would give us the direct discourse. But the editors uniformly follow the superior authority and omit the *o*. This variant reading shows how easily the *o* crept in where it did not belong and how seriously similar situations in Cicero ought to be regarded.

<sup>1</sup> The text of this passage is discussed on p. 291 above.



STATISTICAL TABLE.

	Plautus	Terence <sup>1</sup>	Cicero	Seneca	Pliny
edepol.....	20	1	..	..	..
hercle.....	9	1	..	..	..
ecastor.....	2	..	..	..	..
other invocations.....	4	8	1	1 <sup>2</sup>	..
o { with personal pronouns.....	..	..	7	3	4
o { other instances.....	13	26	79	17	13
heu.....	2	4	..	..	..
cheu.....	..	1	..	..	..
eugae.....	1	..	..	..	..
uah.....	..	1	..	..	..
ah.....	..	2	..	..	..
without interjections { with personal pronouns....	3	11	10	..	1
without interjections { other instances.....	22	9	22	1	4
	76	64	119	22	22
Average number of Teubner pages to each in- stance.....	16	5	10	27	17

<sup>1</sup> The figures in this column have been altered to conform with the changes mentioned on p. 279, notes 1 and 3, above.  
<sup>2</sup> A quotation from Cicero.

In conclusion it is evident that the accusative of exclamation was becoming less and less plastic. *O* has a position of increasing prominence and at last occurs even with personal pronouns. The non-interjectional usage, however, still has a place. All the other categories have practically been driven from the field. There is no basis for Müller's rule that a distinction can be drawn between the use of *o* "vor Sachen" and "bei Personen". A new development is found in the tendency for the omission of *o* to give a tone of commiseration or sarcasm. These observations have a bearing upon the constitution of the text at some fifteen points in Cicero's letters and at one point in Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium*.

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### III.—THE LOST COMMENTARY OF OECUMENIUS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

In the course of my examination of the Greek MSS of the Apocalypse I came to No. 99 Messina (Greg. 146) and very nearly passed it by. I had arranged in 1907 to have the MS sent to Rome to be photographed, but delayed giving the final order. The earthquake of 1908 supervened, the librarian of the university was killed, and I did not know what had been the fate of the MS.

I can now report that the MS is safe, and as it contains the whole commentary of Oecumenius, and as it is the only codex in the world known to us to contain this unpublished commentary, I think some account of it will interest readers of this JOURNAL.

Professor F. Diekamp was the first to call attention to this matter in 1901<sup>1</sup> and as he was able from it to give us a very close date for Oecumenius (until then unknown), the article should have attracted even more attention than it did.<sup>2</sup> Gregory repeats in 1902 (Textkritik, p. 807) "vielleicht vom ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts", and only in 1909 (Textkritik, p. 1352 bottom) does he correct this and very briefly. Under his new number for Apoc. 146 (viz. 2053) on p. 1191 he says nothing further. Nor, as far as I can find out, has he or Von Soden catalogued the other MS which Professor Diekamp brought to our notice, viz. B. I. 15 (Pasini cat. 84) at Turin which is a sister of Vat. gr. 1426 (Apoc. 155, now Greg. 2062) and a third member of the tiny group of Oecumenian MSS; for otherwise<sup>3</sup> we have nothing but a few MSS with abbreviated and mixed commentaries of Andreas and Oecumenius, which have little interest as such.

To the learned, patient and sympathetic Monsignor Mercati at the Vatican I owe my acquaintance with Professor Diekamp's article. I have been in communication with Professor Diekamp and his intention of publishing the whole commentary, which he mentioned in 1901, holds good "in nicht zu ferner zeit" so

<sup>1</sup> Sitzungsbericht, Berlin, No. xlii, xliii, p. 1046 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to in Hastings' Dict. of the Bible, v. 523, and by Dr. Swete in his ed. of the Apoc., p. cxciv.

<sup>3</sup> Ottob. gr. 126, 127 is but a XVII century copy of Vat. gr. 1426.



that I shall only anticipate him far enough to outline a few important facts in connection with the matter.

The Messina MS came from the local monastery of San Salvatore, where it bore the same No. 99. It is bicolunar and generally dated beginning of the XIII cent. It may easily be early XII, however, and appears as much Constantinopolitan as Egyptian or Sicilian. The ink is faded on some pages, and these pages would not make good photographs. Iota postscript occurs occasionally. The MS. was no doubt copied locally from an older MS, for the Vatican and Turin documents are not copied direct from Messina 99.

So much for dry preliminary matter.

While Messina 99 contains the whole of the Apoc. *cum com.*, the other two MSS jump from *ch i. fin* to *xv. init.* purposely abbreviating, and omitting chs. ii–xiv, inclusive, so that for this section we are left with only the one MS. For the rest we have a certain amount of check from Vat. 1426 and Turin B. I. 15.

The reason Oecumenius' commentary was never popularized or copied is easy to see, for he rushes from text to commentary and back again without special separation, besides repeating the text almost seriatim among the scholia, and it is hard for scribes to keep the text distinct. On the other hand the book has this great merit, that the text is *repeated* (for at least 75% of the contents of the Apoc.) in smaller clauses, upon which he comments after leaving the larger sections of the text, which are first given.

This acts as a check on the text proper, which is rough or corrupt in places, and absolutely proves to our great satisfaction that we are dealing with Oecumenius' very own text and not, as in the case of some of the Andreas MSS, with a text which Andreas himself *did not use originally*.

From ch. i, 1 we now get Oecumenius' date, for, commenting on *ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει* he says:

τί δὲ βούλεται αὐτῷ τὸ προσθεῖναι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.  
καὶ τοι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι οὐπω (οὐποτε Vatgr 1426) τετελεσμένων· ἤδη  
πλείστον δεδραμηκότος χρόνου ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα εἴρηται.  
ἐτῶν πλείωνων ἢ πεντακοσίων κ. τ. λ.

This provided us with an approximate date of the end of the VI or beginning of the VII century, say *circa* 600 A. D.

Therefore, as we can easily prove that the Messina MS gives us the undoctored text of Oecumenius himself, we recover an



*uncial* text of 600 A. D. as well as the lost commentary at the same time. After 1300 years this is very satisfactory.

I must leave the full treatment of the text for another occasion. It has many new points not reproduced in any Greek cursives, which confirms the view that it remained unknown and was not freely recopied, if at all. Beyond this it has other points of contact with some old readings in cursives, and while very friendly with the Latin (being quite alone with *gigas* a number of times) it agrees frequently alone with  $\kappa$  and  $\Lambda$  severally in particular expressions, which rather ties down to Alexandria again what is undoubtedly rather a peculiar and eclectic text in places.

But the commentary itself is quite interesting and will repay some study, so that we must hope that Professor Diekamp will find the time and opportunity to publish it in the near future.

Two points only do I wish to mention here at some length.

In xv. 6 Oecumenius seems to be the chief authority for λίθον (as opposed to λίνον). He seems to know nothing of λιων. In fact in some MSS combining *Oec.* and *Andreas* commentaries the scholia are completely left out at this place, no doubt owing to the conflict between these two words.

Oecumenius' comment on xv. 6 is as follows:

τὸ δὲ ἐνδεδύσθαι τοὺς ἀγγέλους, λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν δαίγμα τυγχάνει, τῆς τιμίας αὐτῶν καὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ φωτεινῆς, καὶ εἰς τὸ καλὸν (spatium litt. sex in 146, non in 155) ἐχούσης φύσεως, ἥ ἄρα τὸν  $\chi\bar{\nu}$  ἐνεδέδυντο.<sup>1</sup> λίθος γὰρ ὁ  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  παρὰ τῆς θείας ὠνόμασται γραφῆς, ὡς παρὰ Ἡσαΐα. ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια σιῶν λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἐκλεκτὸν, καὶ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ. λίθον δὲ ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες· οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. τοῦτον ἐνδεδύσθαι τὸν λίθον, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ σοφώτατος παῦλος παραίνει· ἐνδυσασθαι<sup>2 3</sup> τὸν λίθον ἡμῶν  $\iota\bar{\nu}$   $\chi\bar{\nu}$ . καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιείσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν.<sup>4</sup> I have recently reviewed the evidence (*Gen. of the Versions*, p. 389, vol. 1) so do not do so here. Oecumenius' testimony was then unknown to me, but simply joins a group with him elsewhere.

But far more important is another matter which I came across in Holy Week of last year. Oecumenius quotes quite often from St. Paul's Epistles and only occasionally from the Gospels, but he actually gives us the disputed Word from the cross (Luke xxiii 34) and in a manner which is quite interesting, thus adding yet another ancient witness for the reading. A reference to this

<sup>1</sup> 146 (ἐνεδέδοτο 155).

<sup>2</sup> 146 (ἐνδυσασθε 155).

<sup>3</sup> + λεγων 155.

<sup>4</sup> Sic 146 (ἐπιθυμία  $\sigma$  sic 155).



matter will enable me to dispel an apparent ambiguity on p. 377, vol. 1, of my "Concerning the Genesis of the Versions" for which the reviewer in the Journal of Theol. Studies, as I understand his criticism, rather unnecessarily took me to task. I had written

"That the evidence is not *unfaltering* as well, makes *for* rather than against the reading".

Concerning this he said:

"On page 377 there is some irrelevance".

Of course what I meant was this: that a reading existing in Irenaeus day, questioned by some MSS in the IV or V century, but *reaffirmed* in ancient times by the Church and by ecclesiastical writers of standing, having access to contemporary documents (after doubt had been thrown upon it by a few manuscripts, whether through *incuria* or deliberately), *gathered the greater force*. Now it so happens that Oecumenius makes my point for me and in these words:

οὐ μόνον δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν Διάφυγεῖν τοὺς πιστοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ συνεργήσαντας τῷ στρώϊ τοῦ κῦ. περὶ ᾧ ἔλεγεν. περ' ἃ φερεται αὐτῷ οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσιν. εἰ καὶ ὁ κύριλλος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ βιβλίῳ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ λέγει· μὴ κεῖσθαι ταύτην τοῦ κῦ τὴν εὐχθὴν ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ γε εἴρηται·

For the full force of *εἴρηται* consult the quotation above concerning the message of the Apocalypse itself (comment. on ch. i, 1) *ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα εἴρηται*. Oecumenius uses this expression very freely throughout of the announcements of prophets and evangelists.

So that we are evidently to read here "But of a truth in our day it is found in our copies and announced as the proper transmission of the text", and that notwithstanding Cyril of Alexandria's apparent adverse testimony. As I have pointed out before I hardly consider *κ\** and Cyril as two witnesses but as one. They no doubt flourished about the same time (the date of Cyril's *opus cit.* is thought to be circa 433) and both of Alexandria. It adds some force to Oecumenius' testimony and contradiction of this to find that *his* text is an Alexandrian one too.

The point to note is that Oecumenius now makes us certain that Cyril of Alex. left out the words intentionally in his commentary on St. Luke's Gospel, for he informs us that Cyril stated (again) in the XIIIth book against Julian that this short prayer of our Lord was not found in the Gospels. Now we have only



*ten* books of Cyril's work against Julian, besides a few fragments of some others, and this statement of Oecumenius seems therefore to provide us with a new fact in textual criticism.<sup>1</sup>

It is now perfectly clear that the reading known to *Irenaeus* and his contemporaries (whether cancelled by Marcion previously or not) was questioned between about A. D. 350 and 500, *but that by 600 A. D. the matter had been quite laid aside, as Oecumenius informs us.*

We are the people who revived the question in the XIXth century.

As regards the evidence for omission:

Mr. Buchanan has disposed of the witness *δ*\*.

I have shown (confirmed by Dr. Souter) that the text of the MS *a* was in St. Jerome's hands, and *a*'s testimony is hopelessly contradicted by St. Jerome.

We can surely class *κ*\* and *Cyril* as the same witness in a certain Alexandrian school of criticism A. D. 430. The Greek cursive 435 is absolutely in the same class. With 38<sup>1</sup> I am not so familiar.

The division among *Coptic* MSS again shows that the dispute as to the verse was largely a local one.

We are left with *Dd*, an important Graeco-Latin witness, of about the same age as Oecumenius himself. But the witness of *Dd* is not borne out by such otherwise very sympathetic codices as 28, 157, 473, 604, 892 and most of the Syriacs (all of whom do not scruple to sustain *Dd* elsewhere)—not to speak of the other Latins—although the new Greek MS *W* omits.<sup>2</sup> *W* and *D*, how-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Diekamp says that there are fragments of the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth books in the MS 165 at St. Mark's, Venice, but these I have seen and they do not bear on the point.

<sup>2</sup> 38 of the Gospels is a different MS from 38 of the Apoc. The latter is to be found (although only its margin) as a factor above at xv. 6. It has a most valuable base, but goes very wild at times, as my forthcoming publication of the MSS of the Apocalypse will show.

<sup>3</sup> The total evidence for omission to date is as follows: *κ*\*BD\*, T<sup>1</sup>W *a* *δ*\*\* *d* 38, 435, 579, 597 *syr sin sah boh* ½, and this remember against *Hegesippus*, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Clemhom* and the rest. *Von Soden* does not adduce a single new witness against the prayer, and this notwithstanding intense sympathy of some of his Sinai, Jerusalem and Athos codices for readings of *κ*B elsewhere. Nor does his Tiflis MS. 050 (representing the composite base of B-*κ*-D) omit. Correct *von Soden's* account of the matter however by changing *δ* to *δ*\*\* and add his ε 340 = *Gregory* 597, the Venice MS. mentioned by *Gregory* in his *Emendanda* to Tischendorf's VIIIth edition; for both 597



ever, are very closely allied and do not represent two schools, but one.

There remains then the great B, whose testimony here has probably caused us to revive the question of the Vth century. If B had been on the other side, we should hear very little of this. B therefore remains the largest factor in the matter for us today and has to be reckoned with. The remaining important witness for omission is the Sinaitic Syriac *against* its sister *Syr cu*, which has it in the proper place; and against the *diatess. arab.* It has generally been stated that the prayer is out of its proper place in Tatian's harmony and occurs before Luke xxiii. 46, but I think an inspection of the place and the context will show that the exigencies of the fourfold narrative, which are here brought into full play, are probably alone responsible for the prayer having been placed where it is to be found in the harmony, due to the expansion of the record from one account to embrace those of the four narrators.

I think the above is a fair statement of the matter as it stands today, and I cannot help believing that Oecumenius' testimony clarifies the air, and rather narrows the matter down to *one* school of criticism.

I will now give the entire context of the quotation. It occurs on the passage concerning the sealing of the XII tribes, and is only extant in the Messina MS.

Oecumenius, alone among MSS, leaves out the text of Apoc. vii. 5-8 altogether, and substitutes for the verses these remarks:

After VII 4 fin. occurs (as text) + καὶ λέγει λοιπὸν ἀπὸ ἐκάστης φυλῆς, δώδεκαχιλιάδας τοὺς σφραγισθέντας. And then follows:<sup>1</sup> ἐντεῦθεν σαφῶς τὰ περισσάντα Ἰουδαίους ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμῳ δέικνυται τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ, ὃ προφάσει γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ σταυροῦ· καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ κῦ παροινίας· οἱ γὰρ τέσσαρις ἄγγελοι οἱ κρατοῦντες τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς Ἰουδαίων γῆς· ἐφρούρουν ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν ἀξίων τεθῆναι (sic\*) Ἰουδαίων διαφύγῃ· δειλίαν ἴσως αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλοντες τῆς φυγῆς. ἡ δυσχερείας τινὰς, ἡ ἔξωροντης πατρίδος πόθοι γυναικῶν τε καὶ φιλάτων. ἅτινα τροπικῶς διασημαίνεται. διὰ τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς Ἰουδαίας· το δὲ γε τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους κρατεῖσθαι ἐφ' ὃ τὸ μὴ πνέειν μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. μήτε ἐπὶ τι δένδρον ὑποσημαίνει· τὸ, μὴ δεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάψυξιν εὐρᾶσθε ἐν τῷ πολέ-

(Soden 340) and 579 (Soden 376) omit. T<sup>1</sup> (Soden 78) is a IX cent. uncial at Paris from the White monastery, published by Amélineau.

<sup>1</sup> I have substituted η for Η of the scribe which occurs frequently. Otherwise it is close to the autograph.



μῆτε μὴδὲ τίνα τῶν συμφορῶν παραψυχὴν, μῆτε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεζομαχοῦντας· μῆτε τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ναυμαχοῦντας· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνανυμάχησαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰώσηππον· μῆτε μὴν (sic)<sup>1</sup> τοὺς γεωργία καὶ φυτῶν ἐπιμελεία προσανέχοντας· πάντα γὰρ ἄρδην κατέλαβε τὰ κακά· πόλεων μὲν πυρ πολυμένων· γῆς δὲ θηουμένης· φυτῶν δὲ κειρομένων ἃ δεῖ πάντα ὁ Ἰώσηππος ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξέρχεται ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἀλώσεως Ἱστορίᾳ· (VII. 2/3 repeated) καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου ἔχουσα σφραγίδα θυ ζῶντος· καὶ ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλη τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀγγέλοις, οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν λέγων· μὴδὲν ἀδικήσετε φη' ἄχρι σφραγισθῶσιν οἱ δούλοι τοῦ θυ ἡμῶν· τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας παραγίνεσθαι τὸν θεῖον ἄγγελον· εὐαγγελισμὸν αἰνίττεται καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίαν· τὴν δέ γε σφραγίδα τὴν νῦν. καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἐν πνι προορῶν ἔλεγεν· ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου κέ· καλῶς τέ ως τὸ μὴδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι κελεύει, ἄχρι σφραγισθῶσιν οἱ τοῦ διασωθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄξιοι· ὅπως μὴ δὲ οἱ δίκαιοι σὺν τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς πάθωσιν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων· καὶ ἐσφράγισαν φη' ἑκατὸν τέσσαρα (as in full text above on VII. 4), κοντέσσας χιλιάδας· (compendio) πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονες οἱ χϞι πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· οἷς καὶ τὸ σῶζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ὠφείλετο πανολεθρία· καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ λέγοντες τῷ παύλῳ ἐν Ἰλῆμ<sup>2</sup> γενομένῳ· θεωρεῖς ἀδελφε πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν πέπιστευκότων<sup>3</sup> οὐ μόνον δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν Διάφυγεῖν τοὺς πιστοὺς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ συνεργήσαντας τῷ στρῶι τοῦ κυ· περὶ ᾧ ἔλεγεν· πῆρ' ἄφες αὐτὸν οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν· εἰ καὶ ὁ κύριλλος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ βιβλίῳ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ λέγει· μὴ κεῖσθαι ταύτην τοῦ κυ τὴν εὐχθὴν ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις· παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ γε εἴρηται· καὶ οὐ μόνον τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲ παρόντας τηνικάδε. ἡ ἐνδημοῦντας ἐν τῇ Ἰλῆμ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ κεκοινωνηκότας τῇ ἀνοσίῳ βουλή· τῶν καταράτων ἀρχιερέων τῇ περὶ τοῦ στρου. ἡ καὶ παρόντας μὲν, οὐ μὴν (sic) τοῦ μιάσματος κατεσχηκότας. εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πᾶσαν εὐλόγησε τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν, ἐναντίως ἀποβα— (sic fin lin)· ἡ ὡς τὸ θεοστυγες ἡ βούλετο συρέδριον τῶν παρανόμων· οὗς πάντα εἰκὸς ὕστερον τῇ χυ σφραγισθῆναι πίστει· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἄλλως ὁ ἄγγελος ἐκάλεσε δούλους θυ· ὧν διασωθέντων φυγῆτέ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, οἱ λοιποὶ κακοὶ, κακῶς διεφθάρησαν· θέατρον γενηθέντες τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις· ἑτέρως καὶ οὐχ' ὡς ὁ παῦλος περὶ τῶν θεσπεσίων εἴρηκεν ἀποστόλων· τούτων δὲ πάλιν μάρτυς ὁ Ἰώσηππος πλείστας ὅσας παραμυθούμενος μυριάδας τῷ λιμῷ τὸ δὲ ἴσον κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς σφραγισθέντων τὲ καὶ πεπιστευκότων, τὸν ἰσότημον ζῆλον

<sup>1</sup> Used again, alone among MSS, at VII. 16 οὔτε μὴν (*pro ουδε πρωι.*) where A 14-92. 18. use οὐδε μὴ.

<sup>2</sup> Act. XXI. 20.



εἰ τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίον ἀνίσταται· καὶ ἐκ τῆς δὲ μεν τῆς φυλῆς πλείους· ἐξ  
 ἑτέρας δὲ ἐλάττους ἐσώθησαν τε καὶ ἐπίστευσαν χ<sup>ω</sup>· τῷ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων μὲν  
 ἀτιμασθέντι· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ γε καὶ πασῶν ὑπερκοσμίου κτίσεως προσκυνούμενῳ·  
 Νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ· καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν †

† λόγος πέμπτος:

αὐτὰ μὲν ἅπερ ὁ λόγος ἀφη-  
 γήσατο, δέδεικται τῷ  
 θεσπεσίῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ. πε-  
 ρὶ τῶν ἐξ αἵματος ἰηλ ἐσφ<sup>ρ</sup>  
 γισμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο<sup>3</sup>

fo. 41 recto col II entire  
 σωθέντων· εἶτα καὶ πε-  
 πιστευκότων· ἀλλ' ὅπ-  
 μηδὲν ἐλλιπέος αὐτῶν θε-  
 ωρηθείη· δείκνυσιν αὐτῶν  
 ὁ χρηματισμὸς καὶ τὰς ἀ-  
 πείρους τῶν ἐθνῶν με-  
 ριάδας· τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα  
 τῇ πίστει προσδραμότας (?)  
 ἀμφί τε τὸν κ<sup>ν</sup> οὐσας· καὶ  
 τῷ θεῷ παρεστώσας  
 θρόνῳ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ  
 σον οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῆς θεω-  
 ρίας προαναφωνήσῃ ὁ κ<sup>ς</sup>  
 γράφεται παραγινόμενος  
 ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ·  
 οἱ δὲ ἅγιοι τῆνικάδε ἄρ-  
 πάσσονται ἐν νεφέλαι<sup>1</sup>  
 εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ σ<sup>ρς</sup>·  
 κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολο,<sup>2</sup>  
 προηρπαγμένους αὐτοὺς  
 ἡ ὁπτασία δείκνυσιν καὶ  
 τῆς ἀποκειμένης αὐτοῖς  
 μακαριότητος τετυχη-  
 κότας· τί γὰρ τοῦ ἡξιῶσθαι

fo. 41 verso col. I top  
 μετὰ χ<sup>ν</sup> εἶναι καὶ τὸν θεῖ-  
 ον ἐποπτεύειν θρόνον  
 μακαριώτερον· Ὅρα

- > δὲ τί φη· μετὰ ταῦ νη, 9
  - > τὰ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ δχλ<sup>1</sup>,
  - > πολὺς δὲ ἀριθμῆσαι
- κ. τ. λ.

<sup>1</sup> From here on I give the MS in cols. to show the arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> End of col. I fo. 41 recto.



I must be very brief as to the text but I will try and condense a few points of interest establishing its age.

We are alone, or nearly alone, with *gigas* as follows :

- I. 7 + του ουρανου (*post νεφελων*) 59 and *gig.*
- IV. 6 —και εν μεσω του θρονου
- VI. 7 το τεταρτον ζων C Gr, and *gig.*
- VII. 2 + και τα δενδρα (*post θαλασσαν*) *text* (*non com.*)
- XII. 13 εδωκε *pro* εδιωξε *text et com.* (*ter*)
- XV. 8 [τελεσθωσιν *text*] *sed* πληρωθωσιν *com.* Cf. *gig.*
- XVIII. 16 —εν (*ante χρυσω*)
- XIX. 4 εν τω θρονω (*pro* επι του θρονου)

Besides many other places where *gigas* is in a small group, as i. 14 (*com.*) + και *ante* ωσει χιων, iii. 3 προσ σε (*pro* επι σε *sec.*) with 56 only and *latt*, vi. 2—και *ull.* (*ante ινα*) *latt* and only 3 Greek cursives, ix. 2 conflating μεγαλης καιομενης with *gig. syr s* 36 and 38 (all others substitute), so that we carry the Latin back with and beyond us. The *Gigas* version of the Apoc. may not be as old as that of the Acts (which undoubtedly goes back of Lucifer and A. D. 350), but with our other affiliations, this Graeco-Latin plainly derives from something much older than 600 A. D.

Now see the sympathetic bond with A (Codex Alexandrinus), which takes us to the neighborhood of 500 A. D.

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|---|---|
| <p>V. 6 απεσταλμενοι (-τα) <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i></p> <p>VII. 16 ουτε μην (<i>pro</i> ουδε <i>prim.</i>)</p> <p>XIII. 10 αποκτενειν (<i>pro</i> αποκτενει)</p> <p>XIV. 18 —εξηλθεν <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i></p> <p>XVI. 17 —του ουρανου</p> <p>XVII. 3 γεμοντα ονοματα</p> <p>XVIII. 3 —του οινου <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i></p> <p>10 μιαν ωραν (<i>pro</i> εν μια ωρα)</p> <p>21 μυλινον (<i>pro</i> μυλον)</p> <p>XXI. 11 —εχουσιν την δοξαν του θεου<br/>καὶ</p> <p>XXII. 5 ουχ εξουσι χρεϊαν</p> <p>8 εβλεπον (<i>pro</i> εβλεψα) <i>text &amp; com.</i></p> <p>11 —και ορυπων ρυπωσατω ετι <i>text</i></p> | <p>A and <i>Oec.</i> alone</p> <p>(απεσταλμενα N and four cursives<br/>αποστελλομενα B and seventy cursives<br/>τα απεσταλμενα P and twelve cursives<br/>τα αποστελλομενα twelve cursives)</p> <p>A 14-92 18 and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p><i>Oec.</i> (αποκτανθηναι A 19 only)</p> <p>A 81* 100 114 <i>gig</i> only, and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A sah copt two cursives (14-92. 95)<br/>and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A (N P) and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A alone and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A 95 102 and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A alone and <i>Oec.</i> (μυλικον C)</p> <p>A 35 98, (35 104 + και) (Copt.) and<br/>Oec.</p> <p>A <i>gig</i> (<i>Syr. S</i>) and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A alone and <i>Oec.</i></p> <p>A eight cursives and <i>Oec.</i></p> |
|---|---|



I could add many other places with some support, as iii. 17 ουδεν *pro* ουδενος with A (C) 12-81-114-121 Syr. S, XVII. 8 υπαγει, XIX. 6—*as sec.* etc.

Then consider  $\aleph$  with *Oec.*, taking us back to a period before 400 A. D.:

I. 17 εις ( <i>pro</i> προς)	$\aleph$ two cursives (13-23-55 and 36) and <i>Oec.</i>
<i>ibid.</i> —μη φοβου	$\aleph$ and two cursives only with <i>Oec. text</i>
V. 5 —ο ων <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i>	$\aleph$ 14. 32. <i>gig. Copt. Syr. S</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
VI. 15 ισχυροι ( <i>pro</i> ΟΙ δυνατοι <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i> )	$\aleph$ 50 95 <i>Latt.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
VIII. 13 —εν <i>text</i> ( <i>non com.</i> )	$\aleph$ alone and <i>Oec.</i>
IX. 2/3 —του φρεατος. Και εκ του καπνου <i>text</i> ( <i>habet com.</i> )	$\aleph$ *68 and <i>Oec.</i>
6 φυγη ( <i>pro</i> φευζεται) <i>text</i> [ <i>com.</i> φευγει <i>ut</i> AP]	$\aleph$ only and <i>Oec.</i>
12 —ή <i>init.</i>	( $\aleph$ ) and $\aleph^a$ only and <i>Oec.</i>
13 —τεσσαρων <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i>	$\aleph^a$ A 18 <i>Copt. Latt alig.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
X. 9 βιβλιον <i>text</i> ( <i>om. claus. com.</i> )	$\aleph$ only and <i>Oec.</i>
XI. 16 —οι <i>prim.</i>	$\aleph^a$ A 72 <i>Copt.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XIV. 13. και ( <i>pro</i> ναι)	33 98 and <i>Oec.</i> ( <i>om. ναι</i> $\aleph^*$ <i>Copt.</i> )
19 <i>fin.</i> [την μεγαλην]	$\aleph$ very few cursives and <i>Oec.</i> with <i>textus receptus</i> against τον μεγαν of CBP and most, τον μεγα of A and 18, του μεγαλου by 36
XV. 3 αδοντας ( <i>pro</i> αδουσι)	$\aleph$ 119-123 <i>vg. Prim.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XVI. 14 —εκεινης	$\aleph$ 14-92. 38 <i>gig. copt. aeth arm Tich.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XVIII. 19 της κεφαλης	$\aleph$ 59 <i>Copt.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XIX. 17 αλλον ( <i>pro</i> ενα) <i>text</i> [ <i>com. και εις αγγελος</i> ]	$\aleph$ 36 <i>Copt. Sah Syr. S</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
20 την εικονα ( <i>pro</i> τη εικονη)	$\aleph^*$ 38 61-126 <i>gig. (Copt.)</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XX. 2 εστιν ο διαβολος	$\aleph$ twelve cursives <i>Copt.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
XXI. 18 —ην <i>text</i> and <i>com.</i>	$\aleph^a$ AP 62=63-65-72 <i>Syr. S</i> and <i>Oec.</i>
20 αμεθύντινω <i>Oec. text</i>	Cf. $\aleph^*$ αμεθυσινωσ ( <i>αμεθυσοσ</i> $\aleph^a$ and <i>Oec. com.</i> )
XXII. 2 —των ( <i>ante</i> εθνων) <i>text</i>	$\aleph$ , no cursives, <i>latt.</i> and <i>Oec.</i>

In the same chapter (XIII) we find *Oec.* using νουν for οὖς in his *com.* (XIII. 9) and  $\aleph^*$  at XIII. 18 using ουσ for τον νουν. In XIII. 8 *Oec.* (*text* and *com.*) writes ουρανου for αρνιου.  $\aleph$  does this at XXI. 27. No other MSS.

$\aleph$  A and *Oec.* may be seen in combination at:

- XI. 16 —οι *pr.*  
 XXII. 6 + ὁ (*ante* κυριος)  
 14 οι πλυνοντες τας στολας αυτων



and CA and *Oec.* in places like :

XIII. 8 + αὐτοῦ (*post* το ὄνομα)

XIV. 8 ἡ (*pro* οτι)

18 φωνη (*pro* κραυγή)

As a culminating proof of Egyptian origin for this text of *Oec.* we have to submit that at :

XVIII. 17 *Oec.* reads ὁ ἐπὶ τον ποταμόν πλέων (for ἐπὶ των πλοίων ο ὁμιλος) which is the reading of the *Sahidic*, now confirmed by Dr. Budge in his recent edition of a fresh MS of the Sah. Apoc. in the British Museum.

Then we go to a form at xi. 6 of βρεξη *text* (*com.* βρεξει) with *Hippolytus* alone, all the rest having βρεχει or βρεχη including the uncials, and this carries us back further. We also read σαλπικτων alone with *Hipp.* (as edited), at xviii. 22.

The relations with the interesting cursives such as 18,<sup>1</sup> 38,<sup>2</sup> 40,<sup>3</sup> 56,<sup>4</sup> 61,<sup>5</sup> would take us too far if we particularized, but they stand out with force, as do certain relations with *Syr.* and *Copt.* As to the latter note ἐν τοις *pro* προς τοις i. 16, — κερασσε xviii. 6; and as to *Syr.* note i. 15 — ως *prim.*, xix. 14 + και (*ante* ενδεδυμετοι) besides some examples above in combination.

Finally consider C for a moment as to the age of these things. We have noticed C *gigas* with *Oec.* alone together at vi. 7 το τεταρτον ζων for φωνην του τεταρτου ζου (where BP and seventy-five cursives suppress φωνην but maintain του τεταρτου ζου). Consider the matter further for a moment. In the following verse vi. 8 *init.* C and *Oec. text* alone omit the introductory και, but *Oec.* does not do so in his commentary repetition of the verse. On the other hand to show how intimate is the relation between the three, i. e. C and *Oec. text* and *Oec. com.*, we find at xi. 18 C using (alone) κληρος for καιρος ("ὁ κληρος τῶν νεκρῶν") which is exactly what *Oec.* does in his commentary but not in his text. In i. 7 *Oec.* uses ἐπὶ for μετα *text* and *com.* as C only. Further we pick up the peculiar form αστρων for αστερων in xii. 4 in *Oec. text*,

<sup>1</sup> — μετ εμου 10. 18. 40 and *Oec.* only.

<sup>2</sup> See beyond, and note xxi. 6 γεγονασιν 38, 56 and *Oec.*

<sup>3</sup> As i. 3. ακουων (*pro* οι ακουντες) 40 and *Oec.* only.

<sup>4</sup> As iii. 3. προς σε (*pro* ἐπὶ σε *sec.*) 56 *last* and *Oec.* only; xvii. 10 ὁ δ' ἄλλος 56 and *Oec.*

<sup>5</sup> As xvii. 4 ποτηριον ἐν τη χειρι αὐτης χρυσουν 61 and *Oec.* only.



but we find it deliberately repeated in the *commentary*, and again, alone among MSS, C has this.

In this rather careless connection I might mention that at viii. 1 *Oecumenius* joins the small band in reading with C *ημῶρον* in his *text*, although in his *com.* repetition the form is corrected to *ημῶριον*.

In considering the previous lists it must be borne in mind that these readings are opposed by one hundred and thirty other witnesses whom we have confronted with this situation. Some are merely mistakes. Others trace to the influence of versions.

As he gathers the evidence and sifts it these points of contact appeal tremendously to the worker himself, but I cannot help feeling that they lose some of their force, divested of the context, and thus listed to be studied in cold blood by the casual reader or desk student.

It is a painful and laborious process to gather the evidence and sift it, and the collator of MSS is only repaid by the full and striking force of each particular reading as it reaches him in its exceptional character.

To try and convey this force adequately is quite beyond my power.

But it is my privilege to recover part of the long forgotten text of a writer who thus sheds additional light on the interrelation of the versions at an early date and shows to us his sources without being aware of the fact. These sources indicate a common original involving *κ* A as well as C, *gigas*, the *bohairic*, Gwynn's *Syriac*, 18, 38, 40, 56 and other most important cursives.

In closing I venture to mention an interesting point as regards *κ* and *Oecumenius*.

At xii. 13 we read: *καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ δράκων ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξε τὴν γυναῖκα. . . .*

I was surprised to find in *Oec. text* the variation *ἐδίωκε*, and thought this was a slip, which would be corrected in the commentary. Instead of this, *Oec.* again gives the imperfect form in his commentary repetition. Not content with this, and in order to drive the point home to me, I found that he repeated it twice more in his commentary observations. Upon turning up my ledger of collected readings I found that *κ\** had written *ἐδωκεν*. Tischendorf in his notes to the N. T. Gr. Ed. viii merely says: "*κ\** *ἐξεδίωξεν* (*corrupte κ\** *ἐδωκεν*)", so that to this day we thought *κ* had made a stupid blunder, but he had only left out an iota! In view



of the list given above<sup>1</sup> of Oecumenius' affiliations with  $\aleph$ , I think we may now consider it certain that in the exemplar which  $\aleph$  was copying the word stood  $\epsilon\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$ . We have another witness to the matter (who from this would appear to be contemporary), for *Gigas* reads *persequabatur*, while *h* and the other Latins have *persecutus est*. For another instance of imperfect for aorist consult xxii. 8  $\epsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu$  for  $\epsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\psi\alpha$  by A alone among MSS supported now by Oecumenius (*com.* as well as *text*).

Of all the Evangelists St. John is the only one to use the imperfect of  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$  (Jo. xiii. 22) and also that of  $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\omega$  (Jo. v. 16).

$\delta\iota\omega\kappa\omega$  occurs 44 times in the N. T. The imperfect is used four times only. Once, as above, by St. John, once by the author of the Acts (xxvi. 11), twice by St. Paul (Gal. i. 13, iv. 29).

$\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$  and its forms occur no less than 121 times in the N. T. (counting compounds 168 times). The imperfect of  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$  is only found in Jo. xiii. 22 and Acts ix. 8. Of the compounds not once with  $\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$  (out of 25); not with  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$  (out of 3 times); while  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$  is found at Mark v. 32 (out of seven times). Remains  $\epsilon\mu\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$ . Once only at Acts xxii. 11 we find  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu$  (out of 12 occasions). Add the various reading in Mark viii. 25  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\nu$  (for  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\epsilon\psi\epsilon$ ) by  $\aleph$  BLD *fam.* 13, 28 (244) (*Syr.*) and I think we have covered the ground. So that the point raised by  $\aleph$ , A, and Oecumenius in the Apocalypse from a rather trivial appearance at first is not without a certain interest for the critics of the New Testament, be they concerned with the authorship of the Books, with the mere grammar of the N. T., with the vagaries of MSS and their local provenance, or merely with the methods of the Concordance.

<sup>1</sup> I have not included in this as to  $\aleph$  a similar small point to that adduced above as to C and *Oec.*, who read  $\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omega\nu$ . In xvii. 12  $\aleph^*$  reads  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$  for  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$ . So does *Oec. text* (*non com.*) in both the Messina MS and Vat. 1426! Not content with such a small thing as this let me press it home with this roundabout illustration. At xxi. 12 the text [not the *com.*] of *Oec.* makes *fifteen* gates! He reads  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$  adding three from somewhere. But in his description of the matter, xxi. 13, he reduces them to *nine*, for he *omits*  $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\omega\nu$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . So does  $\aleph^*$ ! As a matter of fact the cursive 80 (quite sympathetic to *Oec.* in spots) makes 15 gates, for he writes:

" $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda.$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\alpha$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda.$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda.$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\omega\nu$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda.$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  +  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\mu\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\beta\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ".

If those interested will refer to  $\aleph$  they will find that between  $\aleph^*$  and  $\aleph^a$  they nearly gave us fifteen gates as well.



A last feature which I would like to mention has reference to some of the unique expressions of Oecumenius which occur in the text and in the commentary. Some of these commentary expressions are found in a few of our later cursives,<sup>1</sup> the writers of which were probably acquainted with Oecumenius' commentary.

In the same way it may be that some of the words occurring in Oecumenius *text*<sup>2</sup> were familiar to him from the lost *commentaries* of Justin (?), Irenaeus and Origen. If we find these we shall probably see a connection.

But above all, this Messina document is most helpful in checking what is wrong in  $\kappa$ , A and C. First we establish an intimate relation between *Oec.* and these three documents (extending to the veriest trifles so that the common base was a common MS source) and then we are able to note the divergence.

Thus while in one chapter at xiv. 13 we read  $\tau\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$  for  $\tau\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$  with  $\kappa$  CAP 18 26 38 95 107 [no other cursives] *gig.* and *Prim.*, just above at xiv. 12 we hold  $\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  of most against the (apparently) important group  $\kappa$  36 38 56 95 for  $\tau\omega\nu\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\nu\tau\omega\nu$ .

In the same way at xiv. 6 we *add*  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  between  $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  with  $\kappa$  CAP 34-35 (*hiant* 68-87) *Syr.*; at xiv. 7 we put  $\kappa$  in the wrong by holding  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  (which  $\kappa$  omits), and we hold  $\epsilon\nu\ \phi\omega\nu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$  where A (alone) omits  $\epsilon\nu$ . At xiv. 8 *Oec.* contradicts  $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$  of  $\kappa$  C and *Copl.* [wanting  $\kappa^*$ ] for *Oec.* has plainly  $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon$ .

Similarly at xiii. 6 we hold  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\iota\alpha\nu\ \iota\epsilon\chi\iota$  and *com.*, where  $\kappa$  CA conspire (with i. 18. 34. 67-87. 95) for  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$  and are apparently wrong, for i is opposed by twelve other members of the i family, 34-87 are opposed by 35 (68 wanting), 67 is op-

<sup>1</sup> As vi. 9  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$  for  $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\nu$  *Oec.* text and *com.* So 38 alone; as xii. i +  $\eta\nu$  after  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\omega$ . So 38 alone.

<sup>2</sup> Such are i. 6  $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota$ , i. 8  $\text{fin.} + \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , ii. 7  $\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\iota$  for  $\nu\iota\kappa\omega\nu\tau\iota$ , iii. 17  $\acute{o}\ \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\acute{o}\ \tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , iii. 18  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\ \lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha$  for  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\ \iota\epsilon\chi\iota$  (*com.*:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ ), iv. 5  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  for  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ , v. 4  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota$  for  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ , viii. 4 +  $\epsilon\nu$  ( $\alpha\pi\iota\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ), viii. 5  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\nu$  for  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\phi\epsilon\nu$ , x. 9  $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$  for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$  [not Lat. = *devora*], xi. i  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$  (so 61-95-126 a group which has a unique but small selection of old readings apart from their regular type), xi. 8 +  $\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  after  $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , xiii. 3  $\epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\beta\eta\theta\eta\ \iota\epsilon\chi\iota$  and *com.* for  $\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\sigma\theta\eta$ , xiii. 12  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\eta$  for  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\tau\eta$ , xviii. 14  $\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$  for  $\kappa\alpha\pi\nu\omicron\nu$  ( $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$  A), xxi. 2  $\alpha\pi\omicron\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$  for  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$ , xxii. 7  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  for  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \iota\epsilon\chi\iota$  and *com.* Same verse  $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  for  $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \tau\eta\rho\omega\nu\ \iota\epsilon\chi\iota$  and *com.*, xxii. 12  $\tau\alpha\chi\nu\ \tau\alpha\chi\nu$ .



posed by its very close sister 120, and 95 is opposed by its relations 61-126.

However interesting to me, it would be too long to proceed.

Reserving for the future detailed criticism of *von Soden's* new edition of the Greek New Testament recently published, I may say here that he has neglected altogether by far the most important Greek cursive MS. of the Apocalypse, and has done scant justice to Gwynn's Syriac, while as to Oecumenius and the Messina MS. he has evidently not had it collated and overlooks all the points of contact in it with the Greek uncials. This, in an edition planned with the special object of collating the cursives and claiming to represent the *dernier cri* of criticism, is worthy of the strongest condemnation, for it misleads the public.

H. C. HOSKIER.



#### IV.—AGAIN LUCILIUS ON *EI* AND *I*.

The rules of Lucilius for the spelling of *ei* and *i* have recently been the subject of considerable discussion, cf. Sommer, *Hermes* XLIV (1909) 70–77; Skutsch, *Glotta* I (1909) 309–311, III (1912) 353 f.; Kent, A. J. P. XXXII (1911) 272–293, *Glotta* IV (1912) 299–302; Ehrlich, *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung* (1912) 73–77; Fay, A. J. P. XXXIII (1912) 311–316. The last article impels me briefly to take up the subject again.

In considering the date at which earlier *ei* became identical in sound with earlier *i*, it must be granted that inscriptional material between 175 and 150 B. C. is scanty; but in the *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 we do find the orthography of *ei* and *i* consistently correct from the historical standpoint. That this inscription preserves final *d* of the ablative, which has been shown to be no longer sounded in the spoken language of Plautus, can hardly impeach its testimony about *ei* and *i*; for the preservation in writing of a lost sound in such a striking position—especially in a definite paradigmatic category—is quite a different matter from the preservation of the graphic distinction of two sounds that have now become identical with each other. The lost sound might remain in memory for some time and appear in writing, like *H = h* upon Attic inscriptions of the last decades before the *h*-less Ionic alphabet was officially adopted at Athens, in 403 B. C.; but the latter distinction could hardly be long preserved unless there was a strong literary orthographic norm. Further, the Plautine quip<sup>1</sup> to the effect that *iram* ‘anger’, i. e. *ci**ram*, had been mistaken for a word one letter shorter, namely *eram* ‘mistress’, shows a difference in spelling still appreciated by a general public, or the joke would have passed unnoticed; this is in a play of about 189 B. C. For these reasons, the evidence of the SCdB. on *ei* and *i* is to be considered trustworthy, despite the writing of final *d*; and the knowledge when *ei* should be written and when *i*, is assured at least until 186. No testimony against this can be drawn from the inscription of Spolegium,

<sup>1</sup> *Truc.* 262 ff.; cf. Anderson, *TAPA*. XXXVII (1906) 85.



CIL. XI 4766, cut before 200 B. C., with the confusion seen in RES DEINA and REIDINAI; for from the root of *dinus* = *divinus* we have *dus* with earlier *z* (= Skt. *divya-h*) as well as *deus divus* with original *ei* (= Skt. *devā-h*); cf. Oscan *diſvii ai*<sup>1</sup> and *de i v a i* with similar difference of vocalism. A confusion of the two forms of the radical syllable may then be readily understood, especially in a region like Umbria, where diphthongs became monophthongs considerably earlier than in (urban) Latin. How long after 186 B. C. the difference between the sound of *ei* and that of *z*, or the recollection of the difference, lasted, we cannot determine, except that we find no example of confusion in writing before 150 B. C.

But when the confusion came, Accius<sup>2</sup> (c. 170 to c. 86) in prescribing orthographic rules adopted the easy device of writing every *z* with EI; Lucilius (c. 180 to c. 103) on the other hand prescribed EI for *z* in some words, and I for it in others. The difference between the two men is readily understood: granting graphic EI with the sound *z* and graphic I with the sounds *z* and *i*, they differ as the reformers and the conservatives in English spelling to-day. Accius said that I should not have two phonetic values (*z* and *i*), when EI already had one of these values (*z*) and was available for use for that sound in all words wherein it occurred, without producing any confusion; such a use left I as the graphic representative of *i* only. Lucilius tried to conserve the practice of earlier years, so far as it was known to him empirically,<sup>3</sup> thus upholding a state of affairs as confusing as English *seize, siege, believe, receive, proceed, precede*; that such rules as his should be needed at all, implies either an outrageous confusion in the writing of the time<sup>4</sup> or the currency of some such rule as that of Accius.

It should be observed, however, that the distinction of the diphthong from the pure vowel was not wholly lost even after 150 B. C.; it persisted in rustic and dialectal Latin, where the diphthong appeared as *ē*—witness rustic *spēca* for urban *spīca*,

<sup>1</sup> Unless this form be an error; cf. Buck, Oscan and Umbrian Grammar, § 95a and fn., with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Mar. Vict. VI 8, 13-14 K.

<sup>3</sup> That he may have consulted older inscriptions is a possibility that can be neither proved nor refuted.

<sup>4</sup> As is actually found on the inscriptions. Similar confusion reigns in modern Greek, where *elvai* means 'est, sunt', but is written *elve*; and *σπίτι* 'house', from Latin *hospitium*, almost invariably appears as *σπητι*.



from original *\*speicā*.<sup>1</sup> Thus a Roman grammarian could hardly have failed to note that there were words in which urban *z* corresponded to rustic and dialectal *ī*, and others in which urban *ī* corresponded to rustic and dialectal *ē*; so that words with urban *z* fell into two distinct classes, separable by their rustic and dialectal equivalents. Lucilius had this to guide him in making up his rules, as well as his own memories of the orthography taught him as a boy.

In these rules, it is of course an *orthographic* distinction of identical sounds, and not a difference in pronunciation, for which he is giving directions. No one could fail to realize that for some time before the composition of the rules *ei* and *ī* had been indistinguishable by *ear*—at least in *urban* Latin. From this follows a corollary, that in the rules every spelling must be adequately indicated in *words*. Now Marx's text of the only passage disputed, is:

- 358 'meille' hominum, duo 'meilia', item huc e utroque opus, 'meiles'  
 359 'meilitiam'. tenues i: 'pilam' in qua lusimus, 'pilum'  
 360 quo *piso*, tenues. si plura haec feceris pila  
 361 quae iacimus, addes e 'peila' ut plenius fiat.

The first part of this Prof. Fay<sup>2</sup> paraphrases: "Because of its intrinsic plurality *meille*, as well as *meilia*, should be spelt with *ei*. Similarly also the <cognate?> words *meiles* and *meilitia* <? because, as generally used, they are collectives>". But the prescription on the spelling will not be clear without an explanatory comment; and the curious setting of the comment between two sets of examples, as Fay interprets it, should excite surprise. Rather the passage is to be divided with a colon after *item*,<sup>3</sup> and with periods after *opus* and after *tenues i*.<sup>4</sup> Then the rule reads, paraphrased: "*Meille*, and plural *meillia* likewise, both require *e*: *miles* and *militia* have a mere *i*". The traditional punctuation is doubtless an attempt to force upon Lucilius the opinion which Varro LL. V 89 expressed, that *miles* is a derivative of *meille*. An unprejudiced consideration of the Lucilian passage must lead to the conclusion that the examples and the rules applicable

<sup>1</sup> Varro RR. I 48, 2; cf. Ehrlich, p. 73 f., for farther evidence of a similar nature.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., 316.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. P. XXXII 275 f.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., 274.



to them are to be arranged thus—using the text of Marx, unpunctuated, but spelling with *i* throughout:

Examples.	Rules.
I. Mille hominum duo milia	item huc e utroque opus
II. miles militiam	tenues i
III. pilam in qua lusimus pilum quo piso	tenues
IV. si plura haec feceris pila quae iacimus	addes e pila ut plenius fiat

Thus Lucilius prescribes *miles* and *militia*, which are in accord with historical fact (cf. CIL. I 63, I 35); and not *meiles* and *meilitia*.

To understand *pilam* as 'ball', with Fay<sup>1</sup> and others, is impossible, for the verse is then unmetrical: names of letters are long, and *pil(am)* *in* would require a preceding short syllable in the dactylic hexameter. Therefore, *pilam* must be read, and *tēnūēs* *i* must be emended to the value of  $\cup \cup -$ . While I prefer *tenue i*,<sup>2</sup> any other reading which has this metrical value—the meaning of the phrase standing here can hardly be matter of dispute—equally well supports my contention.<sup>3</sup> I should therefore read *pilam in qua pinsimus*.<sup>4</sup> Against the usual reading *pilam in qua lusimus* is not only the error in meter, but the peculiar use of *in* in a way not supported by similar phrases and the remarkable perfect tense in *lusimus*, which is queer, despite Fay's interpretation<sup>5</sup> "at which I played <of yore> = no longer play". For that matter, ball-playing was not confined to children among the Romans, and Horace Serm. II 1, 73 f. says that Scipio and Laelius

Nugari cum illo (= Lucilio) et discincti ludere, donec  
Decoqueretur holus, soliti,

which has a certain amount of appropriateness here, whatever form the *ludi* of the three friends may have taken.

Prof. Fay thinks<sup>6</sup> that, at least to Lucilius, *pilum* 'javelin' was the same word as *pilum* 'pestle', and that the *e* of plural *peila* was merely to indicate the number. Had that been Lucilius' thought, it is curious that he should have felt it necessary or desirable to gloss *peila* as 'javelins', when it meant also, and equally well, 'pestles'. This difficulty evidently occurred to

<sup>1</sup> Ib., 314–316.      <sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XXXII 277–279.      <sup>3</sup> Cf. Glotta IV 301.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. P. XXXII 279 f. *Pila* 'mortar' may very well share in the merry jest tentatively proposed by Fay, A. J. P. XXXIII 314, lines 21–23.

<sup>5</sup> A. J. P. XXXIII 314.

<sup>6</sup> Ib., 314 f.







CIL. I, 198, 56) or as a locative (*laci*).<sup>1</sup> These conjectures tell directly for Lucilius' correctness.

In the precepts quoted by Marius Victorinus VI 17 f. Keil, that *ei* is to be written in the military *pilum* and *vinea*, in *sica* and *sicilis*,<sup>2</sup> but *i* in *pilum* 'pestle', *vinea* 'grape-arbor', and *fistula* 'handmill', it is of course imposible to see any truth or accuracy. But so far as Lucilius is concerned, there is nothing to connect these examples, barring *pilum*, with him; Marius Victorinus in this very passage states that more writers have dealt with this vexed question of *ei* and *i* than with any other question of orthography. These precepts seem to come from grammarians of a later date, who lacked all empirical knowledge of the original spellings, and ascribed to all military words, *ei* as in *peilum* 'javelin', and to words of the garden and the bakery, *i* as in *pilum* 'pestle'. So far, one may agree with Fay;<sup>3</sup> and had Lucilius prescribed *meiles meilitia*, one could heartily concur in Fay's ingenious interpretation, "*meiles* and *meilitia* and things 'meilitary' with *ei* not *i*"; but I cannot, after repeated careful study, see how the usual punctuation of the Lucilian lines on *mille miles* etc. can be retained.

Lucilius' one error in his rules, the one supposedly certain error, lies in the *z* of *illz*;<sup>4</sup> but this has now been shown by Ehrlich<sup>5</sup> to be the correct orthography. In his valuable monograph, among other matters, he presents the theory that the genitive singular of *o*-stems in Latin is really a locative form ending in original *-ei*; and that original *ei* in unaccented syllables became monophthongal *z* before the time of the earliest inscriptions, and thus much earlier than *ei* from Indo-European *ai* and *oi* in unaccented syllables developed into *z*. His careful examination of the material is convincing, and he must be awarded the credit for solving the vexed problem of the genitive ending of *o*-stems. Continuing, by a comparison with Oscan dat. sing. *altrei*, he is assured of IE. *-ei* in the dat. sing. of pro-

<sup>1</sup> Sommer, Handbuch d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre, § 225; on the locative of *o*-stems, cf. Ehrlich, p. 71 f.

<sup>2</sup> So with Fay, A. J. P. XXXIII 316, *sicilem* for Mss. *silicem*, unless the word be in reality an interpolation. <sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> In A. J. P. XXXII 283, I explained this "error" as the working of an analogy; but such an excuse for Lucilius is no longer necessary.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., pp. 66-79. My thanks are due to Prof. E. H. Sturtevant of Columbia University, for calling my attention to this passage.



nouns<sup>1</sup>—hence *\*illei*, which became *illī* by the rule just cited, before the earliest inscriptional forms. Lucilius is therefore right in prescribing *illī*; but unluckily no inscriptional instances of *illī* (or of the similar *istī ipsī* etc.) before 150 B. C., have been discovered.

Thus it is on the interpretation of the lines containing *mille miles pila pilum* that our estimate of Lucilius' knowledge or ignorance in the matter depends; for his other precepts are all correct, even that for dat. sing. *illī*. In justice to myself, I desire to add that I was originally led to essay an interpretation of the Lucilian fragments on this topic, not "in the interest of my definition of Lat. *miles* as 'the smiter, smith'", as Prof. Fay thinks,<sup>2</sup> but in the desire to discover what Lucilius' rules actually meant, and whether they had any value, or none at all. It may be noted that Thurneysen in 1890 was inclined to attribute at least some slight worth to them;<sup>3</sup> and now Ehrlich pronounces unhesitatingly in their favor.<sup>4</sup>

After all, we must not forget that when Lucilius prescribes *i* for some words and *ei* for others, he is not theorizing upon the reasons for the difference, but stating (or endeavoring to state) the facts of usage; and however much we may surpass the ancients in our theories of the phenomena of language—and in these theories we are immeasurably ahead of them—we cannot deny that the Romans knew more of the actual facts of their own language than we can presume to know some two thousand years later.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The *-ei* of *mihei tibeī sibeī* force Ehrlich to regard them as having *-oi*, an ablaut variant to *-ei* in Oscan *s í f e í*, Paelignian *tfei*; but it is easier to suppose that the original forms are *\*meghei \*tebhei \*sebhei*, as in Oscan; these became *\*mihī \*tibī \*sibī*, and were then remade to *mihei tibeī sibeī* after the final of enclitic *\*mei \*tei \*sei*, weakened forms of the enclitic gen.-dat.-loc. *\*moi \*toi \*soi* (Greek *μοι τοι οι*—the last with initial *σϛ-*), appearing in old Latin gen. *mī-s tī-s* (Sommer, § 270; *\*st-s* does not occur).

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XXXIII 311.

<sup>3</sup> KZ. XXX 353.

<sup>4</sup> P. 73: "Lucilius gründete seine orthographischen Regeln auf gute Tradition"; cf. also p. 73, fn. 2, and pp. 76–77.

<sup>5</sup> As my friend Professor Charles Knapp of Columbia University justly remarked to me in private conversation not long since.



## V.—MARGINALIA.

### a) Horace, Epode 2, 26.

The banker Alfius, after an evening with some book of pastoral verse, lets his fancy picture for just a passing moment the inviting scenes of country life: the lowing herds, the brooks, the birds which *queruntur in silvis* (Horace, Epode 2, 26). The regular meaning of *queri* in Latin prose is, of course, "to complain", and I think no one has questioned this passage for a different meaning, although the usual rendering is not in harmony with the setting. By good chance Porphyrio's scholium on this very passage supplies some apposite information on the early use of the word: *queruntur, inquit, quoniam veteres omnium animalium voces praeterquam hominum "querellas" dicebant; denique et Vergilius (quoting querulae . . . cicadae, Georg. III. 328, and ranae cecinere querellam, Georg. I. 378). That is, queror and its derivatives were used in early Latin for the natural utterances of animals, and their flavor in the Augustans is archaic. A reference to Walde (Ety. Wörterb.) will convince anyone that the meaning "to complain" in queror is secondary, growing out of an earlier meaning "to sigh", and that this primitive meaning was nearer to the sense that has been retained in the English cognates "whistle" and "whisper". In view of all this, it is clear that expressions like queruntur aves have an history of their own quite independent of the prose expressions in which the verb signifies "to complain". The translation of the phrase in question is simply "the birds sing in the woods". Lucretius would seem to lend support to this interpretation, for, fond of old words as he is, he twice uses the expression *dulcis querella* of the music of the flute in passages that imply a pleasing sound. One of these (V. 1384) connects the sound with the whistling of the wind through reeds:*

et zephyri, cava per calamorum, *sibila* primum  
agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.  
inde minutatim dulcis didicere *querellas*  
tibia quas fundit . . . .  
haec animos ollis mulcebant atque iuvabant. Cf. IV. 584.



There can be little doubt that our dictionaries should give such passages as illustrations of the more primitive meaning of the word.

Whether the archaizers, Lucretius and the Augustans, were clearly conscious that such phrases were quite distinct in meaning from the more ordinary usages with *queror* one cannot definitely say. Occasionally at least there seems to be even in these authors a confusion of meanings as, for example, in Lucretius, IV. 546, (swans) *tollunt lugubri voce querellas*. However, the Latin poets in general considered the song of birds expressive of joy. See Vergil, Georg. II. 328, Aen. VII. 34; Lucretius I. 256; Tib. I. 3, 60; Colum. X. 80; Carm. Epig. 468, 3. And the author of the Pervigilium Veneris who really knows the nightingale's song—and hasn't merely read about it—is even ready to accuse the Philomela myth of nature-faking for suggesting that the bird's notes are mournful.

It is not difficult to understand why later poets should have found sadness in the bird's song. The Greek myth about the nightingale was not readily forgotten when once learned; and the tradition of the swan's song—handed on despite the fact that swans do not sing—aided in reading the more usual meaning of *queror* into the poets' expressions. Certain it is that after the elegiac poets, with their wearisome reiteration of *queror* and *querella*, the primitive meaning of the verb and noun quite disappeared. It is interesting to find, however, that the adjective *querula* which did not have to submit to so much abuse continued to be employed of *animalium voces*.

One might elaborate in this connection upon the "complaining note" of Shakespeare's nightingale. If I mistake not the earlier English poets usually found the nightingale a "lusty" bird. I fear it was the continental allegory of the nightingale, which harks back to Philomela (cf. Lydgate), and again the lore of the renaissance classicists who mistranslated *querella* which brought a great many of the "plaints" into the English lyric.

The recognition of the primitive meaning of the word in Horace's Epode (as well as in Lucretius and Vergil) may seem to destroy the modicum of poetic fancy which the line contains, but there is a compensation. The use of the original meaning carried the mind back to the *vates* of an earlier day. The word was



therefore employed for the poetic associations of its archaic tone rather than for any supposed metaphorical content.

b) Cicero, ad Att. VII. 2, 7.

In ad Att. VII. 2, 6-7, Cicero complains that Cato voted certain honors to Bibulus although he refused to support Cicero's claim for a *supplicatio*. The text of paragraph 7 has long been under discussion. M. reads: *At hic idem* (i. e. Cato) *Bibulo DXX*. The other manuscripts read: *At hic idem Bibulo dierum XX*. Ursinus, Gronovius and Boot emend to: *At hic idem Bibulo decrevit*, taking *idem* as object of *decrevit* and as referring to a *supplicatio* of one day. The objection to the vulgate reading is that a *supplicatio* of twenty days would be quite preposterous for the kind of service that Bibulus had rendered. The objections to Boot's text are that the emendation is drastic and that there is nothing in the context to suggest that *idem* should mean "a *supplicatio* of one day".

I am not sure that the objection to the vulgate is wholly convincing. A thanksgiving of twenty days would have been amusing, but not entirely impossible. The services of Bibulus may have loomed larger to the senate of that day than they did to Cicero or than they do to us. He had not engaged the Parthians in battle, but he had stemmed their invasion into Syria by holding a strong position on his frontier and that was no small service, for the Parthians had gained a name to conjure with in their destruction of Crassus' army at Carrhae two years before this. Furthermore Bibulus by his opposition to Caesar in 59 was now looked upon as the stanchest representative of the senate. Since Caesar had twice secured a thanksgiving of twenty days the senate would obviously be glad to prove that their representative had also done deeds worthy of great honor. It is clear from ad Att. VII. 2, 6 that Bibulus expected to be given a triumph for his services. It may also be in place to add that Bibulus was Cato's son-in-law.

However, since a twenty days' *supplicatio* was an unprecedented honor in return for such work as Bibulus had performed, and since the best manuscript gives a variant, we may be allowed to suggest an emendation. It is not improbable that the archetype of the Italian manuscripts read *dieꝫ X* (an abbreviation of *dierum X*) and that this was then misread as *die XX*. We may



suppose that this again produced the two erroneous readings *DXX* and *dierum XX*. It is entirely likely that what Cato actually proposed was therefore a thanksgiving of ten days.

c) Livy, apud Sen. Suas. VI. 22.

In his *Suasoriarum liber VI* (17 and 22) the elder Seneca has preserved Livy's estimate of Cicero. There is in this *ἐπιτάφιος*, as Seneca calls it, a clause which seems not to have been correctly interpreted. I refer to: *omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem*. Tyrrell and Purser (*The Correspondence of Cicero VI. Introd. LXIV*) give the accepted turn to this clause in translating: "he bore none of his misfortunes as a man should except his death". However, the very next clause seems to me to preclude this interpretation, for Livy goes on to say "to one who weighs the matter correctly his death could seem the less undeserved (*minus indigna*) since he was doomed to suffer at the hands of the enemy nothing more cruel than what he would have imposed upon that enemy had he been successful". The *indigna* of the second clause obviously balances the *dignum* of the first. If *indigna* means *undeserved*, as it must, then *dignum* ought to mean *deserved*, and the whole of the former clause should mean: "of all his misfortunes he met with (*tulit*) nothing according to his deserts except his death", which Livy admits that Cicero brought upon himself by proposing to outlaw Antony. The trend of the whole sentence is then: "Cicero suffered from many misfortunes, exile, the destruction of his party, the loss of his child, his own bitter end. None of these misfortunes had he really deserved except his untimely death; this in a way he had, for he had proposed to put Antony to death". And Livy then proceeds to censure Cicero for his uncompromising bitterness<sup>1</sup> towards Antony: *si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensaret . . .*

This interpretation seems also to be demanded by Seneca's own comment upon Livy's estimate of Cicero, for he calls it a *plenissimum testimonium*. If the usual interpretation stands, derogatory to Cicero as it is, how could Seneca, the devoted admirer of Cicero, be so highly pleased with it? Furthermore, it is well known that Livy was himself an admirer of Cicero, and

<sup>1</sup> The words of Aufidius Bassus (Sen. Suas. VI. 23) show that Cicero was blamed by other historians also for too great a bitterness against Antony.



under the circumstances one cannot help being impressed with the scantiness of the commendation contained in this ἐπιτάφιος if the usual understanding of it be correct.

The chief objection to the rendering here offered is of course that it places a slight, though by no means serious, strain on the adverbial clause *ut viro dignum erat*. With some diffidence I would propose reading *quod viro dignum esset*. In a manuscript of rustic capitals, VT might have crept in by dittography before VI of *viro*, and in consequence the *quod* would have been struck out at the next copying.

No one will object to interpreting *tulit* as "received" or "met with", for that meaning is frequent enough in expressions like *palnam ferre, victoriam ferre, gloriam ferre, responsam ferre, repulsum ferre*, etc.

d) Ennius, *Medea* 259-61, V.

In one of his wittiest letters to Trebatius, Cicero takes occasion to quote three lines from the *Medea* of Ennius which are supposed to be a paraphrase of Euripides' *Medea*, 214-18. The lines are (Ed. V. 259-61):

Quae Corinthum arcem altam habetis matronae opulentae optimates,  
Multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul  
Multi qui domi aetatem agerent propterea sunt improbat.

The lines of Eur. *Medea* 214-18:

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξῆλθον δόμων,  
μή μοί τι μέμψησθ'· οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν  
σεμνοῖς γεγῶτας, τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἀπο,  
τοὺς δ' ἐν θυραίοις· οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἡσυχου ποδός  
δύσκειαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ῥαθυμίαν

I will add ll. 220-1 for later reference:

ὅστις πρὶν ἀνδρὸς σπλάγχχνον ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς 220  
στρυγεῖ δεδορκῶς, οὐδὲν ἡδικομένος.

Ribbeck (*Röm. Trag.* 151), comparing the lines of Ennius with those of Euripides, remarks: Hier liegt ein übrigens von Cicero nicht bemerktes, *grobes Missverständniss* des Originals vor. In fact, Muretus and Elmsley and many others had before charged Ennius with misunderstanding his Euripides. Tyrrell in *Hermaethena* (1885) tried another way out by bending the meaning of Euripides' admittedly obscure words to the sense that Ennius



clearly conveys.<sup>1</sup> Both of these attempts seem to me to misconceive the spirit and method of Ennius. I doubt not that Ennius understood the Greek of Euripides' *Medea* 214-18 as well as any one ever has, but he probably decided to cut the lines as quite pointless. When Ennius came upon a verbose passage in his original, which did not drive bluntly at the mark, he analyzed it for the kernel of it, and that he used. Now the kernel of the first ten lines of *Medea's* speech does not lie in Eur. 214-18, but in the line 220, and upon that Ennius seized. The gist of the matter was simply that *Medea* was a stranger and would be misunderstood unless she invited confidence and explained her position. With that thought in mind Ennius cut clear of the whole passage of Euripides and said his say in understandable Latin: "Be not unkind to me simply because I am a stranger", etc. It is futile to try to find his original in any word or phrase of 214-18 for the reason that he put those lines quite out of mind.

It is apparent to the close student of Ennius that at times, as in the *Iphigenia*, he made free to change the plot of the original at will. When he is closest to his original as in the *Medea* (what Cicero chooses to call *ad verbum . . . expressas*, de Fin. I. 4) he abides faithfully by the plot as well as the spirit of each passage, but he never translates verbatim. He simplifies (V. I), contracts (V. II, VII), enlivens (V. IX), Latinizes (V. XI, XII, XIV), and clarifies (V. V); he never attempts to make a Bohn.

e) Cic. Verr. IV. 163.

Emundi duo genera fuerunt, unum decumanum, alterum quod praeterea civitatibus aequaliter esset distributum, Verr. IV. 163. I would suggest that we read *aequabiliter* as in VI. 52: ex lege Terentia et Cassia, frumentum aequabiliter emi ab omnibus Siciliae civitatibus oporteret. Furthermore I would correct the interpretation of the passage which was given it by Beloch.<sup>2</sup>

After Verres had gathered the regular Sicilian tithe of 3,000,000 *modii* from the *civitates decumanae*, he was ordered to buy (1) an extra tenth at three HS per modius, and later (2) an addi-

<sup>1</sup> Müller's suggestion (Ed. 253) that Ennius so far changed the plot as to make the Corinthian women criticize *Medea* for leaving her own country and thereby drawing out this retort from her, is too drastic. There were probably no changes of so serious a nature in the *Medea*. Cf. Cic. de Fin. I. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Bevilacqua, p. 272. See also Holm, *Gesch. Sicil.* III. 388. Rostowzew, art. *Frumentum*, Pauly-Wissowa, is somewhat nearer the truth.



tional 800,000 *modii* at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  HS. The first purchase was called *decumanum* (IV. 163) and therefore was probably made from the regular tithe-paying cities, but it is not equally certain which cities furnished the shipment of 800,000 *modii*. Beloch (loc. cit.) assumes that it was bought from the free states (3 *foederatae* and 5 *immunes*, mentioned in IV. 13). However, Verr. VI, 53 very explicitly includes the *censoriae* (*qui publicos agros arant*), and, furthermore, implies that the *decumanae* had also been subjected to this exaction. Finally, the law itself read that the grain should be bought *ab omnibus Siciliae civitatibus*, VI. 52. It seems therefore that all the cities of Sicily, whether subject or free, were called upon to sell grain for the last shipment. Now what is the meaning of *quod civitatibus aequaliter esset distributum*? *Aequaliter* would naturally mean "by equal shares", or perhaps, "in proportion to size". This was obviously not the case, for Halaesa's and Messana's shares were 60,000 *modii* each (IV. 171, and VI. 53), and at this ratio the whole supply would have exceeded the desired amount. Apparently, the law intended that the states which had already paid Rome one tithe and sold her another should, in the last call, be treated as leniently as possible, even though they should not be wholly excused, but that the free states, which had hitherto been exempt, should be asked to sell larger amounts. This sense is reached if we adopt *aequabiliter* in IV. 163. The passage then means: "a second, which was proportioned to the states as fairly and reasonably as possible".

TENNEY FRANK.

BRYN MAWR.



## VI.—DE QUIBUSDAM LOCIS PRIMI HORATI SERMONIS.

In primis ipsis versibus mihi quidem constructio non plane ab editoribus exposita esse videtur. Versus Horati sic traditi sunt :

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem  
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit illa  
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?

Hoc in loco, nisi animus me magnopere fefellit, duae constructiones inter se re vera distinctae ab Horatio coniunctae vel potius confusae sunt, namque mihi videtur Horatius sententiam exprimere potuisse si dixisset aut *quam ei* (fortasse *sibi*, quamquam hac de re dubito: vide infra) *vel ratio dederit vel fors obiecerit illa contentus vivat* aut *sorte sua seu ratio ei (sibi) dederit seu fors obiecerit* et quae secuntur, id est Horatium oportebat sententiam aut modo condicionali aut modo relativo exprimere. Hos modos dicendi conflavit. Auctores Latini saepe sic modos inter se dissimiles dicendi conflare solent, id quod intellegere possis si editionis meae Indicem Aeneidos inspexeris, sub titulo *Confusion*, pag. 537.

Ut iam ad verbum quod est *sibi* redeam, hic mihi Horatius perperam scripsisse videtur nisi dicere ausi erimus verba *quam . . . dederit* idem valere atque *quam sibi (seu) ratione dederit*. Mirum est haec tam confusa verba ab editoribus recentioribus quidem praeterita esse.

In versu quadragésimo verba quae sunt *dum ne sit te ditior aller* extant. Quid significat *dum*? Editores plerique qui quidem hoc de verbo dicere sunt ausi Anglice *dum* reddere solent *provided*. Sed mihi quidem hoc non recte dici videtur namque non consentaneum est Anglice *he works provided no man is richer than he* nec Latine dicere possis *nil tibi obstat si modo non est alter te ditior*, quomodo enim diiudicare possis utrum alter te ditior futurus sit necne priusquam ad finem laboraris?

Hunc potius in modum locus explicari debere videtur. Iam a verbo *dum* oratio obliqua incipit, ut verba *dum . . . aller* senten-



tiae *dum ne me sit ditior alter* respondeant quam avarum illum Horatianum secum loqui nos fingere oportet. In Plauti Captivorum prologo versus hic inest (32):

Nil pretio parsit filio dum parceret.

Hegio ipse dicere potuit, *pretio non parcam filio dum parcam (vel parcere possim)*. Nemo prorsus non scit quam saepe *dum*, praecipue apud scriptores antiquiores et in sermone cotidiano, cum modis et imperativo et coniunctivo coniungatur.

Similiter explicari possunt Terenti Andr. 675-677:

Ego, Pamphile, hoc tibi pro servitio debeo,  
conari manibus pedibus noctisque et dies,  
capitis periculum adire, *dum prosim tibi*.

Hoc in loco sane orationem rectam quae sic vocatur habemus. Denique apud Livium 21. 26. 9 haec verba legimus: deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil *dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent*, curantes, raptim quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

Decem ante annis in Mnemosyne (Nova Series 30. 347) Professor Mortimer Lamson Earle, olim collega meus, vir utriusque linguae doctissimus, de versu undevicesimo disseruit atque nos admonuit non *atqui licet esse beatis* sed *at quis licet esse beatis* legendum esse atque post verbum *beatis* non interpungendum et hanc clausulam non per se recitandam sed cum verbis insequentibus coniungendam esse.

Mihi quidem haec emendatio neque recta neque venusta esse videtur. Accuratus inspiciamus quidnam Horatius dicere sit conatus. In versibus 1-3, cum pro certo haberet et Maecenatem ipsum et ceteros sua sorte contentos vivere negaturos esse, haec adfirmare non necessarium putavit sed potius statim ab interrogando incipit cur nemo sit contentus. Versus 4-19 Horatius scripsit non ut neminem contentum esse demonstraret neque ut exempla huius rei adhiberet, nam cum, ut iam supra dictum est, hanc rem in primis poeta poneret, neque necesse neque consentaneum erat eam aut demonstrare aut inlustrare. Quidnam igitur his in versibus dicere Horatius conatur? Quaestioni quam in versibus 1-3 expressit responsum explicare iam conatur atque intelligi vult fieri ut nemo contentus vivat non quod suam sortem ipsam re vera reprehendat (4-19) sed quia



fructu quem ex sua sorte capiat non sit contentus (28-40). Mirum autem est quamquam homines quisque sua sorte non contentus esse videtur nihilo minus suam aliena sortem mutare neminem paratum esse, qua de causa animi confusus Horatius exclamat *atqui licet esse beatis!* Mea quidem sententia verba *nolint: atqui licet esse beatis!* (sic enim potius est interpungendum) idem valent atque *mirabile dictu nolint!!* Sic si lectionem traditam interpretati erimus, bis in versibus 20-22 hominum inconstantiam Horatius reprehendit; sin cum Earlio nostro fecerimus semel tantum hoc Horatius faciat atque constructio ipsa et ordo verborum obscurissimae fient neque Horatio similes.

CHARLES KNAPP.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Das fünfte Buch der Ilias, Grundlagen einer homerischen Poetik,**  
von ENGELBERT DRERUP, Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1913,  
VIII + 451 pp.

Professor Drerup of the University of Munich is already known as an Homeric scholar to many, in other lands than his own, through another work, published in 1903, in the series 'Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern', namely, 'Homer—Die Anfänge der hellenischen Kultur', 'mit 105 Abbildungen'. This earlier book is interesting and useful, though designed for the literary public rather than for scholars. His latest book is an argument to show that the Iliad, as we have it, is the creation of a single poet whose genius can be compared only with that of a Dante, a Shakespeare or a Goethe. The argument is based upon an aesthetical ('ästhetisch-kritische') examination of the *Διομήδους Ἀπιορτεία* (E), with a view to showing that this is a typical rhapsody, that it is an epic unit, complete in itself, yet constructed with constant reference to what precedes and follows in the whole Iliad, just as the rest of the Iliad is constructed with constant reference to it. Thus, in the opinion of Professor Drerup, it was conceived and must be interpreted as an integral part of an harmonious whole, though capable of being presented by itself on occasion. Moreover, Professor Drerup finds in this rhapsody the same principles and devices of poetical composition, the same art and skill, the ideas and beliefs, which are to be found throughout the whole Iliad, and which he therefore regards as characteristic of a single and preeminent creative genius.

The dedication of this book to three 'tapferen Verteidigern der griechischen Reinsprache' will not inspire in every scholar confidence in the author's objectivity. Still less his opening sentence: 'Dieses Buch schreibe ich nicht in erster Linie als Philologe, sondern als Dichter'. That the professor of philology is also a poet is shown by the books whose titles he gives in a footnote, p. 1—poems, 1902; a romance, 1907—and by some of his verses which he quotes on p. 70. But it is not obvious to every one that the poet in Professor Drerup, or even Goethe whom he also cites, is better qualified than the philologist in him to speak on such questions as whether a single poet wrote the Iliad in the same sense as Dante, for example, wrote the Paradiso, and, if so, when this poet lived and under what in-



fluences. And yet this is the fundamental assumption of this new discussion of the old Homeric problem. On p. 70 he speaks of Goethe's 'ästhetisches Urteil, dem die Dichtung selbst zur untrüglichen Führerin für die dichterische Wertung geworden ist; und darin hat Goethes Wort auch heute noch mehr Gewicht, als das eines von Wilamowitz oder auch eines Dietrich Müllder'. Drerup even quotes (p. 65, n. 3), with implied approval, this astounding sentence from Wilhelm Jordan: Bei Homer ist nichts zufällig . . . Derjenige nur ist sicher diesen Übermenschen würdigen zu lernen, der ihm überall die bewussteste Kunst und die tiefsten Gedanken zutraut, auch wo er sie noch nicht erkennt.

Drerup admits that there may be some danger that 'ein dichterisch veranlagter Homerinterpret den dichterischen Gehalt des Epos nach seinem eigenen Bild sich neu erschaffe' (p. 63); but he believes that we are justified in attempting to make secure the place of honor in the world's literature which Homer has held for thousands of years, and which 'erst ein ledernes Philologentum bestritten hat' (p. 25). Only we must approach our Homer as a 'rein künstlerische Persönlichkeit' (p. 25).

'Nur müsste man', he says, 'von vornherein auf alle Interpolationsriecherei und Quellenschnüffelei verzichten, und diese Namenswiederholungen nicht anders kritisch verwenden, als die Wiederholung von Versen oder Versgruppen, die Wiederaufnahme poetischer Motive, die beabsichtigten 'widersprüche', die kompositionellen Rückweise und Vorausdeutungen: d. h. als Bausteine einer homerischen Poetik' (p. 259, n. 1.).

Let us first assume, says Drerup in effect, that Homer was a poet like Dante, the Iliad the creation of his original genius: after that let us examine this creation without prejudice. According to Drerup everything in the Iliad is perfect and could not be improved. Every part has been constructed with the highest art, on an elaborate and artistic scheme. Applying to the Iliad as it stands a rough measure of about a thousand lines for each rhapsody, he finds that Book I, and Book II as far as the Catalogue of Ships, form together the first of these divisions, Books III and IV the second, Book V the third, and so forth. The Catalogue of Ships he regards as an 'Inhaltsverzeichnis des Epos nach seinen Haupthelden' placed at the end of the first rhapsody, and possibly composed by Homer after the completion of the rest of the Iliad, for the convenience of readers (p. 52)!

It appears then that the third division constituted by Book V is not an independent ballad but an episode, which is an integral part of the whole Iliad. As surest proof of this he presents the facts that the last scene of Book V returns to the same situation as the opening of Book IV, a scene among the gods. In particular he finds (1) in the mention of Hebe in V, 905 a direct reference to IV, 2 where Hebe is also mentioned, (2) in the mention of Here coupled with Athene in V, 908 a direct reference



to the same line which appears in IV, 8, and lastly (3) in the words of Athene to Zeus in V, 421 ff. a direct answer to the words of Zeus to Athene in IV, 7 ff. Not many will attach much importance to the fact that Hebe pours nectar for the gods in IV, 2, and bathes Ares in V, 905, or to the recurrence of so stereotyped a line as 'Ἡρῇ τ' Ἀργεῖῃ καὶ Ἀλαλκομένης Ἀθήνῃ, in IV, 8 and V, 908. But the third statement that Athene's words in V, 421 ff. are a direct reply to the words of Zeus in IV, 7 ff. would be important if it were true. But it is not. In the latter case Zeus taunts Here and Athene with being careless and inactive helpers of Menelaus while Aphrodite was taking part in the battle, saving her favorite Paris from death. But in Book V, when Aphrodite has returned to Olympus wounded in the hand by Diomedes as she was trying to rescue Aineias, Athene insinuates that she has only scratched her hand on the brooch of some woman she was tempting. A direct reply to Zeus' words, if they were in this poet's mind, would have been 'See what a weakling is this Aphrodite and how she fares when she meddles in a fight'. Not that anyone may know what a poet would have said. But surely there is no proof here that the poet of Book V had Book IV in mind. Moreover Drerup's claim that Pandaros was killed by Diomedes (V, 290 ff.) because of his treacherous shot at Menelaus (IV, 105 ff.) and that therefore Book V is intimately connected with Book IV, is wholly without foundation, inasmuch as no mention is made of this shot in the description of Pandaros' death, and a wholly sufficient reason for Diomedes' attack upon him is provided in the simple facts that Pandaros had already wounded Diomedes himself with an arrow and then made an attack upon him from Aineias' chariot.

The same sort of reasoning is employed by Drerup to show an intrinsic connection between Books V and VI. He appears to attach little importance to the fact that the first four lines of Book VI seem to refer to the withdrawal of the gods from the battle described in Book V. And in this he seems to me quite right, for these four lines have no necessary connection with anything which follows. But to Drerup's mind the minor conflicts with which Book VI opens 'form a parallel to the last triumph of Diomedes, and join directly on to the exhortation of Here in V, 787'. They would join on equally well in many other places. Perhaps this is a matter of opinion only. But Drerup passes beyond the bounds of legitimate argument when he asserts that the parallelism between gods and men, which he believes characteristic of his Homer, is exhibited by the circumstance that the real Akamas is killed by Ajax at the beginning of Book VI, while Ares, in the guise of Akamas, is wounded by Diomedes at the end of Book V. If any inference is proper, it would seem to be that the poet of Book VI, who told how the real Akamas was killed by Ajax, had not just described how Ares in the form of Akamas disappeared from the battle. There is no real evidence



here for either view. Nor is there any evidence whatever in Drerup's observation that it is precisely Ajax who kills the real Akamas while Diomedes wounds the god in the form of that hero, or that the same words are used in describing the death of Akamas in VI, 9-11, and of Echepolos, an otherwise unknown Trojan, in IV, 459-461.

In his 'Companion to the Iliad' Walter Leaf, p. 111 ff., called attention to certain particulars in which Book V differs from all the rest of the Iliad: 'Nothing marks out this book from the rest of the Iliad more clearly', he says, 'than its mythology. It is full from end to end of tales of the gods which are not known elsewhere; and the personal part which the gods play in the strife is in strong contrast to the very reserved use of them in the 'Menis', and indeed in most other parts of the Iliad, earlier and later alike'. One may not accept Leaf's opinions about the Iliad in general; but the peculiarities of Book V have an objective reality, and cannot be ignored or belittled, as they are by Drerup, in any discussion which is to correct and enlarge our knowledge. For example, Aphrodite appears only here under the name of Kypris. Drerup's treatment of this significant fact in note 1, p. 165, is most inadequate. Dione too appears in no other part of the Iliad. Drerup, p. 189-192, says that it must not be imagined that Zeus is represented as living in a state of bigamy, but only that the poet, in his 'sovereign treatment of the life in Olympus', for an artistic purpose, chose to present here the two goddesses side by side, Dione a former wife, Here the present spouse. And later, on p. 377, he explains that this artistic purpose was to picture the gods, not as ideal types of humanity, but as 'more or less comic figures'—Aphrodite flying back in tears to her mother to be comforted for a mere scratch on the hand—Dione, 'ein altes, schwatzhaftes Mütterchen, das die ganz vernichtete Tochter Aphrodite mit Olympischen Skandalgeschichten und leeren Unglücksprophezeiungen gegen den Feind zu trösten sucht'. But that such caricatures of the gods are found only here and in some other scenes in which the gods figure, passages which seem to many to be of a different texture from the rest of the Iliad, does not appear significant to Drerup. On the contrary he argues in note 1, p. 377:

Wer einmal die ungeheure komische Kraft in den Götterszenen der Ilias erkannt hat, wird kein Bedenken mehr tragen, gemäss der antiken Überlieferung auch den Margites als ein echtes Werk Homers zu betrachten. Auch auf die Ursprünge des Satyrspiels bei den Griechen dürfte nach unseren Erkenntnissen ein neues Licht fallen.

This, to my mind, is truly a *reductio ad absurdum*. The first and most important question is whether the caricatures of the gods are reconcilable with the conception of the gods in other parts of the Iliad. Drerup assumes that they are: he does not



discuss the question. But if they are irreconcilable, as many believe, then the similarity between them and the Margites proves, not that 'Homer' wrote the Margites, but that the Margites, like these god-scenes in the Iliad, had some other origin than the rest.

That the gods have 'ichor' in their veins instead of blood is found only in Book V, lines 340-342 and 416. The temple and 'adyton' of Apollo (V, 446-8), the false image of Aineias (lines 449 ff.), the cap of darkness (845), seem to many persons alien to most of the Iliad, not to mention Stentor (V, 785), who never appears again in the Iliad though his name became a proverb. These things demand some explanation. It is by considering them, as well as the facts observed by Drerup, that we shall approach nearer to the truth about Homer. We shall not improve our knowledge by neglecting any of the actual facts.

Many of Drerup's interpretations are welcome and valuable: they spring from his genuine love for Homeric poetry. But the inadequacy and subjectivity of very many other interpretations which he offers are immediately obvious to an unprejudiced reader. His conviction that all of the Iliad, just as we have it, is the work of a single poet who composed as did Dante and Shakespeare, affects his judgment and impels him to seek, not the best explanation, but an explanation in accordance with his belief. Let one or two examples suffice. When Diomedes attacks Aphrodite, and a reason for his rashness is given (V, 331 f.), no mention is made of Athene's express command in line 131 f. to attack this goddess, although Diomedes himself recalls the command in line 819 f. Drerup finds herein a mark of poetic art. A lesser poet would have mentioned the command. Homer represents Diomedes as by no means forgetful of Athene's command, but, in lines 331 f., replaces this motive by a 'psychologische Vertiefung, in welcher die äussere Anweisung enthalten ist' (p. 165). If this is true, how is it that, in attacking Apollo immediately after Aphrodite's flight, Diomedes shows no recollection of the rest of Athene's instructions, namely, to attack no other god but Aphrodite? Again, in explaining Aphrodite's inability to rescue Aineias, Drerup discovers great, though hidden, subtlety in the poet's thought (p. 168, p. 381). Aphrodite is the mother of Aineias and her motherhood involves a human element—being mother she is less divine, and therefore vulnerable. So too, Ares' wounding is explained as due to the fact that he has made himself human by indulging sordid passions, entering into the battle and even stripping the body of Periphas whom he has slain. The simple and obvious explanation of all these matters is that the poet who described the 'Valor of Diomedes' wished to show his hero triumphant even over gods—over Aphrodite, alone, though emboldened by Athene's command, over even Ares himself when Athene was at the hero's side. Of course it would have been too great praise, an unbelievable



exaggeration, to say that a human hero had successfully withstood the gods without some divine assistance.

Lastly, to give but one more example of Drerup's reasoning, the Glaukos episode in VI, 119 ff. is presented by this writer as an example of the poet's art in the delineation of character, a new side of Diomedes' personality being displayed here in contrast to that exhibited in Book V. This proves to Drerup that Books V and VI are by the same author. Doubtless if the same characteristics had been assigned to Diomedes in the meeting with Glaukos as elsewhere, Drerup would have found the poet's consistency demonstrated. Certainly human character is many-sided, and few men are always considered consistent in their words and actions. A true poet recognizes these inconsistencies. But it has seemed to many that the Diomedes of the Glaukos episode is altogether a different personality from the Diomedes of Book V or even of Book IV. Whether this is true is a very vital question, which Drerup altogether ignores. Elsewhere Diomedes appears as a man of modest but resolute bearing: he speaks briefly and sternly, acts swiftly and recklessly. In spite of Athene's warning to attack no other god but Aphrodite, he sprang at Apollo four times without a word. With Athene beside him he did not shrink from seeking out and wounding Ares himself. But in Book VI, when he meets Glaukos in the press of battle, for no apparent reason, instead of fighting, he makes a long and polite speech, weaving in the story of Lykurgos' sacrilege. Finally he makes friends with Glaukos, and, after another speech, wholly out of keeping with his manner elsewhere, exchanges armor with his new acquaintance, giving his own suit worth nine oxen for that of Glaukos worth one hundred. Is this the same Diomedes who attacked the gods? Doubtless the Glaukos episode, the point of which lies in the unequal exchange of armor, is an old story saddled on Diomedes without any particular reason. But Drerup could not admit that.

Professor Drerup belongs to a group of enthusiastic students of Homer who believe that the Homeric criticism of the past century and more has proved a total failure, and that the belief in the single authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, if not quite universal already, will soon be triumphantly vindicated and restored. A shining example of this group is Mr. Shewan of St. Andrews, who, in an article entitled 'Recent Homeric Literature' in C. P. 1912, says, not without a certain malicious satisfaction, 'The history of the Homeric Question since the close of the last century may be summed up in one word, *Reaction*' (p. 190). 'One might almost say, 'they are all Unitarians now'' (p. 198). 'Belief has now come round to the old Orthodox view' (p. 209). And thereby Shewan does not shrink from naming among the penitents some who must have been greatly surprised to find themselves mentioned among those present on the mourners' bench, for example, Bethe, Wilamowitz, and Mûlder.



It seems as if it were impossible, at the present stage of this old controversy, for the Unitarians and the Critics to understand each other's point of view. The Unitarians feel that theirs is a holy cause, namely, to vindicate a great genius from the aspersions and detractions of narrow minded, unaesthetic scholars. They forget that the Homeric poems themselves contain no claim of authorship. The belief that Homer created the Iliad and the Odyssey but not the other epics is derived from ancient critics, who had as little of the poet in their natures as their successors of whom the school of Rothe and Drerup so bitterly complain. Moreover the modern Unitarians believe that the Critics are animated solely by a ruthless desire to destroy what others hold dear. If one observes discrepancies, differences in ideas or in civilization, unevennesses of style or art, in different parts of the Iliad, they think he must be trying to take away our Homer. Mr. Shewan, for example, in C. P. 1912, p. 398, speaking of a new attempt to discover the relative ages of certain passages, says: 'If it stands, the poems are ruined'. It is unfortunate that the poems are ruined for Mr. Shewan if they are not the creations of a single poet. But other persons are not so limited, and may enjoy these poems, however they may have come into their present state.

On the other hand the Critics believe that the Unitarians ignore discrepancies which have an objective reality, and substitute their subjective feelings for scientific enquiry. Naturally the Unitarians are hurt. Rothe complains bitterly that Cauer, in Neue Jahrb. 1912, p. 98 ff., reproaches him for ignoring all questions concerning the origin and development of the Homeric poems. 'Why', says Rothe in exasperation, 'I was not writing about the development of the Homeric poems, but about the Iliad as *poetry*'. He does not see that one may talk about the charm of these poems as they stand; but one cannot discuss, as Rothe does, such matters as *how* and *when* and *where* his Homer composed these poems, without first considering these questions of development.

Doubtless it is natural enough, under these circumstances, that the Unitarians, who have for a time been somewhat unappreciated, and now believe they are coming into their own again, should be exceedingly enthusiastic about each other's work, and somewhat bitter towards others. So, for example, Shewan speaks of Rothe as 'Perhaps the leading Homerist in Germany' (C. Q. IV, 1910, p. 76). Rothe, in the Jahresber. d. Philol. Ver. 1912, p. 219, speaking of Shewan's article, 'Wilamowitz on  $\Theta$ ' (C. P. 1911, p. 37-47), says: 'With accustomed thoroughness the author gives here a history of the criticism of this book, so often attacked and despised. We recommend this article most earnestly to Cauer for his careful study; perhaps then he will get some inkling of where true science is to be found, and perhaps then he will not charge me a second time with setting myself outside the



bounds of scholarship'. Drerup, on p. 2 f. says that Rothe, in his 'Ilias als Dichtung', 'Die gegen die Einheit dieses Epos erhobenen philologischen Bedenken siegreich zurückgewiesen hat', and later, p. 32, 'Zur vollen wissenschaftlichen Höhe ist die Methode der ästhetischen Betrachtung erhoben worden durch Carl Rothe'. Rothe himself approves this judgment (first published in the *Monatsschr. für religiöse Dichtkunst*, 1911/12, p. 566 ff.), and, quoting these words, adds: 'Das ist das Urteil eines Sachkenners, das ich doch wohl höher anschlagen kann als das P. Cauer's oder O. Schröders' (*Jahresber. d. Philol. Ver.* 1912, p. 239).

To such ardent defenders of the original genius of Homer every investigation is of value in proportion to the agreement of its results with the Unitarian hypothesis: all which does not tend to support this hypothesis is due to prejudice, to faulty habits of thought, to superficiality, or to lack of aesthetic sense. And unfortunately many of the reviews, through which knowledge of recent works on Homer comes to many students, are being written from this point of view, such as those of Rothe, in the *Jahresber. d. Philol. Ver.*, of Stürmer in the *Wochenschr. f. klass. Philologie*, of Mr. Shewan and Professor Scott. These reviews are creating a false impression, especially in America. A very different tone will be found in Müller's *Ilias und ihre Quellen* as well as in Cauer's *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, in Wilamowitz's *Griech. Literatur des Altertums* (in the *Kultur der Gegenwart*) or in Bethe's *Griech. Poesie* in (Gercke and Norden: *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*).

Certainly there has been a decided and, as Bethe says, a healthy reaction in recent years. Far greater importance is attached now than in the past century to the activity of an individual called Homer: to quote Wilamowitz's words 'he was a man with a good man's name'. We have been brought again to the recognition of the harmonious plan to which each poem, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alike, conforms (Pöhlmann). That, however, is very far indeed from saying that there have been no good results from the labor and the study of scholars and critics for all these years, or that we are all Unitarians now.

A poet's interpretation of a poet is always valuable, and any book should be welcomed which brings to light new beauties in the Greek epos. As Cauer says, scholars should not count each other enemies in this matter, or enemies of the truth. There is no reason why all should not work in harmony, though each works in his special field, that, by the work of all, all may attain to a truer appreciation of these poems, which seem to me, in literature, the best we have at all. But true criticism must not be too subjective, and Drerup himself points out the chief defect of his own book when he says, on p. 3, 'So biete ich denn in diesem Buche, was ich . . . als Dichter dem Dichter nach-



empfindend in meinen Homer hineingelesen habe'. And that is really what he has done: he has presented in this book what he has read into his Homer.

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**The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, edited with Introduction and Commentary by GEORGE W. MOONEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. London, and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.**

This is an edition of the *Argonautica* with an English commentary interpreting the text of the poem and dealing with the subject matter. It is a well-printed volume of more than four hundred pages. The Introduction deals in successive chapters with the life of Apollonius, with the sources of the poem, with the poem itself, the manuscripts, scholia, editions, and translations. The text with critical notes and commentary on the same page is the heart of the book. Discussions of the double recension of the *Argonautica* and of the metre are given in the Appendices. An index of proper names and an index of words discussed in the notes complete the volume.

The text is a primary matter for an editor. Mr. Mooney does not constitute his text, but accepts Mr. Seaton's Oxford edition of 1900, making certain modifications and introducing sparingly his own conjectures. His critical notes are fuller than Mr. Seaton's, but the additions are, so far as I have observed, from Brunck and Merkel and contain no fresh material. Upon his own initiative Mr. Mooney has in a few cases modified the text of 1900 in the same way in which Mr. Seaton has, in his recent Loeb Library edition. Many readings, however, including a few typographical errors, have been accepted which Mr. Seaton has now changed for the better.

In the commentary the editor addresses himself to the interpretation of language and subject matter. He has many notes on the vocabulary, he discusses obscure expressions, offers comments on questions of syntax, draws upon the scholia for illustrative purposes, and brings many parallels from the poets earlier and later. Not infrequently he has corrected misconceptions that have found lodgment in Liddell and Scott and have borne fruit in current translations; e. g., in the meaning of *ἐμοιρήσαντο*, 4. 1533. Much material has been brought together in the commentary and in the other parts of the book that was before widely scattered. But it must be said that the material has not been organized into a critical edition; and much that is fresh and valuable has been overlooked, or if used not thoroughly used.



The lexical element is prominent in the notes. Words used only by Apollonius, or words first used by him, or words that emerge in the Alexandrian period are frequently cited. This information seems to come for the most part from Liddell and Scott. I would not mention a mistake like that concerning *λέχρις*, 1. 1235 (cf. Antimachus of Colophon, frag. 35), were it not for the impression that one frequently gets that these positive statements are nothing more than *ex silentio* conclusions from Liddell and Scott. But that would be a minor matter if Mr. Mooney had made his lexical observations yield something for textual criticism or interpretation. Rzach, for example, scrutinized the diction of Apollonius for the sake of determining the poet's attitude toward older epic usage and of detecting the presence of extraneous influences, such as that of tragedy or of prose or of the Hellenistic idiom. Mr. Mooney admits into his text Attic forms that Rzach justly condemns (A. J. Ph. 22. 330). The note to 2. 1005, *γατομέοντες*, "a verb first used by Alexandrian writers", misses the point: the existence of a Doric  $\bar{a}$  in an epic poem. Although in a note to p. 25 the editor refers to Boesch, he misses the point of Boesch's observation that this anomalous word with its Doric coloring came into the late epic from tragedy by way of Lycophron. The influence of tragedy is recognized for *δοῦνεν*, 3. 933; it might have been recognized for *ἐκῆτι*, 4. 1087, the only certain case in Apollonius of this meaning, *quantum attinet ad*. In 1. 851, *χάριν* may be held to have Homeric precedent; but hardly *ἐμὴν χάριν*, 2. 632, which has frequent parallels in tragedy. So, too, with *δπως*, 1. 285, which stands in a context where *δφρα* and a past tense of the indicative in a final clause are found, a piece of Attic syntax that has established itself in Alexandrian poetry (Theocr. 4. 49; 7. 87; 11. 55) although not with the epic *δφρα* which Apollonius uses. In the *Argonautica* we always find *ἰκέσιος*, not the Homeric *ἰκετήσιος*. The former is a familiar word in tragedy, and the initial vowel is regularly short. Rzach using the long *ī* of the initial vowel in Apollonius as a basis infers as a source some unknown epic poet whom Apollonius followed. It may be said against this view that the lengthening of the vowel is due to metrical pressure since it is frequently found in hexameter verse (Anth. P. XI. 351, 8; Tryph. 278; Nonnus Dionys. 18. 18). Whatever be the conclusion it is the attitude toward the facts that is important; out of the facts comes a conclusion bearing upon the poet's choice of words, or if not a conclusion, at least a state of mental alertness that will in the end prove fruitful. Greater care should have been taken in elaborating the correct observation to 1. 713 that *δρωρε* = *ἰστί*. Of the four other cases cited the relevancy of 1. 1291 is refuted by the editor's note to the passage; 2. 473 is not in point; 3. 457 should be 3. 487. One correct example is left, 2. 312.



Considerable attention is given in the commentary to syntax, but problems are often not sharply formulated. In 1. 197 occurs an aorist infinitive after *δίω* which all editors interpret as representing an original indicative with *ἄν*. One of the older editors wished to emend the text, by inserting *ἄν*. The question at issue, the omission of the particle with this type of apodosis, is not distinctly raised and statistics are offered that bear upon two other questions. There is a lack of delimitation in the note to 1. 660, where again the text has been impugned. The note is very much as if paragraphs 321 and 322 of Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* were blended in one. Brunck's proposal to read a future for an aorist infinitive in 1. 1343 has strong reasons behind it if one observes the use of tenses after *ἐλπομαι* in Apollonius. The many indirect reports of thoughts, expressions, and threats that occur in the *Argonautica* contain phenomena worthy of remark, and many problems worthy of an editor's attention. The optative in 3. 99 is not explained, except for a note to 1. 480, where it receives incidental mention as a potential. Is it not rather an imperative optative (Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Cl. Greek*, 394, 430)? He does not even pause at the tense of *μολεῖν*, 2. 1223. It cannot be said, however, that all difficult cases are ignored; the unusual use of *εἰ*, 1. 291, is called "irregular", and a Homeric parallel is cited. Along with 1. 291 should go 1. 1285. The two are not identical, yet in both cases it seems easier to explain the use of *εἰ* as due to the later construction with *θαυμάζω* and similar verbs. Another passage is 3. 816, where Homer's *εἰ ἔτεόν γε*, "so surely as" is explained as a true protasis; not however convincingly. Apollonius seems to press the phrase to the point of meaning "in proportion as".

In the introduction is a chapter on the sources. This is the most difficult part of an editor's task; it is a field where much preliminary work remains to be done. It is true that the material which an editor needs to use is widely scattered, yet not so widely as to require extraordinary diligence. It must be premised that a full discussion of the sources would be impossible within the limits of any ordinary edition. What then has an editor to do with the sources? This, at least, to illustrate a given passage of the text and to throw light on the poet's way of shaping his narrative. One does not need to know at first all the literature of the subject, but one must have formed the habit of looking at the text and the scholia analytically. Apollonius constantly blends his sources. He blends to some extent in the matter of vocabulary, using new with the old; so, too, with his syntax; but still more does he blend old and new, obvious and remote, in his mythology, his geography, and his local history. This is the most salient feature of his method.

In this sense Mr. Mooney has hardly begun to work with the sources. He does not deal sharply with the text nor does he show real familiarity with the scholia. To illustrate the latter:



an apparently simple note from the scholia is incorporated in the commentary to 1. 943. But the obvious interpretation which the reader would give to the scholium, viz., that Apollonius is here following Herodorus is made difficult if not impossible by another scholium, not here quoted, to 1. 1289. Here then is an explanation that itself needs explaining. Furthermore, the introductory chapter shows no appreciation of recent work in this field. The statement is made on p. 21: "the story of Aristaeus and the Etesian winds is derived from Pindar Pythian IX". While this statement is not without its foundation it is quite inadequate, for Pindar does not mention the Etesian winds, and Aristaeus is a secondary not a primary figure in the Pythian ode. Besides, the article "Aristaios" in Pauly-Wissowa's Encyclopedia to which the reader is referred in the commentary to 2. 506 calls attention to the various strands, foreign to Pindar, that are twisted into the narrative of Apollonius. The same article mentions Studniczka's conclusion drawn from the combined evidence in Pindar and Apollonius that the figure of Aristaeus appeared even earlier, in the Hesiodic Eoëe that lies back of Pindar. Even if one is not familiar with Studniczka's Kyrene—and the later work by Malten, Kyrene, Berlin, 1911,—the composite, aetiological character of the passage of Apollonius may be inferred from a scrutiny of the text of the poem. I mention in this connection a few studies of the sources which have value for their results as well as for the method. In the last edition of Rohde's *Psyche*, or in any edition for that matter, one will find properly indexed under Aethalides a clean-cut discussion which furnishes just the background for 1. 640–649, where Apollonius imports purposeless information into his story and then apologizes for it. Here, too, is found a good example of what must be done to make the scholia of real value. In *Hermes* 35. 75 f., it is shown by Reitzenstein that 4. 790–809 is based upon the Cypria; this affords an illustration of the relation of Apollonius to the earlier epic about which there are brief and vague references in the Introduction. One of the freshest and most suggestive lines of recent investigation is conveniently summed up in Roscher's *Mythologisches Lexikon*, s. v. Seirenen. The place of Apollonius in the history of ancient belief about the Sirens, the convergence of the two streams of Homeric and popular tradition, and the significance of the passing reference to the metamorphosis, 4. 896–899, are briefly but convincingly set forth. Let me not be understood as animadverting on the editor's failure to find this or that important article; anyone might fail in that way. But Mr. Mooney does not seem to be looking for such help. His attitude toward the whole mythological tradition which is so richly represented in the text and scholia of his author is less discriminating than one has a right to expect. He shows no quick feeling for the difference between primary and secondary sources, between first-hand and second-hand infor-



mation. The note to 4. 1427 concerning the names of the Hesperides is in point. One tradition, we are vaguely told, includes Hestia among them. Now the only authority for Hestia as one of the Hesperides is the text of Apollodori Bibliotheca, II 114 (Wagner), where 'Εσπερία stands by emendation in recent editions. The names of the Hesperides are perhaps not of vital importance, yet one who seeks would surely find something of value to say about them. One observation is certainly a mistake: 3. 276 is called an imitation of Anacreon 3. 27; that is, "Anacreon" is quoted from an edition that does not discern between Anacreon and the Anacreontea. On other than literary grounds the genuineness of this poem (Bergk 31), can be disputed. I once entered in my Apollonius this quotation from one of Miss Harrison's popular essays, which is, to be sure, nothing more than the light of common day but suffices as a side-light for our passage: "Eros is a stranger to black-figured art; in red-figured vases he is a slender youth; only in the Alexandrian and Roman periods a baby boy". In connection with Eros one is reminded of Helbig's Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei, a book whose importance for the higher interpretation of Apollonius has not suffered by the passage of forty years. Finally, the note to 4. 478 which concerns a special form of the saliva charm should be corrected by a reference to Aeschylus frag. 354; cf. Rohde's Psyche I. 326, where there is an elaborate discussion of *μασχαλισμός*.

In conclusion let me say that this review is written in full consciousness of the special difficulties that beset an editor of Apollonius, and in the belief that cooperation on the part of all who concern themselves with the Argonautica is most desirable. Perhaps one should be content if the editor has in this case accomplished what he proposed to himself, to occupy the field and to bring together the most accessible material. Nevertheless one may well regret that when so sumptuous a volume was planned, a more exacting standard was not set.

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La Vie de Saint Remi, Poème du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Par Richier, Publié pour la première fois d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, par W. N. BOLDERSTON. London: Henry Frowde, 1912. Pp. 356. 8vo.

In 877-8 that famous ecclesiastical ruffian, Hincmar, wrote a political pamphlet under the guise of a biography of St. Remi, his predecessor in the diocese of Reims. To enhance his own



arrogant claims to hierarchic primacy, he exploited the reputation of the saint by inventing or borrowing the most puerile stories in regard to his miraculous powers, generally used to punish violators of church property, and by forging a will attributing to St. Remi the widest sphere of influence. This *Vita S. Remigii* was one of the most popular of medieval hagiographies, to judge from the number of times it appears in its entirety in collections of saints' lives, and in extracts in collections of exempla. It is not surprising to find that it was translated into French, twice in the thirteenth century, once in verse, and once in prose. It is the former version that Mr. Bolderston has edited or rather printed in this volume.

For Mr. Bolderston does not seem to have one of the requirements necessary to an editor of an Old-French text. First of all he knows nothing about the subject of the work he attempts to edit. The *Vita* of Hincmar, its principal source, is only known to him in the edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*, reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*. It is unfortunate he was not acquainted with Krusch's studies on, and edition (*M. G. H. Script. Rer. Merov. III*), which could have been used to such advantage in both the study of the sources, and in the construction of the text. He would have been led to the conclusion that the whole of the French work had a single source in an interpolated manuscript of the *Vita*, similar to three manuscripts noted by Krusch (*Op. cit.* 245-6), representing a compilation of some scribe, interested in the pretensions of Reims. Thus the stories of St. Peter and St. Paul assisting St. Remi in saying mass (5753-5912), and of Moderan of Rennes (7175-7360) did not have their source in the version of Flodoard (*I* 17 and 20), but in that found in the interpolated *Vita* (*Op. cit.*, 245, 257; *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 566-8; cf. 568, n. 4 with vv. 7297-7300). But Flodoard was cited in this compilation as the authority for the will of the saint (5979-5993), because a later forgery, interpolated into this work (*I*, 18), supported the extravagant claims of Reims even more strongly than the forgery of Hincmar of which one finds an abstract in a later chapter of the genuine work (*I*, 23; cf. *Op. cit.*, 243). The same compilation also owed to Flodoard (*II* 19) the account of the vision of Raduin in regard to Ebbo (7361-7498), whose name, in its French form 'Jebès', disconcerted Mr. Bolderston in his search for the source of the story. It is one of the three visions that Richier found in, and translated from, his original, which owed their existence to the political scheming which had its centre at Reims. The first of these, the vision of Eucherius in regard to Charles Martel, and the influence it had on Pepin (365-380), was a cock and bull story devised by Hincmar for the benefit of the victorious Louis II (*M. G. Capitularia*, II, 432); that of Raduin was written as an attack on the immediate predecessor of Hincmar, who, no doubt could have named its author, and the Vision of Charles III



was inspired by the successor of Hincmar in the diocese of Reims (W. Levison, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII, 399 ff.; 493 ff.). According to our editor the last of these "n'a jamais été publié dans l'original" (14), and so he presents the learned world with an edition based on the two manuscripts known to him (34-38). Some twenty manuscripts, however, have been noted by others, and it has been published no less than fifteen times (Levison, *op. cit.* 401, 493, n., 501-2; cf. A. J. P. XXXII, 217).

If it is evident that the author of this compilation, the original of the French work of Richier, was an ecclesiastic, connected with the diocese of Reims, there can be no doubt but that the translator worked for the greater glory of the same cause, and for the same reason, even if superiors commissioned him to do his work (vv. 20-27). He clearly wrote in an eastern French dialect, probably that of Champagne, but neither Mr. Bolderston's text, nor the material he brings together in his treatment of the dialect in his introduction, justifies him in stating that the author and the scribes of the two manuscripts, containing the poem, wrote in the dialect peculiar to the city of Reims. Much water has flowed under the bridges since 1884, the date of Foerster's first edition of the *Cligès*, the most recent book on eastern French dialects used by Mr. Bolderston. The text as printed can only be understood by a more continual reference to the Latin original than the editor ever made, and some of the passages must have remained as inexplicable to him as to the reader, to judge from the meagre knowledge of Old-French he displays in the glossary. Thus he adopts the inferior reading, or copies wrongly, in the passage:

Sire, uns arsons, . . .  
Dont je trai *beusons* et piles (1367, 1369),

and gives a curious etymological translation; "Beusons, pièce de bois (terme de chasse)". The reading "bouions" of MS. B gives the correct form of the very common Old-French word; Flèche ferrée d'une tête plate ou à quatre pointes obtuses et émoussées (Gay). The saint prayed over an empty tun of wine; as a result;

li vins sorst si largement  
De la tonne par s' oroison  
Qu'il s'espendi a teil foison  
Par le bondon eu pavement (1578-1581).

Our editor defines: "Bondon, *ventre*". But "bondon" is a good French word to-day, meaning nothing but the bung-hole of a tun or cask. In one place the help of the saint was badly needed on account of rats who could not be caught:

Par rois ne par trebuches tendre (5390),

i. e. by laying snares or setting traps. The editor makes difficulties for himself by rendering "rois" by *petit faisceau*, and



"trebuche" by *lutte, machine de guerre*. But the most unfortunate and amusing interpretation is made on a passage in regard to a layman who became archbishop of Reims, who

comme clers iert rooingniés (311).

What horrible fate befel this unfortunate if we believe with Mr. Bolderston that "rooingnier" means *trancher*? Was he sliced up properly, or as an ecclesiastic did he conform literally to a well known passage of St. Paul? Our fears are allayed when we know that this very common word should have been glossed by *couper, tondre, tonsurer*. It looks very much as if Mr. Bolderston were as ignorant of modern as he is of medieval French.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.



## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XXXIV (1910), 1 and 2.

Pp. 5-42. Philippe Fabia, The First Consulship of Petilius Cerialis: Contribution to the Interpretation of the Histories of Tacitus. Little credence must be given to the statement of Tacitus (Hist. 4, 12) that the news of the defeat sustained by the Roman arms in Germany in 69 A. D. was received with indifference at Rome. The efforts that have been made by various modern historians to explain the Tacitean account have been wasted. Tacitus himself, a little later (4, 38), contradicts his former statement by the use of the words *maesta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate*. These conflicting statements are not due to the use of conflicting sources by the author, but to a lapse of memory on his part. The first statement represents the author's own reflections, the second, historical tradition; the first is false, the second is true. No one would have been quicker to realize the gravity of the danger than Mucianus, in whose hands had been placed the reins of government, and it is inconceivable that Mucianus should have tarried about despatching the reinforcements that were actually sent to the scene of trouble. Contrary to the general view, all that we know of the state of affairs in and out of Rome leads to the conclusion that Petilius Cerialis, the commander of the relief force that was to operate against Civilis, set out from Rome in the first weeks of January, not long after the arrival of Mucianus at Rome. Nearly the same conclusion has been drawn from evidence furnished by Josephus, Bell. Jud. 7, 4, 2 (82 sqq. Niese). But this passage abounds in flagrant errors and gross improbabilities, and to accept it at its face value betokens a great lack of critical spirit. Josephus' testimony regarding Petilius deserves no attention when it conflicts with known facts or with the statements of more reliable witnesses, but Petilius' elevation to the consulate by Vespasian, or, to be more exact, by his representative Mucianus, is a fact, which though attested by Josephus alone, seems inevitable. There is nothing that would militate against the assumption that the imperial *recommendatio* of Petilius Cerialis for the consulship was made by Mucianus at the meeting of the Senate that was held on Jan. 9 of the year 70 A. D., and, if Cerialis set out for Germany during the first half of January, it is quite likely that he set out as *consul designatus*. If this was the case, it would follow that he was not of consular rank either at the time of his departure or at the time of his arrival in Germany, because the regular consuls of



that year did not retire before April. But this little irregularity was excusable under the circumstances, and there are parallel instances. Fabia now raises the question as to whether Cerialis actually exercised the office of consul in 70 A. D. The question is answered in the negative, and the opinion is expressed that Petilius acquired the rank of *consularis* by the *adlectio inter consulares*. Against this possibility one ought not to invoke the fact that in a military diploma of 74 A. D. Cerialis is referred to as consul for a second time, because, if a consul designate was for some important reason prevented from actually entering upon the exercise of his office, his name was nevertheless entered upon the official list of consuls.

Pp. 43-56. Pierre Jouguet, Remarks on the Epheby in Graeco-Roman Egypt. For the Ptolemaic period the material is scant. The author discusses only the ephebic αἱρέσεις, the duration of the epheby, the associations of former ephebes, and the functions of the κοσμητής and γυμνασίαρχος. For the imperial age the material is more abundant, and the significance of the epheby is perfectly clear. Entrance into epheby means the attainment of the civil rights that are vouchsafed to the class of the inhabitants that was denominated the Ἕλληνες, or the οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, who were exempt from the λαογραφία of the λαοί. The age of majority in Egypt was 14. This too was the age at which the natives became subject to the poll-tax. Hence it is not surprising that the normal age for the attainment of epheby was 14. Tebtunis papyrus II, 316 mentions exceptions to this rule, which form the subject of a long discussion. Next, the duration of the epheby (which is never greater than three years), the ephebic symmories, the colleges of νεοί, and the supervision of the ephebes are discussed, and a new interpretation of the words ἐκ πλαγίου, B. G. U. 1084, is given. The author then takes up successively the method of enrolment (εἰσκρισις) of the ephebes, the functions of the ἐξηγητής and of other officials that were more or less closely associated with the affairs of the ephebes, the claims on which the application for enrolment must be based, and the sworn document (χειρογραφία) in which these claims are set forth and formal request for enrolment made. The article closes with a detailed study of lines 15-25 of Oxyrh. pap. 477.

Pp. 57-67. Félix Gaffiot, (Quis) Quid Relative. In a recent book entitled Pour le vrai latin, Paris, 1909, Gaffiot devoted a chapter to the proof of the existence of a relative (quis) quid, and the present article is intended as a reply to the numerous criticisms directed against this novel view. He considers three types of clauses, which he exemplifies as follows: 1. Audin quae loquitur? Video quam rem agis. 2. Video ut res gesta est. 3. Audin quid ait? According to the current view, which regards quid as interrogative, the dependent clauses in all three types are interrogative, and the use of the indicative is an archaism. Gaffiot,



on the other hand, considers types one and two as relative, and concludes that therefore type three must also be relative. He holds that the use of the indicative, especially in types two and three, is not an archaism, but a colloquialism; that the use of the subjunctive is characteristic of a more careful, literary style; and that indifference in the employment of the indicative and subjunctive is a sure sign of stylistic decay. A confirmation of this view he finds in the fact that the stylist Sallust, who is notably fond of archaisms, is not guilty of the alleged archaism of the use of the indicative in this class of sentences.

P. 67. B. H., Grave Stele of Caulonia. Haussoullier suggests the reading *Ῥηξιμάχου* for *Ῥησιμάχου* in the inscription published on p. 328 of vol. VI of *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Pp. 68-72. Pierre Boudreaux. Notes on some MSS of the "Lapidaire Grecs." MS 2286 (Bibl. Nat.), because of a false attribution on f. 63, was overlooked by Ruelle in his "Les Lapidaires grecs." This MS is older, more correct, and, above all, more complete than the related MS 2502, and is indispensable to the editor of the *Cyranides*. MS 2180 presents a coherent and legible text of certain matter that was published in a very imperfect form by Ruelle from Baroccianus 131. A number of lapidary notices that are found in MSS 2180, 1603, and Greek suppl. 338 do not appear in the "Lapidaire grecs."

Pp. 73-100. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Afranius Burrhus: The Traditional Legend; the Epigraphic and Historic Documents*. Most Frenchmen are better acquainted with the Burrhus of the *Britannicus* of Racine than with the Burrhus of the *Annals* of Tacitus. In the second preface of the *Britannicus*, Racine dwells on the military renown, the austere manners and the virtue of the celebrated prefect of the pretorian guard, and states that he has selected him in opposition to the infamous courtier Narcissus as the type of the honest man. This appreciation of the character of Burrhus has either dominated or more or less influenced all subsequent estimates, so much so that, even as late as 1882, Bernardin expresses the opinion that Burrhus is incontestably the most historical of all the characters of the *Britannicus*. De la Ville de Mirmont undertakes to combat this opinion, and, after marshalling and discussing all the evidence regarding the life of Burrhus, he summarizes his conclusions as follows. The prefecture of the pretorian guard is the only office of Burrhus about which we have any detailed information. After long periods of service as procurator of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, Burrhus, through the influence of Agrippina, was finally appointed prefect of the pretorian guard. As sole chief of nine pretorian cohorts, who ordinarily rendered obedience to two superior officers and made and unmade emperors, he should have been able to exercise absolute authority during his eleven years' tenure of office. But he was dominated by the superior



intellect of Seneca, and followed his leading. Seneca was the head; Burrhus was only the arm. The virtue of the veteran soldier seems a matter of dispute. To say nothing of the charge of venality brought against him by Josephus (though not by Tacitus nor by Dio Cassius), there are many other weaknesses that may be reckoned up against him. When Agrippina poisoned Claudius, and Nero poisoned Britannicus, Burrhus, though not an accomplice, tamely accepted the deeds as accomplished facts. He was actually an accomplice in the murder of his benefactress Agrippina, because he suggested the agent of the foul deed and consented to justify the parricide before the pretorian guard, which was composed of men, who, as he had himself declared, would not have dared to make an attempt on the life of the daughter of Germanicus. He condescended to serve as the chief of Nero's *claqueurs*, and viewed with complacency the irregular conduct of the emperor. Fine words do not make up for base deeds. It will be readily understood that the general regret which was felt at Rome when Burrhus was poisoned, was simply due to the fact that the prefect of mediocre virtue, who had passed away, seemed a model of goodness in comparison with the two men that took his place, the worthless weakling Rufus and the infamous criminal Tigellinus.

Pp. 101-117. D. Serruys, A Papyrus "Codex" of St. Cyril of Alexandria. Louvre papyrus E. 10295 and the papyrus that was published by Bernard in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, XXIX (1891), originally constituted a single codex. The 38 leaves of the French MS and the ten leaves of the English MS comprise quaternions 11-16 (books VI to VIII) of the treatise De Adoratione of St. Cyril of Alexandria. The two MSS represent one of the oldest and finest specimens that are known of the codex form of papyrus. The date of the first hand is the 6th century; that of the second (revising) hand is not later than the 7th century. Serruys presents an elaborate study of the structure, the palaeography and the text of the Louvre papyrus. The text of the Biblical citations is treated separately from the text of Cyril himself. As a result of this study two facts stand out prominently. 1. The Biblical citations of Cyril were considerably rejuvenated between the date of the Louvre papyrus and the Byzantine period. 2. The text of Cyril had undergone revision even before the epoch of our papyrus, whilst between the date of the Louvre papyrus and that of the Byzantine MSS the changes amount to little more than bungling restorations or vulgar errors of copyists. The author points out that these results serve to emphasize a fact, too frequently ignored, that the evolution of the Biblical text of an author may proceed along entirely different lines from those of the text of the author himself, and he concludes with the remark that, if the Louvre papyrus had done nothing more than this, it would have even thus rendered a signal service to the science of textual criticism.



P. 118. D. Serruys, *Christian Inscriptions of Egypt*. In *Revue de Philologie* XXXIII, 71-78, Serruys proposed the readings ἐπεὶ φ' and ἐπὶ α' in place of ἔτε φβ' and ἐπὶ φια' of Nos. 596 and 597 of Lefebvre's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*. The proposed readings have now been confirmed from photographs.

Pp. 119-122. Bernard Haussoullier, *Inscriptions of Chios and of Erythrae*. The author comments on three of the new inscriptions published by Miss Zolotas in *Athena*, XXXI (1909), 465 sqq. Of especial interest is the long inscription from Erythrae, of which lines 6-20 are republished, and the words ἀκροατηρίου, πρεσβυτικῶ, and μετεπιγραφῶσιν explained.

Pp. 123-124. René Pichon, *Seneca De Otio*. In IV, 2 read et maria *an terrae* incerta instead of et maria *aterris* inserta of the Ambrosianus. In V, 5, where Lipsius' emendation *astrorum* for the MS *sacrorum* has been generally adopted, Pichon proposes to retain *sacrorum* but to add either *corporum* or *ignium*.

Pp. 125-133. Bernard Haussoullier, *Lille Papyrus 29*. The author presents an edition, with introduction, critical notes, translation and commentary of No. 29 of vol. I of the *Lille papyri*. The papyrus contains regulations that prescribe the method of procedure in a damage suit against another's slave, and fix the respective responsibilities of master and slave, if the slave is found guilty. The text belongs to the third century B. C. It comprises two columns of about forty lines each. The second column is very incomplete, though with the exception of the three or four missing initial lines, the sense can be completely ascertained from the portion of the text that remains. Of especial interest is Haussoullier's comment on the words ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ of col. I, l. 3. Perdrizet would explain the expression as referring to a legal fiction by virtue of which action might be brought against the slave instead of against the master. Haussoullier does not feel convinced by Perdrizet's arguments, but thinks that in a damage suit against a slave the plaintiff had the privilege of suing either the slave or the master, and that the words ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ in our text serve the express purpose of indicating the method of procedure.

Pp. 134-139. Bernard Haussoullier, *Greek Funeral Discs*. In 1908 Sogliano published a notice of an archaic (6th cent. B. C.) bronze disc from Cumae. The disc bears an inscription, which Sogliano deciphers as *ἡδε οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐριμάν τελεσθαι*, and interprets thus: ἡδε (= ἡδου)· οὐκ (= μή) εἰς [α]ῖ ἡρίμαν τελεῖσθαι. Haussoullier, on the other hand, would read ἡδε (sc. ψῆφος) οὐκ εἰς ἡρίμαν (sc. χοάν) τελεῖσθαι, and would regard the disc as the lid of the orifice through which offerings were introduced into the tomb, thus confirming Marshall's view of the nature of the two Athenian marble discs (*J. H. S.* XXIX, 153). In explanation of ἡδε (sc.



ψῆφος), Haussoullier states that there are bronze ψῆφοι that have the same shape as the bronze disc from Cumae. In support of ἡρίμαν (sc. χοάν), he adduces a number of passages to show that it was customary to make offerings to the lower gods, heroes, and the dead only in the afternoon, whereas the morning hours were reserved for the Olympian gods.

Pp. 140-145. René Pichon. The Aim of Cicero's First Letter to Quintus. Cicero's first letter to Quintus has only the name and the form of a letter. In addition to a number of philosophical commonplaces artistically expressed, it contains a vindication of the administration of Quintus Cicero, and an attempt to effect a reconciliation between him and the farmers of revenue. The so-called letter is therefore really a political pamphlet. Its ultimate object seems to have been the consolidation and strengthening of the party of the *optimates*, of which Cicero was the leader at that time.

Pp. 146-148. J. Viteau, Note on a Greek Fragment Attributed to St. Irenaeus. There is found in all the editions of Irenaeus a partially corrupt fragment (Migne, Patr. Gr. VII, 1264), a revised form of which has been discovered by Viteau in the works of Gregory of Nazianzus (Migne, l. c., XXXV, 729). Viteau emends the fragment, expresses himself in favor of the Gregorian authorship, and cites and emends some verses of Joannes Geometres, the panegyrist, commentator, and imitator of Gregory of Nazianzus, which were written in imitation of the close of the fragment.

Pp. 149-155. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus. Critical Notes on Plautus, Merc. 6, 31, 47-48, 89, 282, 291, 512, 591, 598, 602, 752, 761, 773-774, 777, 912, 1021.

Pp. 156-166. Luc de Vos, The Emperor Julian and the Prefect Florentius. (Critical treatment of a passage of Libanius.) The present article is an expansion of an earlier article (Rev. des Et. gr., 1909), which attracted a great deal of attention. The passage of Libanius that has given rise to the discussion is found on pp. 271-273 of vol. II of Förster's edition. From the traditional reading it would appear that a certain person, who was like a father to Julian, was expelled from the royal palace at Paris through the calumniation of the prefect Florentius. All the editors and modern historians of Julian are of the opinion that the friend referred to was Sallust, the counsellor of Julian. De Vos shows that this supposition is at variance with historical fact, and he makes it appear probable that it was Julian himself that was expelled from the royal palace. He would therefore emend the text of Libanius so as to read ἤλγησέ τε (sc. Φλωρέντιος) τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἄνδρα ᾧ μάλιστα ἐχρήτο, διαβαλὼν γράμμασιν ὡς ἐπαϊρόμενον ὅτι (vulg. ἐπαίροντα τὸν) νέον, ἐξέβαλε τῶν βασιλείων, ὃς ἦν ἀντὶ πατρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ.



Pp. 167-172. A. Bourgery, On the Metrical Prose of the Philosopher Seneca. Seneca is especially fond of a penultimate cretic, and probably also of the fourth paeon before a spondee or an anapaest, and of the trochee or the tribrach before a cretic. He most certainly avoids the spondee before a spondee or an anapaest, and the dactyl before a spondee. There is much variation among the individual works, and Bourgery makes use of these variations to determine the chronological order of the works. The estimate thus obtained corresponds in general with that of Gercke, who worked along different lines. The author also shows by examples how the study of the clausulae may be made to subserve the ends of textual criticism.

P. 172. C. E. Ruelle, Correction of a Passage of Aristotle. (Phys. Probl. XI, 38.) For *καὶ οὐ τῷ οἴνῳ* read *καὶ οὐ τῷ ῥῳ*.

Pp. 173-174. Paul Legendre, Tironian Gleanings. On f. 136<sup>a</sup> of Berne MS 109 is found an epigram of three distichs, which is written in Tironian notes mixed with longhand, and is attributed to Octavianus Augustus. The epigram was published by Hagen in a Berne program and in Rh. Mus. XXXV, 569-577 (cf. Riese, Anth. Lat.,<sup>2</sup> 719 f.). Legendre claims that in line 3 the proper reading is *ponantur* instead of *vertantur*, and that in l. 4 the MS evidence points rather to *et totum* than to *indomitum*.

Pp. 175-198. A. Delatte, A Pythagorean ἱερὸς Λόγος. Tradition says that Pythagoras was the author of a ἱερὸς Λόγος, and fragments of later spurious Pythagorean compositions bearing that name have actually survived. There is also a fictitious ἱερὸς Λόγος in the story of Ninon (Jambl. V. P. 258 sqq.), which has come down to us from Timaeus. Delatte now comes forward with the announcement that he thinks he has discovered the scattered remains of a genuine Pythagorean ἱερὸς Λόγος. In the course of his investigations of the sources of the ancient biographies of Pythagoras, he encountered in these biographies certain poetical fragments, which, he thinks, originally formed part of a single poem, for which he can find no other name than the one just mentioned. The most important of these fragments (Porphy. Vit. Pyth. 40) is derived from Timaeus. It consists of five hexameters, which contain directions for the daily scrutiny of one's conduct. A glance at these lines shows that they formed part of a larger composition. The only other verses that are comprised in the Timaeian group of the collection are a couple of hexameters regarding the proper honor that is due to gods and heroes (Jambl. 144), and a hexameter on the metamorphosis of man (*ibid.*). The rest of the fragments of the group are a couple of hemistichs and a few poetical Ionic words and phrases. The Aristoxenean tradition, with the exception of a couple of isolated words or expressions, yields only supplementary matter for the reconstruction of the general contents of the original poem. Heraclides Ponticus contributes a hexameter on the



eating of beans. The author of Alc. II, 143 A furnishes two lines on how to pray. Chrysippus closes the list with a hexameter, in which man himself is blamed for all his troubles. "Such is the salvage, unfortunately too scant", that the author has been able to recover of his hypothetical poem. As to the date of the poem, Delatte states that the contents, form, and tradition will not permit of its being assigned to Pythagoras or to either of the two sects into which the Pythagorean society was dissolved at the close of the fifth century B. C. He therefore concludes that, inasmuch as the poem was known, at least in a fragmentary form, to Pythagorean circles of the fourth century, the only date that can be assigned to it is either the beginning or the middle of the fifth century B. C.

Pp. 199-212. Book Notices.

C. W. E. MILLER.

ROMANIA, Vol. XLI (1912).

Janvier.

Paul Meyer. A nos lecteurs. 3 pages. As early as 1891 the editors endeavored to secure younger scholars to take charge of the Romania. In 1903 death called Gaston Paris from his labors, and now in 1912 declining health forces the remaining editor to withdraw from his favorite work during the last forty years.

Joseph Bédier. De la formation des chansons de geste. 27 pages. Enumeration of the historical or literary sources of the Old French epics under seven heads. These are what the author considers to be the actual facts underlying a vast structure due to the imagination of the jongleurs. In this article he evidently sums up the results of the studies in this field which he has pursued with such signal success during the past few years and which have served to radically change the theories previously held by scholars.

Edmond Faral. Le poème de Piramus et Tisbé et quelques contes ou romans français du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 26 pages. Ovid was a favorite classical author in the Middle Ages, and many were the translations and adaptations of his works that were made. One of the oldest of these seems to antedate even the poems of Chretien de Troyes. Piramus was composed by a Norman trouvreur, and frequent are the allusions to it in both Old French and Provençal poems of the twelfth century. It is probable that the author of Aucassin et Nicolette imitated Piramus in part.

A. Thomas. Etimologies provençales et françaises. 32 pages. The title of this article is abundant evidence in itself that spelling reform has made serious inroads on the established orthography in France as well as in America and other countries. Twelve



etymological notes of considerable length are here reunited in modernized spelling such as to divide the attention of the reader between form and content.

**Mélanges.** P. Meyer, *Le Dit du hardi cheval*. C. De Boer, *Chrétien de Troyes auteur de Philomena*. Edmond Faral, *Le récit du Jugement de Paris dans l'Enéas et ses sources*. G. Huet, *Duresté, durester, durement*. A. Jeanroy, *Sur quelques textes provençaux récemment publiés*. A. Jeanroy, "Letre" dans une chanson française. Auguste Longnon, *Le nom de lieu Montmirail et son étymologie*. Emmanuel Philipot, *Happelourde*.

**Comptes rendus.** M. Barbi, *Per la storia della poesia popolare in Italia* (Giulio Bertoni). V. Chichmaref, *Lirika i liriki pozdniago sredneviekovia* (Myrrha Borodine). Artur Långfors, *Li abecés par ekivoche et li significations des lettres par Huon le Roi de Cambrai* (Edmond Faral). Charles Oulmont, *Les débats du clerc et du chevalier dans la littérature poétique du moyen âge* (Edmond Faral). A. Parducci, *Raimon de Tors, trovatore marsigliere del sec. XIII* (A. Jeanroy). V. de Bartholomæis, *Il sirventese di Aimeric de Pegulhan* (A. Jeanroy). Raymond Thompson Hill, *La mule sanz frain, an Arthurian romance by Paiens de Maisières* (Mario Roques: "réimpression sincère et prudente et qui pourra rendre service, mais travail d'édition trop peu poussé"). Boleslas Orłowski, *La Damoisele a la mule* (La mule sanz frain), conte en vers du cycle arthurien par Paiens de Maisières (Mario Roques: "La partie la plus originale de ce travail est une étude comparative des thèmes et motifs romanesques que Païen de Maisières a mis en œuvre").

**Périodiques.** *Bulletin historique et philologique* (Comité des travaux historiques), années 1908-1910 (P. M.). *Studi glottologici italiani*, V (Mario Roques). *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, t. XXXVI-XXXVII (Edmond Faral). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, fasc. 2 (Mario Roques).

**Chronique.** Obituary notices of Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith (by P. M.), Lucien Beszard and Marcel de Fréville de Lorme. Seventieth anniversary of Hugo Schuchardt. Publications annoncées. Collections et publications en cours.

**Comptes rendus sommaires.** 7 titles. Arthur C. L. Brown, *Chrétien's "Yvain"*, *Modern Philology*, 1911 (E. Faral: "Préoccupé d'en marquer les rapports avec les théories de M. Nitze et d'en éclaircir certains points particuliers, M. Brown reprend la thèse qu'il a déjà soutenue touchant les origines de l'Yvain de Chrétien de Troyes.") *Matzke Memorial Volume* containing two unpublished papers by John E. Matzke and contributions in his memory by his colleagues (M. R.: "Cet élégant volume, pieux hommage rendu à la mémoire du bon travailleur et de l'homme excellent que fut notre regretté ami J. E. Matzke, contient, outre un



bon portrait, une courte notice biographique et une bibliographie sommaire des travaux de Matzke, deux "lectures" inédites: p. 13, sur Gaston Paris et p. 21, sur le Développement et l'état présent de la dialectologie romane").

Avril.

Giulio Bertoni. Un frammento di una raccolta di miracoli e Odilone di Cluny. 10 pages. The fragment of a parchment manuscript here studied was found in a sixteenth century binding. Six columns of Old French text have been preserved in a mutilated condition. The text is in verse and was written down about the year 1300 A. D. A certain Odilo is cited as author, and this must be the well-known abbot Odilo of Cluny, the author of the Latin original composed in the tenth century.

O. Bloch. Etymologies franc-comtoises et lorraines. 13 pages. This collection of eight etymological notes cites numerous examples of dialect forms, and suggests that one word found in the lexicographies should be suppressed as an imaginary form.

Henri Hauvette. La 39<sup>e</sup> nouvelle du Décaméron et la légende du "cœur mangé". 22 pages. This article is a striking illustration of the fact that American and European scholars should keep in close touch with each other's work. In June, 1911, an article of Prof. John E. Matzke entitled The Roman du Chate-lain de Couci and Fauchet's Chronique was posthumously published in the Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott, pp. 1-18. In January of the same year another posthumous article by the same author entitled The Legend of the Eaten Heart was published in Modern Language Notes, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1-8. And yet it is possible for M. Hauvette in April, 1912, to publish a long article in the Romania on the same subject based largely on the same authorities apparently without having heard of either one of Prof. Matzke's articles. It may further be remarked that the results obtained by the two scholars differ very materially, as clearly shown by the respective schemes of relationship which they have published in their articles.

A. Långfors. Notice du manuscrit français 24436 de la Bibliothèque nationale. 41 pages. This manuscript contains a series of pious and satirical poems, all of which have not hitherto been brought to the attention of scholars. The manuscript seems to have been copied at various times for the Abbaye de Saint-Victor of Paris, being completed by the year 1424 A. D. We may note the occurrence of the Evangile des femmes in this manuscript, which was unknown to the latest editor of the poem, George C. Keidel, Baltimore, 1895, but which has since been published by M. Paul Meyer. The author of this article adds a brief note. A critical edition of the ABC plantefolie from six manuscripts is finally given.



Georges Millardet. Sur le traitement de A + Yod en vieil Espagnol. 13 pages. Taking up this question where it was left by J. D. M. Ford in 1911 (*Old Spanish Readings*, 2d ed.), the author of this article investigates the various developments found in the oldest texts.

Mélanges. D. S. Blondheim, Maimon. D. S. Blondheim, Judéo-espagnol Abediguar. Edmond Faral, Une chanson française inédite. George L. Hamilton, Sur la date et quelques sources du *Thezaur de Peire de Corbian*. A. Thomas, *Franc-Ameçon*.

Comptes rendus. Dr. Arnold Aron, Das hebräisch-altfranzösische Glossar der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek (ms. 102) zum ersten Male ausführlich besprochen (Louis Brandin). William Aldis Wright, French Glosses in the Leipzig MS. no. 102 (13th cent.) from the Commentary on Job (Louis Brandin). Albert Barth, Le Lai du Conseil, ein altfranzösisches Minnegedicht (W. v. Wartburg). Carlo Battisti, Zur Sulzberger Mundart, ein Reisebericht (J. Jud). C. De Boer, *Pyramé et Thisbé*, texte normand du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Edmond Faral).

Périodiques. *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, t. XXIII-XXIV (H. Yvon). *Revue de phonétique*, tome I (M. R.). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, 3-6 (A. Jeanroy, M. R.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Mathieu Augé-Chiquet and Gabriel Monod. Publications annoncées. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 11 titles. Ch. Bally, *Traité de stylistique française*. L. Gauchat, *Régression linguistique*. Carl Voretzsch, *Introduction à l'étude de l'ancienne langue française*, 4<sup>e</sup> éd.

Juillet.

J. Anglade. *Nostradamica*. 10 pages. 1. Encore le Moine des Iles d'Or. A list of Provençal poets given by Jules-Raymond de Soliers in his *Chronographia Provinciae* has never been published until the present time. Chabaneau had projected such a publication, and his preliminary work on the subject has now been carried on to completion. This list is of considerable interest in connection with the *Vies de Jean de Nostredame*. One hundred and three names of poets are here cited.

Joseph Bédier. De l'autorité du manuscrit d'Oxford pour l'établissement du texte de la *Chanson de Roland*. 15 pages. The *Chanson de Roland* has been transmitted to us in a number of manuscripts showing many variations in the general form of the text. The main question here is as to the relative value of the Oxford manuscript. Theodor Müller many years ago held to the theory that all the other manuscripts derived from a common



source; and M. Bédier now desires to again bring forward this theory as opposed to the more recent theories of Gautier and Stengel.

Gustave Cohen. *La scène de l'aveugle et de son valet dans le théâtre français du moyen âge.* 27 pages. One portion of this long article is devoted to a study of the same problem treated by the late Prof. Matzke in his article in *Modern Philology* entitled: Some examples of French as spoken by Englishmen in Old French literature. The general theme here studied was a favorite in various literatures, and it is especially well known in the Spanish *Lazarillo de Tormes*. To the Mediaeval mind the physically afflicted were a subject of amusement rather than of pity, and this mental attitude is clearly noticeable in the various plays studied in this article.

Giacomo de Gregorio. *Note etimologiche italiane.* 9 pages. The etymologies of six Italian words, chiefly belonging to the Sicilian dialect, are here discussed at considerable length.

Antoine Thomas. *Guillaume de Machaut et l'Ovide moralisé.* 19 pages. Paulin Paris in his edition of Guillaume de Machaut omitted the long song of Polyphemus given by Ovid and this text is therefore herewith critically edited from three manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A fourth manuscript of the poem was not long since acquired by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, but this has not been utilized.

Mélanges. Giulio Bertoni, *Note al testo di Aïgar e Maurin.* Giulio Bertoni, *Ferrarinoda Ferrara.* Edmond Faral, *Une chanson française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.* A. Jeanroy, *Prov. Escolh.* Antoine Thomas, *Bortholmieu Marc collaborateur de Guilhem Molinier.*

Comptes rendus. Adolf Bernhardt, *Die altfranzösische Heliandstrophe* (Artur Långfors). Ernest Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose, description et classement* (Artur Långfors). Andreas C. Ott, *Das altfranzösische Eustachiusleben der Pariser Handschrift Nat.-Bibl. fr. 1374* (Artur Långfors). A. Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs* (A. Jeanroy). Amadeu Pagès, *Introducció a l'edició crítica de les obres de Auzias March* (Mario Roques). A. Terracher, *Le pluriel du démonstratif dans les parlers populaires de l'Angoumois* (G. Millardet). Eugène Veÿ, *Le dialecte de Saint-Etienne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Jules Ronjat). Eugène Veÿ, *Le Ballet forésien de 1605 en dialecte de Saint-Etienne* (Jules Ronjat).

Périodiques. *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, I-II (Am. Pagès). *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, t. XXIX-XXXV (A. Linden). *Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig*, XVII-XVIII (Mario Roques). *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, t. XXV (H. Yvon). *Romanische Forschungen*, XXV (Mario Roques).



*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, t. XXXVIII, 1-2 (Edmond Faral).

Chronique. Collections et publications en cours. Bryn Mawr College Monographs, VI-IX. Long list of corrections to Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 4<sup>e</sup> livraison.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 19 titles. S. G. Morley, *Spanish Ballads (romances escogidos)*. Charles Frederick Ward, *The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose*.

Octobre.

Edmond Faral. *Les Débats du clerc et du chevalier dans la littérature des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. 1. Phillis et Flora. 2. Le Concile de Remiremont. 3. Florence et Blancheflor. 4. Heuline et Aiglantine. 5. Blanchefleur e Florence, Melior et Ydoine. 6. Chanson latine. 45 pages. This class of Mediaeval poems seems to derive ultimately from the Latin eclogue, although here the characters are two women discussing the question of whether it is better to love a scholar or a knight. After investigating the details connected with each poem, the attempt is made to draw up a general scheme showing their interrelation. The recently published article of J. H. Hanford, *Classical Eclogue and Mediaeval Debate*, is cited in a footnote as reaching similar conclusions.

G. Huet. *Le Lancelot en prose et Méraugis de Portlesguez*. 23 pages. The author of this article has discovered a new point of resemblance between these works, the fact of whose relationship has long been known. The adventure of the Lancelot in question occurs in the portion called "le livre d'Agravain", which is still unpublished. An abstract of the story from a Paris manuscript is herewith given. The inventor of this episode was probably Raoul de Houdenc, and he in turn seems to have been inspired by a passage in Chrestien de Troyes. Resemblances between several other episodes confirm this supposition.

E. Philippon. *Les parlers du Duché de Bourgogne aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*. II. *La Bourgogne occidentale*. 60 pages. In this second instalment another series of original documents divided into five groups is published, and the investigation of linguistic characteristics is continued. An important table of the documents published or analysed is also given, and many geographical notes are likewise appended.

Mélanges. George L. Hamilton, *Un manuscrit perdu de l'Histoire de Guillaume le maréchal*. Ernest Langlois, *I < K après O, Au*. Mario Roques, *Anc. fr. Estuper, A estupons*. A. Thomas, *Un manuscrit provençal retrouvé*. A. Thomas, *Notes complémentaires sur les manuscrits des ducs de Milan*. A. Thomas, *Bonaventure de Demena traducteur du De consolatione de Boèce*.



**Comptes rendus.** Ernesto Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli con prospetto grammaticale e glossario*, fasc. III (Giulio Bertoni: "Ora, si sa che un altro periodetto volgare, Sessa Aurunca, 963, è stato aggiunto ai precedenti da J. E. Shaw in *Modern Language Notes*, XXI, 105").

**Périodiques.** *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, XXXV (Paul Meyer). *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXV, 1-3 (M. R.)

**Chronique.** *Publications annoncées, Collections et publications en cours. Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Gaston Paris*, 1<sup>re</sup> livraison.

**Comptes rendus sommaires.** 15 titles. *Old Spanish Readings*, selected on the basis of critically edited texts, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by J. D. M. Ford. *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, t. IV. E. K. Rand et E. H. Wilkins, *Dantis Alagherii operum latinorum Concordantiae*. Adolf Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge, fünfte Reihe* (published by his son).

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.



## BRIEF MENTION.

As I was leaving home for the long vacation I gathered up quite at random a sheaf of LIETZMANN'S *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen u. Übungen* (Bonn, Marcus u. Weber) and, if I were at a loss for material with which to fill the pages set apart for *Brief Mention*, a list of the titles with irresponsible comments on the contents of the series would more than answer the purpose. But lack of material is never the trouble with *Brief Mention*. The moraine that is churned up by the slow-moving glacier of study is only too abundant and I sometimes find it hard to limit myself to the tithe that I impose each quarter upon the serious members of a serious constituency. The question will naturally arise: Why not seek another outlet for all this demi-semi-philological matter, the character of which sometimes makes the judicious grieve? There is no other outlet, no other public, no other publisher for a man who is a survival from the time when an allusion to the classics was tolerated, when literary reminiscences were not under the ban. Why, a Romanic scholar said to me the other day: 'I am not well enough up in the classics to follow what classical scholars have written about Rostand's Chantecler'. There was evidently no use of consulting him as to a theme which I had been idly contemplating, a comparison of Propertius and Verlaine. What could anyone who did not know his Theokritos make of Verlaine's haunting line? Ah! les oarystis! (*sic*) les premières maîtresses! Verlaine's love of Greek may have been as Platonic as his love of Spanish, but he knew enough to call up that charmingly naturalistic poem, the Theokritean origin of which has recently been upheld by Professor Clapp.

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After I had reached my summering place and spread out my sheaf of LIETZMANN'S *Kleine Texte*, my whole life as a professed student and teacher of Greek unrolled itself before me, for out of the whole number there was hardly one that had not some personal significance. But for the purposes of this vacation number I have limited myself to three representatives of my Greek studies, extending from the gropings of my German apprenticeship down to the latest oversights of the Journal. First came DEECKE'S *Auswahl aus den Iliasscholien* which brought back the days when I fumbled among the Porphyrian scholia for the material of my doctoral dissertation and last VON ARNIM'S *Supplementum Euripideum* which anastomosed with the errata of the latest *Brief Mention*.



In DEECKE'S *Auswahl* only a small space is given up to Porphyry. The object of the selection, as the editor informs us, is not to be of assistance in the reading of Homer. For that the compass is too restricted. It is rather to give the student an idea of the personality and the work of those from whose writings the scholia were derived, and thus to give an idea of the character and value of the different classes of scholia. That being the case, it is not surprising that Porphyry and Herakleitos, whom DEECKE treats as if they were birds of a feather, take up only a few pages. When Schrader's studies in the Porphyrian scholia first appeared, regret was expressed in certain quarters that so much acumen and so much labour had been spent on material so jejune and so infructuous; nor were the critics deterred by the fact that Porphyry was supposed to have been largely indebted to Aristotle. In fact, it was because of Porphyry's dependence on Aristotle that Bernays, himself a distinguished Aristotelian, urged his young pupil to make a study of the Porphyrian scholia with a view to ascertaining the Aristotelian elements contained in them. The young pupil, as I have recounted elsewhere, took a shorter cut, after the American fashion of that time; and the doctoral dissertation once achieved, this whole range of studies was abandoned except so far as I have held my own pupils to the consultation of the scholia when they were reading Homer. There is much of interest and value in the scholia that is not yet appropriated.

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Reading next in VON ARNIM'S *Supplementum Euripideum* the fragments of the Stheneboia, I was painfully reminded that Ζεὺς Ἰκέσιος would have fitted better into the proposed version of the story of Bellerophon (A. J. P. XXXIV 236, l. 16), than Ζεὺς Ξένιος, though Ζεὺς Ξένιος is also involved. Euripides' Bellerophon, who is a prig, says: ἐγὼ δὲ θεσμούς Ζηνὸς Ἰκεσίου σέβων . . . οὐπώποτ' ἠθέλησα δέξασθαι λόγους | οὐδ' εἰς νοσοῦντας ὑβρίσαι δόμους ξένος and then goes on to expound the difference between the two kinds of love. All these ancient myths are plastic. In the story of Oineus, another play of Euripides, one mythologist puts Oineus to death, another restores him to his throne. According to one account Lykos is slain by Amphion and Zethos, whereas according to Euripides' Antiope he is saved by Hermes. So my imaginary psychological novelist of the last number—a descendant of Paul de Kock—may have been justified in making Bellerophon repent of his virtue. At the same time there are limits to the plasticity of these old stories and I cannot forgive Stephen Phillips for contradicting Homer in the matter of Penelope, as I cannot forgive the critics who would expel the flirting passages from the original Odyssey.



Not quite midway between the days of my doctoral dissertation 'De Porphyrii Studiis Homericis' and this last stage of all lie the years in which I was engaged in the patristic reading I deemed necessary as a preparation for my edition of the Apologies of Justin Martyr; and this episode in my life as a student is recalled by another number of the LIETZMANN collection, KLOSTERMANN'S *Origenes, Eustathius von Antiochien u. Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor*. Of course, at that time Origen against Celsus formed a considerable portion of my diet and the hammer and tongs style in which he deals with the 'fire-shool of the witch of Endor', the passionate questions and the extraordinary array of what one would call irrelevant proof-texts bring up the memory of these far-off studies. *Eustathius of Antioch* goes into a long-winded refutation of Origen's views as to the divine source of the vision and the responses, to me a tedious performance which interested me chiefly from the syntactical point of view, such as the writer's mania for combining the future infinitive with verbs of will and endeavor. Much more interesting is the contribution of *Gregory of Nyssa*, which revives the pleasant memory of the fanciful interpreter of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Like Eustathius Gregory rejects Origen's theory of the divine inspiration of the witch. The great gulf fixed between the good and the bad appeals to Gregory's imagination and serves as his main argument; but he soon passes over to other strange Biblical narratives which he proceeds to allegorize after his characteristic fashion. In the commonly received version of the story of Elijah we are told that the ravens brought Elijah bread and flesh in the morning and bread and flesh in the evening, but according to the version followed by Gregory the ravens brought bread in the morning and flesh in the evening, thus symbolizing the earlier and the later stages of the Christian's life, plain bread for the young catechumen, strong meat for those who are going on to perfection. Plasticity does not seem to be confined to classical mythologies.

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Of the two rival translations of Philostratos mentioned in the last number of the Journal (A. J. P. XXXIV, 235) I have read only Mr. PHILLIMORE'S (Oxford, The Clarendon Press), which has tempted me to reread Philostratos himself, whose Apollonius of Tyana is the subject of an old paper of mine, to be found in my out of print and out of mind Essays and Studies. The literature on Apollonius has grown greatly since the date of my little study, as may be seen from the conspectus of the principal works referred to in Mr. PHILLIMORE'S Introduction—a rather elaborate and decidedly lively essay of 126 pp. The bibliography does not undertake to be exhaustive, but the omission of my slight paper does not count, for the only real contribution of that per-



formance to the subject is my reinforcement of the contention that the life of the Tyanite was not intended to be a parallel to the life of the Nazarene. St. Paul, I maintained, furnishes a closer parallel than does our Saviour. Louis Dyer's chapter in his *Gods of Greece* might have had a passing notice and there are other monographs that an Italian bibliographer would have included in his list; and as Mr. PHILLIMORE is very airy and very modern I cannot help missing some reference to Flaubert's *Tentation de St. Antoine* in which Apollonius is a commanding figure.

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With their artificial elegance, their spasmodic liveliness, their peculiar diction, the authors who belong to the Greek Renaissance present hard problems to any translator who understands his business. Lucian, for instance, is so modern that there is a strong temptation to render him in terms of the slang of to-day, and yet such a procedure is not justifiable. In the matter of Greek Lucian sticks close to the cultivated language of his time and though he laughs at pedantic Atticists, he does his Syrian best, just as in the matter of English real Americans do their American best. A generation ago an illustrious lexicographer told me sadly that the only people who cared about English were the Americans and the Scotch, and Mr. Lawrence Jerrold has recently contended in contravention of current opinion that the really original American is 'delicate, traditional, self-analytical, furiously refined', that he is much nearer to Henry James than to Walt Whitman, and that his leading characteristic is subtlety. Philostratos, like Lucian, is not a pedantic Atticist. His Greek is wide open to the criticism of the modern specialist, but Mr. PHILLIMORE sneers at those grammarians who make such ado, for instance, about the *nominativus pendens* which is so marked a characteristic of Philostratos, as it is of Aischylos—a queer meeting of extremes. Fingering slaves are all those, in Mr. PHILLIMORE's judgment, who pick out peculiarities of syntax and diction that do not lend themselves to translation. To judge by his Introduction, Mr. PHILLIMORE is not unaware of the difficulty of his task and, if he has not deliberately tried to make himself an Avatar of Philostratos, he has translated him in what he conceived to be the style of that nascent author. To use his own language with regard to the Apollonius of Philostratos, his rendering is both donnish and modish, the 'modishness' somewhat overdone, as is apt to be the case with University men who wish to be thought knowing at all hazards. In short the translation is what reviewers call 'spirited', 'racy', 'up-to-date', indeed, so 'up-to-date' that the next generation will probably need a glossary just as Droysen's Aristophanes requires scholia in order to be appreciated. However, Introduction and Translation are of a piece and there are hints that the jauntiness of



style is natural and not assumed. But nothing is farther from my mind than to make an elaborate study of Mr. PHILLIMORE's translation either as to its general style or its trustworthiness in detail. Translations are too easy game to be fair game. To one who feels the original every line is open to cavil and a single word may start a page of comment as was shewn in the last number of the Journal apropos of Mr. PHILLIMORE's rendering of ἐρωτική διαμαρτία by 'sentimental vagary' (A. J. P., l. c.) instead of 'disappointment in a love affair'. There ought not to be two opinions about the meaning of διαμαρτία in the passage there discussed and I might have settled the matter, perhaps ought to have settled the matter, by quoting Philostratos, Vit. Soph. 1, 21, 4: ὡς ἐρῶντος μὲν αὐτῆς, τὴν διαμαρτίαν δὲ μὴ καρτεροῦντος. I knew the passage, but like Master Pindar I take pleasure in holding something in reserve and shewing myself when the time comes τραχὺς παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος.

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ἤλιξ ἤλικα τέρπει. I am frankly interested in my coevals and I remember reading with peculiar interest certain papers on life in London by George Augustus Sala, a somewhat older contemporary of mine, the founder of the Temple Bar magazine. Temple Bar had not fallen before the march of improvement when I first saw London—it was in 1853—and the Coal Hole in the Strand with its presiding genius, Chief Justice Nicholson, mentioned by Sala, is a vivid memory to me—to whom else? The seniors of the people who chirruped the praises of Helen at the Skaian gate spoke softly to one another—ἤκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον—for fear lest the Trojan youngsters might laugh at the ecstasies of the oldsters and say one to another, 'Who would have thought the old men to have had so much blood in them?' There are very few of my contemporaries at the Skaian gate and, those of us who are left have become impervious to criticism and speak their minds freely. Such an one is Frederic Harrison, born within the same sennight with myself, whose *Autobiographical Memoirs* and *Among My Books* have a personal interest for me, as they bring back scenes in my own life and books that I read at the same age. It is both amusing and instructive to see how seldom he has revised his youthful prejudices. Hesiod was dull to him as a boy and Pindar stodgy and Hesiod has continued dull and Pindar stodgy to the end. 'Stodgy' is a hateful word, little used by Americans, and I am not a fit judge of the 'stodginess' of Pindar, but I may be allowed to protest against the ascription of 'dulness' to the Works and Days. How any one can find the Works and Days dull passes my comprehension as it would have passed my comprehension before the days of Eduard Meyer and Schwartz and Rand. The *Theogony* is a problem of another sort and the interest in it is professional rather



than popular. Even classical scholars who are not especially concerned with mythology are prone to neglect it, and as commentaries on such subjects are apt to be overloaded, one welcomes WOLF ALY'S edition, which is one of the GEFCKEN series of *Kommentirte Griechische u. Lateinische Texte* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter). The text is beautifully clear, the notes a marvel of succinctness, and to the practised eye succinctness reveals more than the trailing robe, and our day is not indifferent to the slitskirt—that bequest from those *φαινομηρίδες*, the Spartan belles.

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In Professor HUMPHREYS' edition of the *De Corona* (A. J. P. XXXIV 234) which has started and revived in me many strains of thought and fancy, the reader will find figured the new reconstruction of the famous Vatican statue of Demosthenes. 'The hands folded with the fingers interlaced agree with Plutarch's description (Dem. 31) of the bronze statue erected by the Athenians a short time after the death of the orator'. The gesture is a gesture of passionate excitement which needs no interpreter, no reference to encyclopaedias s. v. *χειρονομία*. Demosthenes has been speaking vehemently, the himation has slipped from his shoulders, he is weary of his effort, his hands are clasped in protest against his physical weakness, against the weakness of the state. It was easier, as Quintilian noted (I. O. xi 3, 17), for the Greek to let his himation slip from his shoulders than for the Roman to bare his bosom, as Mark Antony did—a violent gesture which Cicero censures in the 'divine Philippic' (43, 111): *Tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus*. The bared shoulders, the clasped hands, give us the male counterpart of the picture in Petronius, c. 17: *retexit superbum pallio caput manibus inter se usque ad articulorum strepitum constrictis*. . . The contrast to Aischines, *ἐντὸς τῆς χεῖρας ἔχων*, has often been emphasized—a contrast which I have found reflected even in syntactical problems, such as the deictic use of the article with proper names, such as the use of the coupled negatives *οὐ μή* (A. J. P. XXIII 137). According to his statue Aischines was a fine figure of a man. He had a soldierly bearing. He might well be not only a son of Atrometos, but *ἀτρόμητος* himself in the clash of arms. Of course, none but those who belong to the class to whom war is sweet—*γλυκὺ δ' ἀπείροισι πόλεμος*—can sneer at Demosthenes for being swept away by the receding tide at Chaironeia. The contemporary gibe at Kleon who fled at Amphipolis was not reechoed in aftertimes when one of Demosthenes' clients boasted of his connection with the descendant of the general who fell in battle with the foe (Dem. 40, 6). But Demosthenes was doubtless an excited combatant in the field as well as on the bema. 'He was ever a fighter', says his biographer of Jebb (A. J. P. XXVIII



481), and Jebb was not a martial figure; and one brings to mind Macaulay's famous description of Luxembourg and the Prince of Orange at the battle of Neerwinden: 'It is probable that, among the hundred and twenty thousand soldiers who were marshalled round Neerwinden under all the standards of Western Europe, the two feeblest in body were the hunchbacked dwarf who urged forward the fiery onset of France, and the asthmatic skeleton who covered the slow retreat of England' (Hist. of England, vol. 4, p. 24). I have often wondered, by the way, whether there was not some especial significance in the fact that Demosthenes is called the son of Demosthenes. One might at all events imagine that, unhealthy himself, he came of unhealthy stock. The eldest son usually bore his grandfather's name, but the eldest son may have died a sickly infant, or the father, presaging an early death, may have called his only son after himself to save the name, for Demo- ran in the family. The puny boy, the *βάρβαλος*, the Miss Nancy of his enemies, was brought up by his mother, doubtless embittered by the refusal of Demosthenes' guardian to take her to wife as in duty bound, and everyone knows the danger of being brought up by women. If in after life such nurslings become emancipated, they go too far. The same thing has been noted of the sons of the frocked of the other sex. Ministers' sons are proverbial—unjustly so—but here again people only note the striking exceptions. I have known emancipated Friends to swear as did Demosthenes, and not so aptly, and Demosthenes swore more freely than any of the Attic orators. He had in him, as I have said, a spice of the blackguard. His language at times is positively shocking, but it is to be noted that Professor HUMPHREYS, who was a soldier in his day, does not apologize for him as did Professor Goodwin. These things have an unwholesome attraction for tenderly nurtured boys, such as was Demosthenes, and I am reminded of Persius, who was brought up by his mother and his sister and his aunt, and whose 'occasional crudity of language is the crudity of a bookish man who thought that the only way to do a thing is to overdo it'. 'Feminine training', I have said, 'is not without its disadvantages for the conduct of life. For social refinement there is no better school; but the pet of the home circle is apt to make the grossest blunders when he ventures into the larger world of no manners, and attempts to use the language of outside sinners. And so, when Persius undertakes to rebuke the effeminacy of his time, he outbids the worst passages of Horace and rivals the most lurid indecencies of Juvenal' (Introduction to Persius, p. viii). The physical parallel of Demosthenes with St. Paul is not new, but it may be noted that both orators drew their imagery from the ring, and it is just those that cannot boast of what an old Virginian teamster called 'physical fixins' who delight in such exhibitions of strength. The most enthusiastic student of the battles of the Civil War I have ever heard of was a cripple from birth.



Prefaces are seldom read, except for the sake of reviewing a book without reading it and more's the pity. They are often redolent of nationality, redolent of personality. Not the least attractive of the opuscula of Gottfried Hermann are his prefaces. They enable one to understand better the great alumnus, the jibbing alumnus of the Leipzig School—Ritschl—and when one reads Freeman's prefaces, what could be more human—or, if you choose, inhuman—than his blunt utterances? They are the man himself. In his *History of Sicily* he says:

Amid such a mass of extracts in different languages, I have done what I could to secure accuracy of writing and printing; but the task is hard. My eyes are not so strong as they once were, and a wrong letter or accent, if it does not altogether change the look of the word, easily escapes notice, even with glasses. In the little Hebrew that I have had to bring in, I have tried hard to put *Resh* and *Daleth* in their right places, but I would not be sure that I have always succeeded. And I am afraid that other errors may lurk in the book.

This self-help, this self-service Emerson admired so much (A. J. P. XXXIV 241) is very Britannic, is very Freemanic. He had done the best he could. Let it go at that. There is nothing of the distress that your American feels when he blunders at baseball, at football, in the boat race. No sleepless nights disturbed the repose of the squire of Somerleaze, the professor at Oxford. A distinguished Greek told me once that he had suggested to those who had charge of the Liddell and Scott *Lexicon* the advisability of revising the accentuation of that indispensable manual—which sorely needed it—and the comparatively trifling expense rendered necessary by such a revision met with instant and almost contemptuous rejection.

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And then again in an early part of the same preface Freeman says:

From the most obscure *Abhandlung* or *Programm* or *Dissertation* we are sure to learn something. There is sure to be some fact, some reference, some way of putting something, which one is glad to come across. The pity is that there is no way of marking outside on which page the precious morsel is to be found. And no man can undertake to find out every pamphlet and every article. And, when one has found what is wanted, it is sometimes forbidden to buy the number that one wants, unless one chooses to buy a whole volume that one does not want. Yet the Englishman is sure to be found fault with if he misses the smallest scrap of the whole 'litteratur' of any matter. In this our High-Dutch friends are sometimes a little unreasonable.

Unreasonable or not the High-Dutch masters who have dominated American scholarship for two generations have made a command of the 'litteratur' an imperative obligation on this side of the water and their Italian disciples are bibliography-mad. In a recent Italian work of less than three hundred pages, a



work too of popular character, there is an *Indice Bibliografico*, chronologically arranged extending from 1840 to 1911 and containing some 130 numbers by which the author professes to have been especially helped, to say nothing of the general works on Greek literature and the commentators on the Greek tragedies involved in the investigation. To be sure, as I have pointed out more than once, bibliographies are not always honest. Books are cited as authorities which have not even been opened, but a bibliography is needful and what an American editor when sending out to the learned world a costly and pretentious edition of a classic would dare to pen a sentence like this in which Mr. MOONEY dismisses the subject of 'literature' in the preface to his *Apollonios* (Longmans, Green & Co., \$4.50): The literature on Apollonius is very scattered and in many cases quite unprocurable.

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Now it so happens that several Johns Hopkins men have worked at Apollonius besides Goodwin, whose dissertation though cited by Mr. MOONEY has been, so far as I can see, but sparingly used. It is natural, therefore, that I should not consider the publications of my own students as negligible or quite unprocurable, as things to be dismissed with an indifferent 'etc'. Oswald, an American, is cited, but Haggett anticipated Oswald. Bolling's Participle in Apollonius deserves the consideration that all the work of that scholar deserves and receives at the hands of competent judges, and Elderkin's dissertation on the Speech in later Greek epic calls attention to a most important and characteristic dissimilarity from Homer. Of course, I do not refer to the same scholar's *post festum* article on Repetition in Apollonius (A. J. P. XXXIV 198 foll.) except to remark that some mention should have been made by Mr. MOONEY of another striking dissimilarity from Homer, which has not escaped the attention of other Apollonians, as Elderkin has pointed out. Nor do I refer to my own little article on the Vocative in Apollonius (A. J. P. XXIV 197-9) written with the cooperation of Professor Miller as an appendix to Professor Scott's article on the Vocative in Homer except to add to the consideration of hiatus there adduced the further contention of Kieckers that the insertion and omission of & is due to metrical considerations, a contention which, as Meltzer has observed in his most valuable *Jahresbericht on Greek Syntax* (1906-1910), is quite in line with Witte's researches in the language of the epic—researches apparently unknown to Mr. MOONEY. And this is only one little corner of the 'etc'. One expects a more exhaustive treatment of an author from so sumptuous an edition as Mr. MOONEY'S. But 'it is to take or to leave' in the high insular fashion.



But I am glad to be relieved of further comment on Mr. MOONEY by Professor FITCH's acceptance of my invitation to review the new Apollonius in the present number of the Journal. However, I will allow myself to add just two little matters that fall within the range of my special studies. εἰ with future indicative is more distinctly monitory or minatory than it is in Homer; e. g., 1, 605; 3, 95; 4, 231 and something might be said about Apollonius' treatment of ὥστε. In Homer final and consecutive are one and it is a mistake to sort them, as has been done. In Homer ὥστε is only a germ. Il. 9, 12 ὥς τε is distinctly final. Od. 17, 21: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμί, | ὥς τ' ἐπιτελαμένῳ σημάτωντι πάντα πιθέσθαι, the inf. πιθέσθαι merely trails after μένειν and there is no such close correlation as we find in Apoll. 2, 1220: οὐτε γὰρ ὧδ' ἀλκὴν ἐπιδευόμεθ' ὥστε χερσίους | ἔμμεναι Αἰήταο σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι.

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The last proof of the latest number of the Journal seems not to have reached the printer. Hence another of the inevitable chapters of errata, another sequence of comments on the same. When the venerable Photios reaches the end of a letter in his Lexicon he never fails to add the pious ascription σὺν θεῷ. In a far different frame of mind Ellendt, when he finished the Epsilon in his Lexicon Sophocleum, congratulated himself on having reached the end of the 'damned letter Ε.' My attitude towards the letters of the Greek alphabet is, I am sorry to say, oftener that of Ellendt than that of Photios, but if there is one above all others towards which I bear a grudge, it is Theta. Theta stood for θάνατος in Graeco-Roman antiquity and it still retains its lethal quality in printing and proofreading. The dot in the capital letter is often overlooked or blurred and Θ and Θ are confounded; and in the course of my long experience I have known much damage wrought by one of the forms of the minuscule, the form which I habitually use (ϑ), and which bears a fatal resemblance to the conventional proof-reader's sign for *dele*. One corrects Σκυνῶν (p. 225, l. 20) and lo! there appears Σκυνῶν, as happened in the last number. In the foot-note to p. 237 read 'as a verb of fulness'; p. 241, l. 22, for 'where' read 'when' and correct under *Books Received*, l. 10, a droll mistake occasioned by the use of the Spanish word 'ahora', which figures as English 'above'.



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Aristotle's Works; tr. into English under editorship of W. D. Ross. v. 6. Opuscula, by T. Loveday and others. New York, *Oxford University Press*. 791-980 pp. diagra. 8°, \$2.50 net.

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## I.—THE CREATION OF THE TRIBE PTOLEMAIS AT ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

Neither the date of the establishment of the tribe Ptolemais at Athens nor the motive prompting its creation is recorded by any ancient historian. From other writers of antiquity very little evidence can be gleaned, and all of it is untrustworthy. The traveller Pausanias asserts that Ptolemaios Philadelphos was the eponymous hero of the tribe (I. 5, 5; 6, 8; 8, 6). This might lead us to infer that Ptolemais was created before his death in 247 B. C. Inscriptions prove, however, that there were only twelve prytanizing tribes at Athens during his lifetime, and since Athens was under Macedonian influence from 262 to 232, it is clear that Ptolemais was not created during the reign of Ptole-

<sup>1</sup> This study was undertaken while I was holding a research fellowship from the Carnegie Institution in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I wish to express my obligations to those who made possible my work at Athens, as well as to Mr. Hill, the Director of the School, to Mr. Leonardos, then Ephor of the Epigraphical Section of the National Museum at Athens, who kindly gave me every opportunity for studying the inscriptions, and to Professor Capps, of Princeton, who has read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions.

While I was correcting the proof of this article I received Kirchner's revised edition of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* Vol. II and III (IG. Vol. II and III, edit. min. pars I, fasc. 1). This edition with its large number of new readings, new inscriptions and vastly improved arrangement will so soon supersede the old volumes, that I have added references wherever possible in accord with the new numbering. I have denoted the new edition as K. and such a reference as K. 791 (II. 334) means number 791 in the new volume, or IG. II. 334 according to the older edition.



maios Philadelphos. One other reference to Ptolemais is found in an epigram of Kallimachos (Anth. Pal., VII. 520) who died about 240 B. C. The poet is alluding, however, to a tribe of that name known to exist in Alexandria (Westermann, *Βιογράφοι*, p. 50; Beloch, *Die Errichtung der Phyle Ptolemais*, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, 1884, 481 ff.; Bates, *The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, *Cornell Studies VIII*, 1898, 29-30). Neither of these passages, therefore, can be used to prove the existence of Ptolemais at Athens before 232 B. C. Pausanias may be right in claiming that Ptolemaios Philadelphos was the eponymous hero, but it is certain that the new tribe was not created during his reign.

The only positive evidence as to the date of the establishment of Ptolemais has been stated by Beloch (loc. cit., cf. *Gr. Gesch.*, III. 2. 56-7) as follows: Since the deme Berenikidai was created along with the tribe Ptolemais, and since Berenike, in whose honor the deme was established, was the wife of Ptolemaios Euergetes (Stephanus, s. v. *Βερενικίδαι*), he was therefore the eponymous hero and the tribe must have been created during his reign (247-222). Beloch then observed that the thesmothetai in IG. II. 859 are recorded in the official order of the twelve tribes up to the archonship of Niketes; are disarranged in the year of Antiphilos (probably due to error of the mason), and in the archonship of Menekrates are in the official order of the thirteen tribes. Hence he argued that Ptolemais was established between the archonships of Niketes and Menekrates. Kirchner (*GGA*. 1900. 450) following the suggestion of Schebelew (quoted by Kirchner, loc. cit.) noted further that the archon Antiphilos was from the deme Aphidna (II. 859, l. 53), which was assigned to Ptolemais when the new tribe was formed. He was thus led to infer that Ptolemais was established in that year, and as a compliment to Ptolemy, the archonship was given to Ptolemais. This date (224/3) has been accepted universally (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 158; Maltezos, *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.*, 1907-8, pp. 295-6; Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archonten* 47, *Abhandl. d. königl. Gesells. d. Wissens. z. Göttingen X*, n. 4; cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 243-4).

This argument for the creation of Ptolemais is based on the evidence furnished by the lists of thesmothetai in IG. II. 859, and is valid only if Beloch's estimation of their value is sustained.



Let us examine these lists more closely. In the first place, Beloch himself noted the stonecutter's error in the list for the archonship of Antiphilos. There may be a second error in Menekrates' year, unless we assume that Anakaia was transferred in part to Demetrias, for which there is no other evidence (Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.* 1892, 550 ff.; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 23). There is the possibility of still another error, i. e., the thesmothetes from Phlya in the archonship of Niketes may be misplaced. If we assume this provisionally, then the thesmothetai throughout the whole list in IG. II. 859 are arranged in the official order of the *thirteen* tribes, if we except the mistakes made by the stonecutter. In that case this inscription proves only that Ptolemais was in existence already in 229 B. C., while we are still no nearer a determination of the date of its creation. In view of the fact that there is certainly one stonecutter's error, probably two, and possibly three in IG. II. 859, the testimony of the lists of thesmothetai must be used with extreme caution, and it is clear that their evidence must no longer be regarded as decisive in establishing the date of the creation of Ptolemais.

Instead of assuming that Phlya is out of place in the list of thesmothetai under Niketes, it is quite possible that this was a divided deme, and that a part remained with its old tribe Kekropis. If IG. II. 859 can be used to prove that Anakaia was a member of two tribes (Kirchner, *loc. cit.*), the same argument may be used in regard to Phlya with equal cogency. Ptolemais was given twenty-four demes when the tribe was established, while Antigonis and Demetrias apparently did not have more than ten, possibly less. There is no plausible explanation of this, unless many of the demes assigned to Ptolemais were small or divided demes, but, as a matter of fact, we only know of one divided between the old and the new tribe (Bates, *op. cit.* 45). Many more may have been divided, at least for a time, but we are ignorant of the exact facts because the evidence is so meagre.

IG. II. 859 is the only document which gives any evidence about the position of Phlya for the remainder of the third century, after the creation of Ptolemais. No inscriptions exist in the second century before 129 B. C. which indicate in any way to which tribe it belonged. After 129 all the evidence tends to prove that Phlya was assigned to Ptolemais only (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6).



If the accepted interpretation of IG. II. 859 is questioned, it cannot be used as heretofore to determine the date of the creation of Ptolemais. All that can be determined from this inscription is that Ptolemais *may* have existed before the year 229/8. Other sources must be sought and investigated. One method of proof which has not hitherto been fully exploited remains. If we study the extant decrees belonging to the period between 233/2, when only twelve tribes existed [Archon Thersilochos K. 778 (II. 308), 780 (II. 307), 781 (II. 5, 307b)], and 220/19, when thirteen tribes shared the prytanies (cf. IG. II. 403), we may be able, by observing the relation of the prytany to the calendar month, to determine how many tribes were officiating in the government of that year. In this way we may be able to approximate more nearly the date of the establishment of the new tribe.

The inscriptions which concern us most in this study are as follows: K. 791 (IG. II. 334, Archon Diomedon, generally dated in 232/1); K. 783 (II. 5. 373 c, probably dated in the archonship of . . . . βιος, and from the cycle assigned to 230/29); II. 384, II. 5. 385 b, 385 c (these three inscriptions are generally assigned to the same archon Heliodoros and dated in 229/8); II. 5. 381 b (Archon Theophilos and dated in 227/6); II. 381 (Archon Ergochares, 226/5).

K. 791 (II. 334) and IG. II. 381 have been discussed recently by Kirchner (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, p. 985 ff.), who regards them as examples of double dating. It is to be observed however that, when the double system is used, there is always a phrase, *κατὰ θεόν, κατ' ἄρχοντα* or *ἡμερολογεῖν* indicating such a system, while these inscriptions lack any such formula. This in itself would make it extremely doubtful if the double system should be applied to them, and when we consider these decrees in detail we shall take up other objections.

The restoration of K. 791 (II. 334) is not difficult as it is written *στοιχηδόν*, and the maximum number of letters in a line is 48, though some (9, 12, 15, 19, 20, 22, 25) are shorter. In most cases this is due to leaving a blank space for punctuation (12, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25-?), but line 11 has only 47 letters, with no possibility of a space for punctuation, and line 12 has 46 letters, with one space only left for punctuation. It is clear, therefore,



that in making our restoration we must allow for lines of either 47 or 48 letters. The following restoration is proposed :

[ἐ]πὶ Διομέδοντος ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Δημητριάδος δεκάτης πρυτανείας ἢ Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[. . . . . ἐγγραμμά-]  
[τε]υεν ;<sup>1</sup> Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέαι ἐμ[βολίμῳ, εἰκοστῇ τ-]  
[ῆς] πρυτανείας κτλ.

The restoration of the prytanizing tribe in the first line must be either Ἀντιγονίδος or Δημητριάδος as these tribal names alone suffered erasure. If Antigonis is the prytanizing tribe in the 6th prytany, as is restored in IG. II. 836, we must restore Δημητριάδος here. The word δεκάτης gives a line of 48 letters and is undoubtedly correct. ἐνάτης would give a line of 47 letters and affords insuperable difficulties in explaining the arrangement of the prytanies.

The restoration of line 2 must be left for discussion until after the restoration of lines 3 and 4 is discussed. The restoration of the day of the prytany in line 3 is dependent upon the length of the line. If this is a line of 48 letters we can restore δευτέρα, τετάρτη or εἰκοστῇ ; if of 47 letters, πέμπτη, ἑβδόμη or δεκάτη. The ἐμβόλιμος day of Elaphebolion was the 266th day of the year. Kirchner (K. 791 or II. 334) restores δεκάτης in line 1 and δευτεραί in line 3. If this is an ordinary year which begins with a month of 29 days and if we give 29 days to the first six prytanies, and 30 to the remainder, then the second day of the tenth prytany falls on the thirtieth of Elaphebolion. There is however still another possibility. If we restore in line 3 [εἰκοστῇ τῇ]ς πρυτανείας, we get the following equation for the scheme of the prytanies in the time of the thirteen tribes when, in an ordinary year, there were thirteen prytanies of 27 days and the three extra days ( $13 \times 27 + 3 = 354$  days) were divided up amongst the first three prytanies ;  $9 \times 27$  (days in regular prytany) + 3 (extra days added probably to first three prytanies) + 20 (20th day of 10th prytany) = 266th day of the year. This combination gives a simple and logical explanation of the prytany scheme. No other combination of the other restorations suggested is satisfactory. The solution which we have offered is simple enough, if the existence of the thirteen tribes is granted for that year. If we turn to the restoration of line 2, we shall see that we are forced to

<sup>1</sup>One space was left vacant for punctuation after [ἐγγραμμάτε]υεν.



assume that Ptolemais is in existence. Otherwise there is no possibility of placing this secretary in the established cycle.

In the second line the name of the deme begins with  $\Lambda$  as is published by Koehler in the IG. The reading  $\Lambda$  was suggested by Wilhelm,<sup>1</sup> ('*Arch. Eph.*, 1892, p. 139, note). In the accompanying photograph (which is taken from a squeeze of the upper part of K. 791 (II. 334) the cross bar of the letter *alpha* may readily be seen. From an examination of the stone itself, it is quite clear that the line is not a flaw but the original chiseling of the stonecutter. Wilhelm offered this reading only as a possibility while studying some Euboean inscriptions where the name  $\Phi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  suggested the restoration [ $\Phi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon$ ] $\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa$ . in a late Attic inscription (though [ $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ ] $\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  is equally probable). From this he suggested the reading  $\Phi\omicron\rho\upsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  'Αριστομένου Λευκονοεύς in K. 791 (II. 334), but the chain of reasoning by which this result is obtained is not always clear or convincing, and his argument is not strengthened by an examination of the stone itself. Any restoration of this inscription must therefore be made on the basis of Koehler's reading. If we reconstruct line 2 with 48 letters we have the following possibilities: 'Αλιμούσιος (Leontis), 'Αμαξαντεύς or 'Αμυμωνεύς (Hippothontis) or, 'Αλωπέκηθεν (Antiochis). If we allow however the possibility of this line being one letter short of the maximum, as we have shown to be occasionally the case, we must then consider the following possibilities: 'Αγκυλήθεν, 'Αραφήνιος (Aigeis), 'Αγγελήθεν (Pandionis), 'Αγνούσιος (Akamantis), 'Ανακαιεύς (Hippothontis), 'Αφιδναῖος (Aiantis, or Ptolemais), Αἰγυλιεύς (Antiochis or Ptolemais), 'Αγρυλήθεν, Αἰθαλίδης (Antigonis). We shall see later that we must restore 'Αγνούσιος and assume that this line had only 47 letters.

If we turn now to the next datable inscription of this period we have undoubted evidence for the existence of thirteen prytanies. This is K. 783 (II. 5, 373c), which Ferguson has dated from the secretary-cycle in 230/29 (Priests of Asklepios, p. 134). Lines 1-4 are to be restored as follows:

[ἐπ. . . . βίου ἀρχ]οντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἢ  
[ . . . . . ]νωνος Ἐπικηφίσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν. βουλῆς ψηφίσματα  
[Θαργηλιῶ]νος ὀγδόει μετ' εἰκάδας, τρίτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ, τῆς πρυτανείας.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchner (GGA. 1900, 448) refers to Lolling, *Δελτ. ἀρχ.*, 1892, 48 for this reading.





K. 791 (II. 334).







The editors in the IG. have restored the month [Σκιροφοριῶ]νος in line 3. This makes the 23rd day of the 12th prytany fall on the 28th day of the 12th month, for which there is no parallel in the Attic inscriptions in any period. The restoration should be [Θαργηλιῶ]νος for, although the writing is not στοιχηδόν, yet the number of letters in the first three lines is nearly uniform if we make this restoration in line 3. The arrangement of the prytanies is thus simplified. The 28th of Thargelion is the 323rd day of the year. In an ordinary year of thirteen prytanies we get the following equation:  $11 \times 27 + 3 + 23 = 323$ . This inscription therefore gives clear proof that there were thirteen tribes in existence when it was passed. It is equally certain that this decree must be dated in the year 230/29. The other dates to which a secretary from Epikhephisia could be assigned in the time of the thirteen tribes are 217/6 and 204/3. In 217/6 Archelaos was archon, and in his archonship the month Anthesterion was intercalated (IG. II. 5. 385c); so this is excluded. In 204/3 Nikophon or Dionysios was archon and either name is too long to be restored in K. 783 (II. 5. 373c). Archelaos and Dionysios cannot be shifted;<sup>1</sup> so this inscription must be dated in 230/29. Ptolemais must, therefore, have been in existence before this decree was passed.

Our first real difficulty occurs when we come to consider the inscriptions grouped under Heliodoros and all dated by Ferguson and Kirchner in 229/8. Beloch dates these in 231/0 (Gr. Gesch., III. 2. 61). Kolbe (op. cit., p. 50 ff.) distinguishes two archons of this name and dates IG. II. 384, and II. 5. 385b in 229/8, and Heliodoros II (cf. IG. II. 5. 385c) in 217/6. Kirchner rejects this theory (BPW. 1909, p. 850), referring to his review of Ferguson's Athenian Archons in GGA. 1900, p. 452 for his reasons. Ferguson also refuses to accept Kolbe's theory (Hellenistic Athens, p. 209, n. 3). We must consider these inscriptions most carefully, for if they are dated in 229/8 they prove beyond a doubt that Ptolemais could not have existed in that year. This is clear not only from the arrangement of the prytany

<sup>1</sup> This is now perhaps open to question since Kirchner has placed Antimachos (K. 768, 769) in the first half of the century, leaving the years 209/8–207/6 unoccupied. I still think however that Nikophon and Dionysios must remain in the place to which they have been assigned. If so, K. 783 can not be placed in the year 204/3 because the name of the archon can not have more than 7 (or 8 if the name begins with a vowel) letters.



but also from the list of *prytaneis* in IG. II. 5. 385b. We thus have a most unusual state of affairs, and we are compelled to infer that Ptolemais was created only to be temporarily disbanded and later re-established, or else we must reconsider these documents and determine whether they have been correctly dated in 229/8 or not.

There is not the slightest doubt that IG. II. 384 and II. 5. 385b belong to the same archon and year. The former of these inscriptions is so broken that we can infer little from the context. It is certain, however, that βασιλεὺς 'Α . . is referred to and apparently in some connection with the Aetolians. Since the name of the king has not been erased, all scholars have agreed in referring this to king Attalos and not Antigonos. The widespread belief that all records of the Macedonian kings or the royal tribes were erased is due to the statement of Livy (XXXI. 44; cf. Dion Chrys., 37. 41), that after the creation of Attalis all such records were excised, and that in other ways the Athenians indulged in their anger against Philip. But the statement of Livy is not borne out by the facts, as an examination of the decrees shows. The following decrees have the name of the king or the royal tribes erased: K. 665 (II. 316), 677 (II. 5. 371b), 681 (II. 324), 682 (II. 331), 766 (II. 338), 775 (II. add. 373b), 780 (II. 307), 781 (II. 5. 307b), 790, 791 (II. 334), 798 (II. 5. 373g), I. G. II. 5. 614b. The following inscriptions have the name of the royal tribes or king still remaining: K. 458 (II. add. 320b), 466 (II. 239), 469 (II. 266), 470 (II. 246; 253), 471 (II. 247), 477 (II. 238), 478 (II. 5. 251b), 480 (II. 5. 252d), 484 (II. 5. 256c) 486, 491 (II. 261), 492 (II. 5. 264c; II. 268), 495 (II. 263), 498 (II. 5. 264d), 507, 555 (II. 251), 558 (243), 559 (II. 419), 560 (II. 265), 561 (II. 267), 562, 563, 641 (II. 297), 646 (II. 300), 647, 653 (II. 311), 657 (II. 314; II. 5. 314), 658 (II. add. 314b), 660 (II. 5. 345c), 666 (II. 317), 679 (II. 322), 685 (II. 5. 331c), 743 (II. 352), 772 (II. add. 352b), 776 (II. 374), 777 (II. 306), 784, 797 (II. add. 252b). There are twelve inscriptions (including one doubtful case, K. 708) in which the names were excised, while in thirty-eight they were left undisturbed. Those in charge of the work of excision do not seem to have been guided by any particular rule. But in general those decrees containing lists of ephebes, and those recording sacrifices to the kings were defaced. The work of excising the names was confined almost without exception, however, to the Akropolis



and preferably to ephebic lists and those decrees recording sacrifices to the kings. We might therefore infer that the work was confined to certain precincts on the Akropolis where such inscriptions were set up, and that in other precincts the work was more perfunctorily done.

With these figures in view, we certainly cannot argue that βασιλέως 'Α . . in II. 384 must refer to king Attalos. Further, if we date this inscription in 229/8, it is very doubtful if it can refer to Attalos, because it must still be proven that he had the royal title in that year. The balance of evidence is against it. According to Polybius (XVIII. 41. 7) he first declared himself king after his victory over the Galatians (cf. Livy, 33. 21; Strabo, XIII. 624). Polybius goes on to say: He lived 72 years of which he held the throne for 44 (τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας κτλ.). Wilcken<sup>1</sup> uses this to prove that he took the title of king in 241 B. C., since he died in 197. This means therefore that he took the title of king in the first year of his command over Pergamon, and requires us to place the victory over the Gauls in the same year. Cardinali<sup>2</sup>, however, (*Studi di Storia Antica* 5, II Regno di Pergamo, pages 17-48) discusses the whole question and identifies the Gallic war with the campaign against Antiochos Hierax in 230-28 as dated by Eusebius (Schöne, Eusebius, *Chronic.*, p. 253). According to the chronology of Eusebius, Antiochos and the Gauls were finally defeated in the first year of the 138th Olympiad or 228/7. In that case Attalos assumed the royal title after this date and IG. II. 384 cannot refer to him. βασιλέως 'Α . . must therefore refer to king Antigonos and accordingly is not to be dated in 229/8, but must be placed in the period of Macedonian control (262-232). The reference to the Aetolians<sup>3</sup> helps us to decide the date of the inscription which manifestly deals with the relations of Athens, Aetolia and Macedon after the battle of Chaeronea (245/4; cf. Kolbe, *Fest-*

<sup>1</sup> PW. s. v. Attalos.

<sup>2</sup> All the sources and the various interpretations of these sources are given by Wilcken and Cardinali. For more recent literature see Stachelin, *Geschichte der Kleinasiatischen Galater*, Leipzig, 1907, and Reinach, *Revue Celtique*, 30, pp. 47-72 (a review of Stachelin's work only, and does not add any new evidence).

<sup>3</sup> This allusion to the Aetolians is another reason for not ascribing the decree to 229/8. It is unlikely that Attalos was concerned in Greek politics when he was engaged in a life and death struggle with Antiochos.



schrift für Hirschfeld, 315 ff.). From the tribe of the secretary we can date the decree exactly in the year 242/1.

IG. II. 5. 385b. certainly belongs to the same year as II. 384 as the restoration of the name of secretary from the former exactly fills the lacuna in the latter. Line 14 ff., τ[ὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπ]ανορθώσαντες, has always been interpreted as pointing to the restoration of the democracy in 229 (Kirchner, GGA. 1900, 453). This restoration however is extremely doubtful as Köbler points out, and if correct it may only refer to the slight measure of liberty restored to the people in 256 (Ferguson, Hell. Ath., p. 191). The servility which led the Athenians to offer sacrifices to Antigonos would not prevent them from characterizing the measure of liberty allowed in 256 as a "restoration of the democracy". Accordingly neither the historical nor the prosopographical evidence prevents the dating of this decree and the archon Heliodoros I. in 242/1.

It is clear that IG. II. 5. 385c cannot be dated as early as 242/1. The financial officer who paid for decrees from 262 to 232 was ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. This alone excludes II. 5. 385c from being dated in this period, for in the latter the combined board ὁ ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει pay the costs. The historical content is even more decisive against such an early date (Homolle, BCH. XV. 358). We are therefore compelled to accept Kolbe's theory of two archons named Heliodoros. The name of this archon is too short to be restored in the first line of IG. II. 859. There is no longer any necessity, therefore, for straining the interpretation of this decree in the effort to place it in 229/8 (cf. Kirchner, GGA. 1900, pp. 452-3), but we can follow the original dating of it by Homolle (BCH. XV. 358) in the years 219-7 (cf. Kolbe, op. cit., 53 ff.). We shall see later good reasons for accepting Kolbe's date of this archon in 217/6.

Since the inscriptions of Heliodoros I are to be dated in 242/1, and therefore do not concern our study of the creation of Ptolemais, and since the prescript of IG. II. 5. 385c in the archonship of Heliodoros II proves nothing for or against the existence of thirteen tribes in that year, we can dismiss as unfounded what has hitherto been the greatest objection to any theory that Ptolemais was created when the Macedonian party was overthrown at Athens.

There is still one other inscription which has hitherto been considered as proof that Ptolemais was not in existence in the



year 227 B. C. This is IG. II. 5. 381b,<sup>1</sup> whose archon has always been identified with the archon Theophilos listed in IG. II. 859. The tribe of the secretary in 227/6 was Aiantis. From IG. II. 5. 381b we learn that the deme of the secretary began with *alpha* and, as the inscription is written *στοιχηδόν*, must contain ten letters. But Aiantis never had a deme which satisfies these two requirements, and in the time of the thirteen tribes had no deme beginning with *alpha*. The identity of these two archons can therefore no longer be maintained. The form of the letters in IG. II. 5. 381b leads us to believe that this inscription is not later than 250 B. C. The following restoration is offered:

[ἐπὶ] Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπιδ[ος τρίτης]  
 [πρυτ]ανείας ἢ Φίλιππος Κηφισοδώρου Ἀ[. . . . .]  
 [ἐγγρα]μμάτευεν· Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτει μετ' [εἰκίδας τε-  
 [τάρτ]ει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας κτλ.

The only possibilities for the deme of the secretary are 'Αλιμούσιος (Leontis), 'Αμαξαντεύς (Hippothontis) or 'Αλωπεκῆθεν (Antiochis). There are no vacancies for secretaries from Leontis or Antiochis, except in years which are already occupied by other archons. Hence we may safely restore 'Αμαξαντεύς in this inscription and date Theophilos I from the cycle in the year 272/1.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Kirchner informs me that Roussel has published this inscription in the *Élévia*, Athens, 1912, p. 85, reading 'Αφ in line 2. I examined this inscription in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens in the hope of finding the letters 'Αφ, for 'Αφιδναῖος was the only word which could be restored if Theophilos is assigned to a secretary from Aiantis, but I could not see that any letter followed the Alpha. If, however, Roussel is correct, this inscription must be placed ca. 270/0 and we shall have to believe with Pomtow that there is a disturbance in the tribal rotation of the secretaries in the years ca. 280-270 B. C. (BPW. 1910, p. 1096; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 164, note), or else we must assume that the deme Aphidna was divided and part still remained in the tribe Aiantis. Such an assumption is not unreasonable, for we observe that when Ptolemais was created the following demes were drawn from Aiantis for the new tribe: Aphidna, Oinoe (?), Perrhidai, Thyrgonidai, Titakidai, leaving only Kykala, Marathon, Phaleron (Psaphis), Rhamnous and Trikorynthos, a total of five (possibly six) demes in the tribe (Bates, op. cit. pp. 26-45). Such an arrangement is manifestly unfair to Aiantis, and we should naturally expect that some of the transfers were only parts of demes. If Roussel's reading is correct, I should take the evidence of this inscription as proof that Aphidna was divided and that the secretary in IG. II. 5. 381b is from that part of the deme which remained in Aiantis. The arrangement of the prytanies would show that the year 227/6 was intercalary.



The last inscription for discussion is IG. II. 381. This is dated in the year 226/5 B. C., and gives additional support to the theory that thirteen tribes were in existence when this decree was passed. This inscription is restored as follows :

[ἐπὶ] Ἐρ[γοχάρους ἀρχοντ]ος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντ[ί]  
 δος τρί[της πρυτανείας] εἰς Ζωίλος Διφίλο[υ]  
 Ἀλωπεκ[ῆθεν ἐγγραμμάτ]ευεν· Μεταγειτνιῶ-  
 νος ἐνάτ[η καὶ δεκάτῃ δ]ευτέρᾳ ἐμβολί-  
 μῳ εἰκοσ[τῇ τῆς πρυτα]νείας κτλ.

Kirchner's explanation of this decree (Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910, p. 983-4) can only be accepted, if we allow that this inscription is an example of double dating, although there is nothing to indicate that such is the case. Moreover, his very complicated solution of the arrangement of the prytanies seems to be entirely at variance with the usual simplicity of the Athenians in dating their decrees. There is a much simpler solution of the problem, if we assume that there were thirteen prytanies in the archonship of Ergochares. In that case we have the choice of two solutions of the problem. If Μεταγειτνιῶνος ἐνάτ[η καὶ δεκάτῃ δ]ευτέρᾳ ἐμβολίμῳ means the 19th of the intercalated month Metageitnion, as Kirchner explains it, then the 20th day of the third prytany could easily fall on the 19th day of the third month in an intercalary year with thirteen prytanies. There is a similar situation in 209/8 (Kern, Inschriften von Magnesia, No. 37), where the 7th day of the 5th prytany can only fall on the 6th day of Pyanopsion, if we suppose a month to have been intercalated earlier in the year. Then the 7th day of the 5th prytany falls on the 6th day of the 5th month. If, however, the date of IG. II. 381 is correctly interpreted by the editor of the IG., then this is the 20th day of Metageitnion and we must assume that Hekatombaion was the intercalated month. This is quite possible, for we know from IG. I. Suppl. 27b. 53, p. 59 (μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλεν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἀρχοντα) that Hekatombaion was sometimes intercalated. In that case month and prytany exactly coincide.

It is not necessary to study those decrees which belong undoubtedly to the period of the 13 tribes. In all cases where the arrangement of the prytany is preserved, we find the same system as in K. 791 (II. 334), K. 783 (II. 5. 373c), and IG. II. 381. Those peculiarities found in the decrees of the archon Archelaos do not violate the rules of the thirteen prytany system, but will



be explained under that name in the discussion of the individual archons. If Professor Kirchner's system of prytanies of different lengths for IG. II. 381 is valid, then IG. II. 334 and II. 5. 373c will have to be provided for in some way which differs from this again. This, however, is most unlikely and we must conclude that the system of double dating cannot apply to decrees which do not have the phrase *κατ' ἄρχοντα, κατὰ θεόν* or *ἡμερολογδόν*.

We can no longer reasonably doubt the existence of thirteen tribes when these three decrees were passed. We must therefore push back the date of the creation of Ptolemais before the year 224/3 B. C., or else revise the dating of these decrees. The latter course is impossible in the case of K. 783 (IG. II. 5. 373c) and II. 381 if we are to place any value in the cycle of the secretaries or the list of archons in IG. II. 859. Since we confirm Koehler's reading of K. 791 (IG. II. 334), the date of this inscription must be considered anew.

Before the date of Diomedon is discussed, the data for determining Jason's archonship must be considered. This is established from the accounts of the life of Zeno and Kleanthes (Philodemos, Vol. Hercul. VIII, col. 4; Index Stoicorum, coll. 28 and 29), which run as follows:<sup>1</sup> 1. ἀπὸ Κλεάρχου γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρρενείδην, ἐφ' οὗ σημειωθῆναι τετελευτηκέναι Ζήνωνα, ἔτη ἐστὶν ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς. 2. γεγονέναι Κλεάνθην ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ τὴν σχολὴν διακατασχεῖν ἐπ' ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἑν. 3. ἀπηλλάγη δ' ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἰάσονος ἐτῶν τὰ μάλιστα ῥ (for other allusions, see Ferguson, Athenian Archons, Cornell Studies X, p. 30).

The date of Klearchos is fixed in the year 301/0. Ferguson (Priests of Asklepios, 153-4) dates Arrheneides by the exclusive system of reckoning in 261/0, but places Jason by the inclusive system in 231/0. Kolbe dates Arrheneides by the inclusive method in 262/1, Jason by the exclusive reckoning in 231/0 (op. cit. 40-45, 66). It is clear that Philodemos is not using the double system of reckoning in the same passage, and neither of these scholars can be right in both cases. By the accepted dating of Diomedon in 232/1, however, they have been forced to date Jason in 231/0.

The inclusive system of reckoning is undoubtedly the correct one (cf. Kirchner, Rh. Mus. 53, p. 383, n. 1). By this system thirty-nine years and three months from Klearchos to Arrheneides bring us to the beginning of the fourth month in the year 262/1.

<sup>1</sup> I have not indicated the restorations. For these see Mayer, Philologus, 1912, pp. 226 ff.



That Antipatros and Arrheneides were archons in the same year, according to the theory of Kolbe, can no longer be doubted (Kolbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.; Kirchner, *BPW.* 1909, 847; cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 182 note. Ferguson's objections to Kolbe's arguments are not valid so long as he himself dates Jason by inclusive reckoning in 231/0). If we calculate the date of Jason by the inclusive system of reckoning, then one hundred years from the archonship of Aristophanes (331/0) bring us to 232/1 and thirty-one years from the archonship of Arrheneides (262/1) bring us to the same year.<sup>1</sup> Similarly by inclusive reckoning Kallistratos is dated in the year 206/5 (Lakydes became head of the school in the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad and died 36 years later).

We may now turn to the problem of dating Diomedon. From the possibilities suggested above, when we discussed the restoration of K. 791 (*IG. II.* 334), the secretary must belong to one of the following tribes: Aiantis, Aigeis, Akamantis, Antigonis, Antiochis, Hippothontis, Leontis, Pandionis, or Ptolemais. The decree must be dated in the time of the twelve or of the thirteen tribes (306–201 B. C.) It cannot be later than 202/1, for the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished after that date.<sup>2</sup> The prosopographical evidence enables us to limit the document to the last half of the third century. We can infer from the fact that the powerful democratic leader Eurykleides of Kephisia was military steward, that the Macedonians exercised no control over the city or the elections. The inscription must therefore be later than 233/2 at least. The officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*<sup>3</sup> who pays for the cost of the inscription did not exist between 218/7 and 202/1 (cf. *IG. II.* 5. 385c; Kern, *Inscriben von Magnesia*, Nr. 37). Therefore Diomedon may be limited to the years 233/2–218/7. The year 229/8 is excluded because it requires a secretary from Kekropis. It is practically certain that the archon Kalaischros is to be placed in the year 220/19. We are therefore compelled to place Diomedon in 231/0. With this date the historical content of the decree agrees.<sup>4</sup> Since the year is settled

<sup>1</sup> Mayer (*Philologus* LXXI, p. 237, note 60) in avoiding one horn of the dilemma by reading *τριάκοντα καὶ [τὸ]ν Διονύσιον τοῖνον* . . in the Philodemos fragment quoted above, is forced upon the other in interpreting *μάλιστα ῥ.* Moreover, I doubt very much if he can find support for the collocation of particles *καὶ . . . τοῖνον* which he has proposed.

<sup>2</sup> *PW.* Vol. I, 32. 38 ff.; Tod, *BSA.* 1902–3, 173 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The history of this officer will be taken up in a later paper.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 205.



we can now determine the tribe which held the secretaryship. In 231/0 the secretaryship was held by Akamantis, the 8th in the official order during the period of the thirteen tribes. The only deme in this tribe beginning with *alpha* is Ἀγνούσιος. We must therefore make this restoration in line 2 and assume that there were only 47 letters in the completed line.

We must, however, consider the other possibility, since Ferguson, Kirchner and Kolbe are all agreed on assigning Diomedon to a secretary from Leontis. This, however, is impossible, and apart from the restoration of the deme of the secretary in line 2, our clearest proof is found in K 780 (IG. II. 307). The formula for sacrifices in honor of king Antigonos contains only ca. 40 letters (K. 775 or IG. II. Add. 373b). The formula for king Demetrios is more elaborate and consists of 62 letters as we see from II. 5. 614b (cf. K. 790, 776 or IG. II. 374); καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν. It happens that this formula is just exactly the length desired to fill in the erased portion of K. 780 (IG. II. 307). Hence these inscriptions must be dated, not in the reign of Antigonos, but in that of Demetrios, or between 240 and 232. Since the secretary in the archonship of Thersilochos is from Leontis, we are compelled to assign this archon to the only Leontis which occurs in this period. Diomedon must therefore be given to Akamantis and Thersilochos must be dated in 233/2.

There is still another line of evidence which goes to support the theory that Ptolemais was in existence in 232/1. This is as follows: It is generally agreed that the secretary cycle was broken when Athens came again under the power of Macedon at the end of the Chremonidean war. With the Macedonian party in power, a new government was established with new officers. Kolbe's arguments dating the archons Antipatros and Arrhe-neides both in the year 262/1 are conclusive (op. cit., 40 ff.; Kirchner, BPW. 1909, 847). We know already that the priests of Asklepios were changed in 262/1, although both were chosen from the same tribe (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, p. 133). It is also clear that the archons were changed. The duties of the financial board οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει were handed over to the single officer ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. When the Macedonian party came into

<sup>1</sup> For this reading cf. Kolbe, Festschrift für Hirschfeld, p. 312 ff. The shorter formula for Antigonos may be explained if Queen Phila was no longer alive in 248 B. C. K. 775 should be restored [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ].



power in the middle of the year 262/1, the cycle of the secretaries was broken, and the secretaryship for the balance of the year was given to Antigonis in honor of the Macedonian king. If we work downward therefore from 262/1,<sup>1</sup> we must place the tribe Leontis in the secretaryship in 233/2. Moreover if we work back from 221/0, when the cycle of the secretaries is fixed from the decree of Thrasyphon's year (IG. II. 403) and the double dating of a Magnesian inscription (Kern. *Insch. von Magnesia*, n. 16), we find that Akamantis held the secretaryship in 231/0. The gap between Leontis in 233/2 and Akamantis in 231/0 can only be bridged in one way—that is, by inserting the tribe Ptolemais in the cycle at this point, and that this is the true solution is proved by the fact that the official position of Ptolemais is between Leontis and Akamantis.

There can be no further doubt that Ptolemais was created about the end of the archonship of Thersilochos in 233/2, before the elections of the following year, and when the officers were chosen for 232/1, the new tribe Ptolemais was given the secretaryship. The tribal rotation was not broken as in 304/3 or 262/1, but the new tribe was given seventh place, since that year called for a secretary from the seventh tribe. This explains why Ptolemais is seventh in the official order. Under the old theory Ptolemais was created ca. 224 B. C. and not given a secretaryship until 219/8. This as well as the position in the cycle was inexplicable, especially when we consider the great friendship which the Athenians had for Ptolemy, and their method of honoring the recipients when the other tribes were created.

The history of Athens at the close of Macedonian rule may now be reconstructed with more exactness. Throughout the earlier part of Demetrios' reign, there was a strong Macedonian party in control of the government as is evidenced by the number of decrees recording sacrifices in his honor. This party was supported by the king's troops which garrisoned the forts of the harbors. Towards the end of Demetrios' reign the troubles along the northern border of his kingdom forced the withdrawal of all the troops possible from the Greek garrisons (Niese, *Gesch. d. Gr. u. Mak. Staaten*, II. 275 ff.). Relying on the strength of the party favorable to him in Athens, he withdrew the major part of his forces from Attica, probably at some time during the

<sup>1</sup> This date for the fall of Athens is attested by Lehmann-Haupt, *BPW.* 1906, 1265; cf. Kirchner, *BPW.* 1909. 849-850; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 306 ff., note 93.



archonship of Thersilochos. This gave Eurykleides and Mikion the chance they wanted. Sometime in the course of the year 233/2, they gathered the anti-Macedonian party together and obtained control of the city, although Diogenes still held the harbor forts with Macedonian troops (cf. Plutarch, Aratus 34). The exact date of this revolution cannot be determined, but if K. 780 (IG. II. 307) recorded sacrifices in honor of Demetrios in both decrees cut on this stone, then the democratic party was not in power until after Elaphebolion. But before the elections for the following year were held the tribe Ptolemais was created and, in those elections, was given the secretaryship. This was done either because of financial assistance from Egypt already received or else in the hope of receiving material support from Ptolemy. At any rate, friendship with Egypt was the leading feature of the foreign policy of Eurykleides and Mikion, and the creation of the new tribe was a strong bid for the support of the Egyptian king. Polybios charges them with attempting to win the favor of the Ptolemies by gross flattery, and, although he was prejudiced against Athens, there may be some truth in his claim (Polybios, V. 106, 6 ff.).

The independence of Athens and the alliance with Egypt were by no means pleasing to Aratos and were only signals for the renewal of his raids on Attic territory. Since the harbors were occupied by the Macedonians under Diogenes, the alliance with Ptolemy meant little more than financial support, and because of their newly declared independence, no help could be claimed from their former defenders. The situation in the city was more or less desperate, because food-supplies could not be brought in by sea, and their own crops could not be harvested with the enemy constantly raiding their fields. In 231/0 a call for contributions was issued for military defense until the grain could be brought in (K. 791 or II. 334). About twenty thousand drachmas must have been collected. It may be observed that none of the names preserved in the list of contributors were from the harbor demes excepting only Hierokles of Sunion. The famine must have continued into the following year, for the *sitonai* were praised for the services which they rendered to the state (K. 792 or II. 335). But Attica could never yield enough grain to support her citizens even under the most favorable conditions, and relief came only on the death of Demetrios, when Diogenes agreed to hand over the harbor forts to the restored democracy (Plut.



Arat. 34; Paus. II. 8. 6; Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 206). This must have occurred some time before Thargelion in 230/29, as K. 783 (IG. II. 5. 373c) was passed in an assembly held in the Peiraieus in that month. The thanksgiving sacrifices ordered in that decree undoubtedly celebrate the return of the harbors to the city's possession.

The establishment of Ptolemais was only one of the new government's policies. The old title *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου* was revived to designate the chief secretary. New legislation was passed in regard to the rights of aliens to own land. The steward of the military funds became the chief financial officer, displacing the Minister of the Administration *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. A catalogue of the dedications to Asklepios was made and apparently some change was made in the method of appointing the priests of the god, if it is true that hereafter the regular tribal cycle was abandoned, and the election made from the people at large without regard to tribal affiliations (Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 205 note 3).

The establishment of the Ptolemaia at Athens followed the creation of the tribe. Since these games were celebrated in the first year of an Olympiad (Ferguson, Klio, VIII. 338 ff.) they may have been instituted first in 232/1. It is likely, however, that the authorities were more concerned with problems of defence and food-supplies than with the institution of new games. From IG. II. 379 we learn that, after Eurykleides held the post of treasurer of the military funds, he had his son appointed, and then he himself, as *agonothetes*, spent the enormous sum of seven talents in performing the games. Since he was military treasurer in 231/0 (K. 791 or IG. II. 334) he must have been *agonothetes* not earlier than 229/8. It is quite possible that he did not hold the office until 228/7, and the seven talents were expended in celebrating the first Ptolemaia at Athens. At this time all Attica was free and more able to take up the burden of such an expensive luxury.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that IG. II. 859 begins its record with the state officers appointed under the new democratic régime in 232/1. In this inscription there can no longer be any doubt that the *thesmothetai* are all recorded in the official order of the thirteen

<sup>1</sup> Probably the first definite reference to the Ptolemaia is found in a decree from Eleusis ('Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1897, p. 42), where Theophrastos as *agonothetes* in the archonship of Antiphilos seems to have cared for these games in a praiseworthy manner. But the reading is uncertain.



tribes (errors excepted). Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to determine whether Phlya was divided between Kekropis and Ptolemais. The entry under 228/7 may be another instance of the stonecutter's carelessness.

The most important result following the insertion of the tribe Ptolemais in the official cycle in the year 232/1 is that the dates of those archons which fall between 261/0 and 232/1 must be shifted at least one year. In some cases greater changes are necessitated. For the sake of completeness a few notes are added on the group of archons from 276-262 and from 232-190 B. C.<sup>1</sup>

Since Theophilos I. of IG. II. 5, 381b can no longer be identified with the archon of the same name in IG. II. 859, we have dated the former by the secretary-cycle in 272/1. Sosistratos (IG. II. 1295) can now be dated with reasonable certainty in the year 273/2, which is the only possible vacancy in the third century before 269/8, if Telokles and . . . . *λαιος*<sup>2</sup> are correctly placed in 284/3 and 277/6. The prosopographical evidence demands as early a date as possible for Sosistratos, and there is no doubt that he must be placed before 269/8 (Ferguson, *Athenian Archons*, p. 37; Kirchner, *PA. s. Sosistratos*; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

The year 270/69 is occupied by the archon whose name stood in K. 702, 703. This name had 7 or 8 letters.

Philoneos (K 765, 766, IG. II. 337, 338) must be placed before the end of the Chremonidean war (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 155. Kolbe disagrees but his arguments are not convincing, *op. cit.*, p. 61). Hermodoros, the *παιδοτρίβης*, acted in the same capacity in the archonship of Menekles (K 665 or II. 316, 283/2 B. C.). It is very unlikely that any ephebic decrees were passed between 262 and 256 (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 156) and we can not reasonably expect that Hermodoros acted as *παιδοτρίβης* from 283 until after 256. Between 270-262 the officer

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the archons in the period here discussed is given in full in Ferguson, *Athenian Archons*, Cornell Studies, 1899, Vol. X; *The Priests of Asklepios*, Univ. of California Publications, 1907, pp. 131-173; Kirchner, *GGA*, 1900, pp. 400 ff.; *BPW.*, 1906, pp. 980 ff., *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 844 ff.; Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archonten*, *Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Band X, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> These three archons may possibly be interchanged. The archons from the years ca. 280-270 may have to be changed if Pomtow succeeds in proving a disturbance in the cycle (*BPW.* 1910, p. 1096; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 164 note).



ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει paid the cost of decrees until the beginning of the Chremonidean war in 266/5, when the college οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει was established. If in K. 766 (IG. II. 338) we make the restorations in lines 13 and 14, preserving the στοιχηδόν arrangement in the missing portions as is the case in the other lines, we must read [τὸν] ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει (the στοιχηδόν arrangement is violated only at the beginning of these lines and not at the end—as we see by the restoration). K. 766 (IG. II. 338) was passed in the year following the archonship of Philoneos and must be prior to 266/5 because of the single officer ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. Philoneos must therefore be placed in the year 269/8, which is the only vacancy available, for if he were dated in 267/6, we should have to place K. 766 (IG. II. 338) in the year 266/5 when the board οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει was in existence (K. 686). Since ἐπὶ Φιλόνεω may be restored in K. 702, 703 it is quite possible that Philoneos may be dated in the year 270/69. If we make this restoration in K. 702, 703, then the archon Φιλο[ . . . ] in K. 767 must not be identified with Philoneos as K. 767 cannot be restored from K. 703, if the reading in line 3 of K. 767 is correct.

Thymochares (K. 700 or IG. II. 371) may be identified with Θυμοχάρης Σφήττιος who was *agonothetes* in 276/5 (K. 682 or II. 331) and contributor to the military fund in 231/0 (K. 691 or II. 334). K. 700 (IG. II. 371)<sup>1</sup> was certainly passed in the time of the twelve tribes as the list of *proedroi* proves. If the identification proposed is correct, Thymochares belonged to the democratic party with anti-Macedonian tendencies. It is unlikely that he held the archonship during the Macedonian régime, and in that case he must be dated before the fall of Athens in 262/1. Since Hermodoros is παιδοτρίβης in the archonship of Thymochares as well as in the year 282/1 (K. 665), we are justified in seeking as early a date as possible for this archon. It may be noted that the archon preceding him has ten letters in his name (K. 700 line 10). We must therefore date Thymochares in 267/6 after the archonship of Philokrates since this date alone fulfils all the conditions.

Glaukippos (K. 674, 675, 676) may be dated by the cycle in the years 277/6, 265/4, 258/7 or 246/5. The last two are excluded

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this is an ephebic decree and that no ephebic decrees are found from 262–240 during the reign of Antigonos. The system seems to have been in abeyance during that period. If so there is no other possible date for Thymochares.



because the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* is in control from 262/1–232/1, while in the archonship of Glaukippos the board *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* paid for the decree (K. 674, 676). Of the other two dates, the former is now excluded by our dating Sosistratos in 272/1 which prevents the shifting of Telokles or . . . . *λαιος* from 277/6. Moreover the prosopographical evidence favors the latest date possible (Ferguson, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 34; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 58). The close relationship between K. 674, 676 (IG. II. 305) and K. 689 (II. 325) shows that they are contemporary or very nearly so. Since the latter must be placed in the time of the Chremonidean war, Glaukippos must be dated in 265/4.

K. 689 (IG. II. 325) allows several restorations, for the name of the archon, which ends in *-ides*,<sup>1</sup> has ten letters and the following archons of the 3d century have the requisite number: *Ἀριστείδης*, *Ἀρρηνειδης*, *Φιλίππιδης* and *Λυσίθειδης*. Of these the first is rejected, because in his archonship a dedication was made in honor of the priest of Herakles (IG. II. 1166). This priest appears to be identical with the priest of Zeus Soter (IG. II. 616) and as in K. 689 (IG. II. 325) the cult of Zeus Soter was most important, there could hardly be a dedication of the priest in his minor aspect without making any reference to his other more important duties. *Ἀρρηνειδης* is also impossible, for in his archonship the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* existed, while in K. 689 (II. 325) the expenses are defrayed by *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. The decree in the archonship of Arrheneides (Diog. Laert., VII. 9) was passed on the 22d of Maimakterion and it is certain that the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* was created before this date and continued to exist until the archonship of Diomedon (K. 791 or IG. II. 334). If we restore K. 689 (IG. II. 325), the following combinations of month and prytany are possible: Anthesterion 20th, Elaphebolion 10th or 11th, Mounychion 11th or 12th. It is impossible therefore that the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* should have been created at the beginning of Arrheneides' archonship, changed to *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* in one of the later months and then changed again to the single officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* who is found from 256–231. There is absolutely no warrant for such a history of the board from our knowledge of the politics of Athens at this time.

<sup>1</sup> The reading Iota on the stone is certain. The inscription is *στοιχηδόν* and the hasta of the Iota is directly over the centre of the Epsilon in the line below. There is moreover no trace of any cross-bar, so that all possibility of a reading *-ΗΔΟ-* is excluded.



Of the other two possibilities Philippides is the better, since Lysitheides is probably to be dated in the latter part of the century (IG. II. 620, II. 5. 620b). The *orgeones* of Bendis, who set up the inscription in the archonship of Lysitheides (II. 620), were most active after the Chremonidean war (Wilhelm, Oesterr. Jahreshette, 1902, pp. 127 ff.; Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 220). Philippides is known only from a dedicatory inscription set up by the *Hieropoioi* of Artemis in his archonship (IG. II. 1333). From the character of the writing he is assigned to the third century. This name may very well be restored in IG. II. 325, but names in -ides are so common that it is possible that some other name is to be assigned to this decree. This inscription is limited by the board  $\alpha\iota \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\eta \delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  to the years 294/3—276/5 or 266/5—262/1. The only vacancy in these years is 263/2.

The archons Antipatros and Arrheneides are both to be assigned to the year 262/1 as Kolbe has already shown (op. cit., 40 ff.; Kirchner, BPW. 1909, 847). It is to be noted that in replacing the officers under the new régime, the cycle of the secretaries alone was broken. The priest of Asklepios was re-elected from the same tribe. Thus the priest's cycle remained one year behind that of the secretaries. This method avoided giving one tribe two of the most important offices in any one year. This system of tribal rotation in choosing the priest was kept up until at least 253/2 (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, 133), but seems to have been abandoned by 215/4 (loc. cit., p. 134). There is no evidence to determine when this method of election was abandoned. In the archonship of Diomedon (IG. II. 836) there was apparently an auditing of the treasures and the inventory was recorded on stone. This would be the logical year for assigning any reform to the system, but it is not clear why a regular system of election should be abandoned for an irregular one.

If we should assume that the deme Phlya was not transferred in its entirety to Ptolemais at its establishment, it is equally possible that Oinoe was not transferred from Hippothontis. There are only two inscriptions which prove that a deme Oinoe belonged to Ptolemais (II. 956. 469), and there is no reason why this should not be a part of the Oinoe which once belonged to Aiantis. In that case the regular system of tribal rotation may have been followed as late as 201/0 in appointing the priest of Asklepios.



The establishment of Ptolemais in 232/1 and its insertion in the cycle at this point, affects the dating of all the archons between 262/1 and 232/1. These will now be discussed in detail.

Although it is probable that very few decrees were passed during the five years which followed the end of the Chremonidean war (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 183, 191), yet it is evident that the popular assemblies were not entirely suspended. Besides the decree conferring funeral honors on Zeno, which seems to have been passed at the request of the king (Diog. Laert. VII. 6), there are a few other decrees belonging to this period whose general subject matter is unknown, or else deal only with matters of routine. Kirchner (K. 765-769) apparently assigns the archons Philoneos, Philostratos, Antimachos and Phanostratos to this period. The date of Philoneos has already been discussed. It seems to me that the prosopographical evidence is entirely against any date after the close of the Chremonidean war for this archon. There are no ephebic decrees which can be dated with certainty during the reign of Antigonos, and it seems unlikely that this democratic institution should have been allowed during the years 262-256. This archon therefore may safely be excluded from consideration. There is less doubt about the other names. Kirchner has clearly proved that Antimachos cannot belong to the time of the thirteen tribes (cf. K. 768, 769 and notes), and from the tribe of the secretary this archon must be placed in the year 258/7. As a corollary to this, Philostratos and Phanostratos (Πρακτικά, 1891, p. 16) must be dated in the years 260/59 and 259/8 respectively.

In one of the new inscriptions published by Kirchner there is very strong support for the change in the tribal rotation of the secretaries necessitated by the insertion of Ptolemais in the cycle in 232/1 B. C. This is K. 704. There is no doubt that this inscription belongs to the time of the twelve tribes as the arrangement of the prytanies shows. The formula *τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν* does not occur in the latter half of the third century (cf. Kirchner *ad* K. 768). The secretary recorded in this decree is from the tribe Leontis, and according to the previous cycles there was no vacancy for this tribe in the third century, since those years to which a secretary from Leontis was assigned were already occupied by archons whose names could not be restored



in K. 704. In the cycle as we have reconstructed it, this inscription must be dated in the year 256/5.<sup>1</sup>

Diogeiton (K. 771, 772 or II. 352b, Add. Nov.) must be placed in the year 253/2 from the cycle, since the other possibility (241/0) is now filled by Athenodoros.

Olbios (K. 773 or II. 5. 345b, IG. II. 602) is dated from the cycle in 252/1.

In K. 774 (II. 5. 371c) the deme of the secretary must be restored as ΕΙ[τρεῖος]. The other possibility ΕΙ[ρεσίδης] is inadmissible since there is no vacancy for the tribe Antigonis in the third century within the limits imposed by the context of the decree. (Kirchner, BPW. 1906, 990 ff.). This deme belongs to Antiochis and the decree is dated in the year 251/0 from the cycle (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, 133).

Pheidostratos (IG. II. 1199) is to be restored with considerable probability in K. 734 (II. 280)<sup>2</sup> which is restored as follows:

[ἐπὶ Φειδοστράτου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κε]κροπίδος  
[τρίτης πρυτανείας ἢ . . . . . Κηφι]σοδώρου 'Ικ-  
[αριεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν Βοηδρομιῶνος] ἐβδόμει ἐπ-  
[ὶ δέκα, ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανε]ίας· ἐκκλησ-  
[ία κυρία· κτλ.]

<sup>1</sup> The date of the archon Theophemos (K. 795 or II. 373) is problematical. The following restoration is suggested for K. 795:

ἐπὶ Θεοφήμου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ [τῆς . . . . . τετάρτης]  
πρυτανείας ἢ Προκλῆς 'Απ [. . . . . ἐγραμ-]  
[μά]τευεν· Πυανοψιῶνος ἐκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα· τετάρτει καὶ]  
[δεκ]άτει τῆς πρυτανε[ίας]

Pyanopson is the fourth month, so we may restore τετάρτης for the prytany. By restoring Aigeis or Oineis as the name of the prytanizing tribe, the shortest length of line is 41 letters. The same length may be secured in line 3 by restoring the 16th of the month and the 14th of the prytany (Schmidt, Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie, 771; table c). This is found on trial to be the only possible length, or combination. The restoration of line 2 is offered only as a suggestion. From Kirchner's Pros. Att. under 'Απ. we find the following which fill out line 2: 'Απολλόδωρος Φλυεύς, 'Απολλωνίδης Παιεύς or 'Υβάδης, 'Απολλώνιος 'Ερμεῖος or Κρωεύς or Οἰναῖος. Of these only the first two need be considered as, in the other cases, the demes are from tribes for which there is no vacancy in the secretary cycle. The first two belong to the same tribe—Kekropis—for which the only vacancy in the tribal cycle is 254/3. But this restoration and dating is offered only as a suggestion, and by no means as a probability.

<sup>2</sup> The editor of this inscription in the IG. is incorrect when he states that it is broken on both sides. The right edge is intact. We can therefore determine absolutely the number of letters in the archon's name when once we determine the length of the line.



The deme of the secretary in line 2 is certainly *Ἰκαριεύς*, for clear traces of the Kappa at the end of the line are still to be seen on the stone. The name of the month in line 3 can only be determined in conjunction with the restoration of line 4. The day of the month is certainly *ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα* or the 17th. If we assume provisionally that this is an ordinary year, the day of the prytany must lie between the 14th and the 29th (Schmidt, *Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie*, 771 ff.). The restoration of *εἰκοστῇ* is impossible because it gives too short a line, for if we restore line 3 with the name of the month containing fewest letters, we have a minimum length of 37 letters. Of the other prytany days the 16th gives the shortest length for line 4, that is, 39 letters. Line 4 can be restored with the same length by reading *ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει*. The name of the archon in line 1 must therefore have at least twelve letters. This is unusually long, but if we attempt any other restorations we find that line 3 may have 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41 letters. But no possible combination in line 4 between prytany day and the day of the month admits a line of less than 39 letters. This holds good for intercalary years as well. Those restorations giving a line of 40 or 41 letters may be discarded because they require an archon's name of 13 or 14 letters. Such names are unknown. Those of 12 letters are extremely rare, but there is one name only of the archons assigned to the third century which is of the required length. This is Pheidostratos who is dated approximately ca. 250 (Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.* 53, 388). Since Ikaria belongs to the tribe Antigonis, and the only vacancy for this tribe in the cycle is 250/49, there is little doubt of the correctness of this restoration.

The archon Lysiades (K. 775 or II. 373b, Add. Nov.) is dated from the cycle for the priests of Asklepios (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, 140). There is an erasure in this decree which cut out the allusion to the sacrifices in honor of one of the kings of Macedon. We know that the formula decreeing sacrifices in honor of Demetrios consists of 60 letters (IG. II. 5. 614b, K. 780 (II. 307), K. 776 (374), K. 790 (Klio, VIII. 487)). The erasure in IG. II. 373b (Nov. Add.) contained at most 38 letters and can only refer to Antigonos. It must therefore be dated before 239 B. C. (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 198, and note 4). Since the priest of Asklepios is from Xypete the date of the first decree can be determined from the cycle in 248/9.



The decree passed in the archonship of Lysiades which is cut on the same stone was proposed by the same author. It is not likely that two decrees were passed in the same year in honor of the same man. But the second must not be many years later. The only possible dates are 247/6, 244/3 or 243/2. The first of these is preferable since the last two should probably be occupied by Lykeas and Polystratos.

The archon Hagnias is recorded in K. 794 (II. 372). This inscription is written *στοιχηδόν* and is therefore not later than the third century. The following restoration is proposed:

ἐπὶ Ἀγνίου ἀρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . . . . τρίτης πρυτα-]  
νείας ἢ Ποτάμων Δόν[ακος Μυρρινούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν]  
Βοηδρομιῶνος τετράδ[ι μετ' εἰκάδας ἔκτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ]  
τῆς πρυτανείας βουλῇ ἐν[. . . . . ]

The shortest possible restoration in line 3 is [ἔκτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ] as the day of the prytany. This gives a minimum length of 45 letters. By restoring *τρίτει*, *πέμπτει* or *τετάρτει*, we have a line of 46, 47 or 48 letters. But from line 1 we learn that the maximum length is 46. We may therefore have lines of 45 or 46 letters. The deme of the secretary must have therefore twelve or thirteen letters. There are only four possibilities; *Μυρρινούσιος* (Pandionis), *Ἀμαξαντεῖος* (Hippothontis), *Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν* (Antiochis) or *Κυδαθηναῖος* (Antigonis). For the last three tribes there is no vacancy in the cycle, and a secretary from Pandionis must be dated 246/5. The year 246/5 is thus the only possible date for Hagnias.

The archons Kleomachos (K. 770 or II. 336), Kallimedes (K. 777 or II. 306, K. 780 or II. 307) and Thersilochos K. 778 or II. 308, K. 780 or II. 307, K. 781 or II. 5. 307b, K. 782 or II. 5. 307c) form a group which must be studied together, since Theokritos was general in the archonship of all three (Kirchner, *AM.* 1907, 470 ff.). The possible dates from the cycle are 257, 247 and 245 or 245, 235 and 233. From K. 778 (II. 308) we learn that in the archonship of Thersilochos, the Athenians and Boeotians accept the city Lamia—a dependency of Macedon—as arbitrator in a dispute between the two states. This could not have happened in 245/4 for in that year the Boeotians were in alliance with the Achaean League and hostile to Athens and Macedon. After the battle of Chaeronea in 245/4, they deserted the league and became friendly to the Macedonian party (Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. maced. Staaten*, II. 250). K. 778 (II. 308) must consequently



date later than 245/4, and Thersilochos is therefore assigned to 233/2, Kallimedes to 235/4 and Kleomachos to 245/4. With these dates all our evidence agrees. The erased portion of K. 780 (II. 307) is exactly filled by the formula for sacrifice in honor of King Demetrios (239–229 B. C.) found in IG. II. 5. 614b, while that in honor of Antigonos is at least 22 letters shorter (cf. K. 775 or IG. II. 373b, Nov. Add. See under archon Lysiades). This is decisive proof that Thersilochos must be dated after the accession of Demetrios.

The general Theokritos is son of the *πάρεδρος*, Ἀλκίμαχος Κλεοβούλου Μυρρινούσιος, who held office in 282/1 (K. 668 or IG. II. 5. 318b), and the later date for his command as *στρατηγός* accords better with the period 245–33 than 257–43.

Polystratos (Oesterr. Jahreshefte, V. 128) requires as late a date as possible because of the form *γίνεσθαι* which occurs in the inscription from his archonship. The earliest datable example of this form is in 238/7 or slightly later (IG. II. 5. 614b), though it is possible that IG. II. 5. 591b may be dated before the death of Antigonos in 241 B. C. Polystratos cannot be placed later than 243/2 as there is no vacancy, and there can be little doubt that he is to be placed in this or in the year immediately preceding.

There is no evidence at hand for the date of Lykeas. Wilhelm (Oesterr. Jahreshefte V. 136) says that he is probably to be closely associated with Polystratos.

Heliodoros I. (IG. II. 384, II. 5. 385b) has already been discussed and dated in the year 242/1 from the allusion to King Antigonos and the Aetolians in IG. II. 384, and with the aid of the cycle.

Athenodoros (K. 784, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1911. 222 ff.) is dated by Oikonomos in the year 240/39 by the prosopographical evidence combined with the cycle. In the revised scheme, this archon will be dated in the year 241/0.

In lines 10–11 of K. 798 (IG. II. 5. 373 g) we can restore either *ἐπὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου* or *ἐπὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου*. The latter restoration however is excluded because of the unfriendly relations between the Athenians and Aetolians which existed from 238/7 onward through the reign of Demetrios (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 200 ff.) while this decree implies close friendship. It must therefore be dated between 241/0 and 238/7. The shortest possible restoration (*ἐπὶ Λυσίου*) in line 1 of K. 798 gives a minimum of 52 letters, although Kirchner estimates the average length at ca. 42. If we



date this decree in the archonship of Lysias, we must conclude that Athens and Aetolia were still on friendly footing in the month Gamelion in Lysias' archonship. This however is improbable (cf. IG. II. 5. 614b) and we may have to assign this decree to the archonship of Athenodoros or Charikles. The restoration *ἐπὶ Χαρικλέους* is better because it gives a shorter line, and the arrangement of the prytanies seems to require that this document be dated in an intercalary year. The year 242/1 suits the historical content of the document (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 196, note). Further allusion to the friendly relations between Athens and Aetolia is found in IG. II. 384 (242/1).

Charikles (K. 785, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1901. 52) is dated by the secretary cycle in 240/39. Lysias and Kimon (IG. II. 5. 614b) must be dated in the two years immediately preceding the secretary from Hipptomadaï (K. 787 or IG. II. 330) who held office in 237/6 (Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 62 ff.).

Ekphantos and Lysanias (K. 788, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* V. 136; K. 790, *Klio.* VIII. 487) can be placed in 237/6 and 236/5 respectively from the tribes of their secretaries (K. 787 or IG. II. 330; K. 790, *Klio.* VIII. 487). The formula for sacrifice in the archonship of Lysanias is of the same length as that in IG. II. 5. 614b which should be restored in the erased portion of the Lysanias decree. The formula for sacrifices in honor of Antigonos requires only 38 spaces (K. 775 or IG. II. 373b) and cannot be restored here. These archons must therefore be dated in the reign of Demetrios or between 240/39 and 232/1. (Kolbe dates these archons in 248/7 and 247/6 (*op. cit.*, p. 56), but the latter year is occupied by Lysiades. Our restoration of the erased lines decides the question in favor of the dates proposed by Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, 133).

Alkibiades (K. 776 or IG. II. 374) is also to be dated in the reign of Demetrios because lines 8 and 9 can be restored<sup>1</sup> exactly from IG. II. 5. 614b as follows:

[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσ(σ)ης  
Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν] ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρει-  
[α κτλ. . .]

<sup>1</sup> For another restoration cf. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 229, 60. This would require the date of this inscription to be placed before 248 B. C. (cf. list of archons at the end of this paper) and the formula for sacrifice to Antigonos as we learn from K. 775 was considerably shorter than this. The shorter formula may be due to the fact that the queen Phila was not alive at this time.



This inscription must be placed between 240/39 and 232/1. Since there is only one vacant year in this period, 234/3, Alkibiades must be dated in that year. The prosopographical evidence is entirely in accord with this date (Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, s. v. *Λυσιστράτη* and *Ἀρχίστρατος*). It is to be noted that all through the reign of Demetrios sacrifices were offered for him. This shows that there must have been a strong pro-Macedonian party at Athens controlling the assemblies. Relying on the strength and faithfulness of this party Demetrios did not hesitate to weaken his garrisons in Attica when the troubles at home began to demand all his available troops for the defense of the northern boundaries.

The dates of Jason and Diomedon have already been established in the years 232/1 and 231/0 respectively.

K. 783 (II. 5. 373c) has been placed in the year 230/29 by the cycle. The archon's name must have seven or eight letters. K. 792 (II. 335) is dated in this period because of the probable identity of *Ἐρίωτος Μελιτεύς*, the grain commissioner, with the contributor to the defence fund in 232/1 (K. 791 or II. 334). There is therefore little doubt that these two decrees are contemporary. The year 229/8 is not open to the archon . . . . *βιος* because this name is too short to be restored in IG. II. 859, line 1. These *silonai* were probably appointed to deal with the grain famine which the city must have suffered since Diogenes was still in command of the harbors (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 206).

Since . . . (?) *βιος* fills the lacuna in line 1 of K. 783 (II. 5. 373c), there can be no doubt that this is the correct restoration. K. 792 (IG. II. 335) was passed in the same or the following year. This inscription is important in the history of the financial boards at Athens because it proves that after the single officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* disappeared (IG. II. 334) the treasurer of the military funds alone paid the cost of the decrees. Later on he was associated with the plural board appointed in charge of the administration (*ὁ ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*, IG. II. 5. 385c).

The restoration of IG. II. 859, line 1, is again an open question. Certainly *Ἡλιόδωρος* is no longer entitled to consideration for this place, and since his name is one letter too short, we should restore some word of ten letters. The most likely claimant is *Lysitheides* (IG. II. 620, II. 5. 620b). Köhler has dated



this archon in the latter part of the century from the character of the writing (cf. Wilhelm, Oesterr. Jahreshefte, 1902, 130, note 1). Since IG. II. 620b is written *στοιχηδόν* and IG. II. 620 is nearly so, we can date these decrees before the end of the third century. Examples of *στοιχηδόν* writing are rare after 230, although one is found as late as 205/4 B. C. (IG. II. 5. 385f.). The only vacancy for Lysitheides between 244 and 209 is in 229/8, and since his name exactly fills the lacuna in II, 859, line 1, it is probable that he should be dated in that year. In that case we can no longer identify him with *Λυσιθείδης Σφήττιος* who is contributor to the war chest in 232/1 (K. 791 or IG. II. 334). These inscriptions if dated in 229/8 indicate a revival of the activities of the *orgeones* in the Peiraieus after the town and harbor were once more united under the democracy.

The group of archons from 228/7–221/0 is firmly established by the evidence of IG. II. 859, and the identification of the year of the archon Thrasyphon with the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad (Kern, Inschriften von Magnesia, 16). The correctness of Kirchner's restoration [*Θρασυφ*]ῶν *Ἀλωπεκῆθεν* in line 15 of IG. II. 859 is beyond dispute (GGA. 1900. 448).

The archons from 220/19–217/6 inclusive form a group by themselves. In this case there is no help from IG. II. 859. Chairephon is fixed in the year 219/8 by the fact that the Greater Eleusinia were celebrated in his archonship (IG. II. 5. 619b, Kolbe, op. cit., 69 ff.). There are three candidates for the other years: Kallaischros, Heliodoros II. and Archelaos. Of these we know that Archelaos follows Heliodoros (IG. II. 5. 385c).

Kallaischros is known only from an inscription found at Eleusis (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1897, p. 42 ff.). This decree states that Theophrastos was gymnasiarch in the archonship of Antiphilos (224/3), hipparch in the archonship of Menekrates (222/1) and, after service as steward (*ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* probably), was elected general at Eleusis in the archonship of Kallaischros. The earliest possible date for this archon is therefore 220/19. Heliodoros can not be placed earlier than 219/8. Since Archelaos follows Heliodoros immediately, these two archons are grouped together after 219/8. Kallaischros must therefore be dated in the year 220/19.

Heliodoros II. can be dated only by the historical context of IG. II. 5. 385c, since the identification with Heliodoros of IG. II.



384, II. 5, 385b is no longer possible. There is no good reason for disputing Homolle's approximate dating (BCH. XV., 1891, 385 ff., Kolbe, op. cit., 52-5). Cardinali's objections (*Rivista di storia antica*, N. S. 9, 81 ff.) are based on the theory that this Heliodoros must antedate the creation of Ptolemais. But there is nothing to prove that IG. II. 5. 385c was not passed when there were thirteen tribes, since the identification with IG. II. 5. 385b is no longer valid. From IG. II. 5. 385c it is easily seen that Archelaos follows Heliodoros at a very short interval. We can date both archons in the years 218/7 and 217/6 respectively. Otherwise Archelaos must be dated in 212/1. But an interval of five years is too long. These two archons therefore remain in the years assigned.

Archelaos of IG. II. 5. 385c is not the archon of the same name in IG. II. 431. This identification has been the cause of much tribulation to the interpreters of these decrees. There are three reasons to be urged against this identity. In the latter inscription the cost of the document is paid by  $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$  while we know that from the archonship of Heliodoros in 218/7 (IG. II. 5. 385c) until the archonship of Philostratos (Kern, *In-schriften von Magnesia*, 37) this was defrayed by  $\delta \tau \alpha \mu \acute{\iota} \alpha \varsigma \tau \omega \nu \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \iota \omicron \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ . Secondly the accepted date of IG. II. 431 in 212/1 is impossible because the meeting of the assembly in that decree was held in the Eleusinion, and this only took place in a year when the Eleusinia were performed (Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, c. III.) or in the second year of each Olympiad (Kolbe, op. cit., p. 70). Hence IG. II. 431 cannot be dated in 212/1 or in 217/6. (This does not invalidate our argument as to the date of Hagnias, for the restoration  $\epsilon \nu [\tau \phi \text{'Ελευσι-νίῳ}]$  in that decree is purely conjectural). Lastly, the prytany scheme of these two inscriptions is an impossible problem if the two archons are considered identical. From IG. II. 5. 385c we learn that the month Anthesterion was intercalated. With thirteen prytanizing tribes we should have prytanies corresponding to the months. But in IG. II. 431 there are two decrees recorded—both passed in the month Boedromion, but in different prytanies. This state of affairs is explained by assuming that they began the year as an ordinary year with prytanies of 27 days each, but some time after Boedromion they changed their plan and inserted an extra month. This was done in 307/6 but it was justified then—and in fact practically necessary—to avoid



having the remaining prytanies of too short a length (Kirchner, *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Pr. Ak. d. Wissens.*, 1910, p. 982). There is no such excuse, however, for the year 212/1 if these decrees are dated in that year. Let us reconsider the restoration of the scheme of the prytanies in the two decrees found in IG. II. 431. The following reading is offered for the first:

Βοηδρο-

[μ]ῶ[νος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέαι.      τετάρτει καὶ εἰ]κο[στεῖ τῆς π]ρυτανεί-  
[ας] κτλ.

and similarly in the second: <sup>1</sup>

Βο-

[η]δρομῶνος [ἐμβολίμου ἑνδεκάτει, τρίτ]ει τῆς πρυτανείας

Although the writing is not *στοιχηδόν* the average length of each line in both decrees is 47 letters. The restorations proposed at least have the merit of giving a uniform line. Such a combination of month and prytany is possible only in an intercalary year with twelve prytanies (cf. Schmidt, *Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie*, p. 775, Tafel b). According to this restoration we must date IG. II. 431 in the time of the twelve tribes and after 201/0 as is proved by the identity of Lanomos with Lanomos of Berenikidai (Wilhelm, *UDA.* 214). Since the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* was in existence from 201 until 190 B. C. this inscription must be dated in this period and, from the cycle, the date of Archelaos II can be established precisely in the year 191/0. It may be noted that this is the second year of an Olympiad and the Assembly could therefore be held in the Eleusinion.

This date for IG. II. 431 removes the prosopographical difficulties as well as the most curious irregularities in the calendar which were involved in the original dating. There is no possibility of dating the second decree in IG. II. 5. 385c as late as 191/0 and there is no reasonable objection against dating it in 217/6.

Pantiades (Croenert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, 77, col. XXVII. 4; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1910. 406), Diokles, Euphiletos and Herakleitos are placed in the years 216/5-213/2.

It is probable that we should assign to the archonship of Herakleitos the two inscriptions K. 796. 797 (IG. II. 5. 252c, II. add. 252b) as the name of this archon can be restored in each. This

<sup>1</sup> This restoration accords very well with the traces of letters still appearing on the stone. (See facsimile published in the IG.)



is the only year between 307-202 B. C. which is open to a secretary from Antiochis, and the only year with an archon whose name can be restored in these inscriptions. The restoration of K. 797 as given by Kirchner is incorrect, as there is no example of the form *ἐγραμμάτευε* known in prescripts after 290 B. C. Lines 2-6 should be restored as follows :

[ἐφ' Ἡρακλείτου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητριά[δος πρώτης]  
[πρυτανείας ἥ . . . . .]ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθ[εν ἐγραμμά-]  
[τευεν· Ἑκατομβαιωνος ἐν]ει καὶ νέαι, τριακοσ[τεῖ τῆς πρ]  
[υτανείας κτλ.

The arrangement of the prytanies shows that the year of Hera-  
kleitos is intercalary, and in the time of the thirteen tribes in  
such a case month and prytany correspond closely.

As a result of dating Archelaos I in 217/6 and Archelaos  
II in 191/0, the year 212/1 is once more unoccupied. The most  
probable candidate for this is Philinos (IG. II. 5. 619c, Add.).  
In his archonship Σωσικράτης Μιλτιάδου Σφήττιος was elected *ταμίας*  
*τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* and was praised by the citizens of Eleusis for the  
way in which he performed his duties. Troops were stationed  
at Eleusis from 225 B. C. until about the end of the century  
(Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 249 and note 2, 251 and note 1).  
The possible dates for Philinos are 212/1, 210/9, 208/7-206/5,  
204/3 or 203/2. A definite choice is not possible with our  
present evidence, but since most of the decrees from Eleusis  
honoring Athenian officials belong to the period before 208, it is  
probable that Philinos should be assigned to one of the earlier  
years. Kolbe has restored Isokrates provisionally in IG. II. 385  
which was passed in the year 210/9 (op. cit., p. 73). If this  
restoration be accepted, then Philinos must be dated in the year  
212/1.

We must assign to the year 209/8 the Attic decree found at  
Magnesia( Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 37). The arrange-  
ment of the prytanies shows that it is to be dated in the time of  
the thirteen tribes, for the 7th day of the 5th prytany can only  
fall on the 6th day of Pyanopsion if we suppose a month to have  
been intercalated earlier in the year. Then the 7th day of the  
5th prytany falls on the 6th day of the 5th month. This is of  
course only possible when there are thirteen tribes. Since the  
same ambassadors mentioned in this decree go also to the court  
of Philip V. of Macedon (Kern, op. cit., No. 47), this inscription



must be dated after his accession in 221. The only place for a secretary from the deme Erchia (Aigeis) is in 209/8. The name of the archon had 11 or 12 letters

Nikophon and Dionysios (IG. II. 401, II. 5. 623b, 1161b) hold the archonship in successive years as is evident from IG. II. 5. 623b. The prosopographical evidence shows that they should be dated not long before Phanarchides (Kirchner, GGA. 1900, 455). The only possibilities are 208-6 or 205-3. The historical evidence favors the year 205/4-203/2 (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 256, note). We should probably restore ἐπὶ Νικοφῶντος in IG. II. 5. 385 f.<sup>1</sup> This inscription is dated in the period when there were thirteen tribes as is shown by the arrangement of the prytanies. The deme of the secretary is either Κε[φελῆθεν] or Κε[ερίαδης]. The latter belongs to Hippothontis for which the only possibility is 202/1. The archon for this year is Phanarchides, and while his name may be restored in the first line, yet this restoration must be avoided because there were probably only eleven tribes in 202/1 (Von Schoeffer, *PW*. V. 32, 38 ff.; Tod, *BSA*. 1902-3, 173 ff.; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 268-9). We must therefore restore Κε[φελῆθεν]. The decree may then be dated in 231/0, 218/7, or 205/4. The first two of these are occupied by archons whose names cannot be restored in this decree, which must accordingly be placed in the year 205/4. The restoration ἐπὶ Νικοφῶντος fills the lacuna exactly in line 1, and although Nikophon may be a year later, there is much more in favor of the earlier date (Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 256, note 3). Dionysios is dated in the year immediately following Nikophon (IG. II. 5. 623b).

Phanarchides (IG. II. 5. 385c) is dated by Ferguson provisionally in the year 202/1. He held office in the third year of an Olympiad (Homolle, *BCH*. 1891, 363). The possible dates according to Kolbe are 202/1, 198/7, 194/3. In the archonship of Phanarchides ὁ ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν defrays the expense while in the following year ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει reappears (IG. II. 392). The latter office existed until 190/89, and it is practically certain that it came into existence again with the reforms following the abolition of Antigonis and Demetrias and the establishment of Attalis. Nor can we place Phanarchides in 198/7, because Proxenides was archon in 197/6, and we know from IG

<sup>1</sup> This is the latest example of στοιχηδόν writing in Attica.



II. 392 that the secretary in the year following Phanarchides was Prokles, while the secretary in Proxenides' year is Euboulos (IG. II. 391). Phanarchides cannot be dated in 193/2 partly because IG. II. 390 is dated in this year, and also because  $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$  pays for the decree in 193/2. There is no other alternative than to place Phanarchides in 202/1.

The archon succeeding Phanarchides (IG. II. 392) had probably at least 10 letters in his name, and at the most not more than 13 (cf. lines 10 and 16). The name to be restored is plainly one of those not long before 202/1. It is futile to conjecture, since we cannot determine the length of the name accurately and do not know the name of the archon immediately preceding Phanarchides. Kolbe's restoration of Philon is impossible, because it is based upon the length of line in the upper decree on this stone where the spacing is much wider (op. cit., 90. 92). It is tempting to restore  $\epsilon \pi \iota \Delta \iota \omicron \nu \sigma \iota \omicron \upsilon$  which fills the space and is a very common name.

Proxenides (IG. II. 391. 393, Wilhelm, UDA. 213 ff.) is assigned to 197/6 because the office of  $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$  existed in the second century only in the years 201-190. By restoring the deme of the secretary as [ $\text{Κόπρειος}$ ], which exactly fills the space (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att., s. v.  $\text{Εὐβουλος}$ ), we must date Proxenides by the secretary cycle in 197/6.

For convenience of reference a table is appended giving the dates of the archons between 273/2 and 191/0 in accordance with the results of this study. When a name is printed in italics, the exact date of that archon cannot be determined with the evidence at present at our command.

Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.
273/2	<i>Sosistratos</i>	.....	Kekropis IX
272/1	.....	.....	Hippothontis X
271/0	Pytharatos	.....	Aiantis XI
270/69	(K. 702, 703)	Alopeke	Antiochis XII
269/8	<i>Philoneos</i>	.....	Antigonis I
268/7	Philokrates	Melite	Demetrias II
267/6	Thymochares	.....	Erechtheis III
266/5	Peithidemos	.....	Aigeis IV
265/4	Glaukippos	Myrrhinous	Pandionis V
264/3	Diognetos	.....	Leontis VI
263/2	..... <i>Ιδης</i>	.....	Akamantis VII
262/1	Antipatros	.....	Oineis VIII
	Arrheneides	.....	Antigonis I



Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.	
261/0	.....	.....	Demetrias	II
260/59	Philostratos	.....	Erechtheis	III
259/8	Phanostratos	.....	Aigeis	IV
258/7	Antimachos	Myrrhinous	Pandionis	V
257/6	(K. 704)	Sounion	Leontis	VI
256/5	.....	.....	Akamantis	VII
255/4	.....	.....	Oineis	VIII
254/3	<i>Theophemos</i>	.....	Kekropis	IX
253/2	Diogeiton	Keiriadai	Hippothontis	X
252/1	Olbios	Rhamnous	Aiantis	XI
251/0	K. 774 (II. 5. 371c)	Eitea	Antiochis	XII
250/49	Pheidostratos	Ikaria	Antigonis	I
249/8	.....	.....	Demetrias	II
248/7	.....	.....	Erechtheis	III
247/6	Lysiades	.....	Aigeis	IV
246/5	Hagnias	Myrrhinous	Pandionis	V
245/4	Kleomachos	Kettos	Leontis	VI
244/3	<i>Lykeas</i>	.....	Akamantis	VII
243/2	<i>Polystratos</i>	.....	Oineis	VIII
242/1	Heliodoros I	Athmonon	Kekropis	IX
241/0	Athenodoros	Hamaxanteia	Hippothontis	X
240/9	Charikles	Rhamnous	Aiantis	XI
239/8	Lysias	.....	Antiochis	XII
238/7	Kimon	.....	Antigonis	I
237/6	Ekphantos	Hippotomadai	Demetrias	II
236/5	Lysanias	Euonymon	Erechtheis	III
235/4	Kallimedes	Plotheia	Aigeis	IV
234/3	Alkibiades	.....	Pandionis	V
233/2	Thersilochos	Phrearrhoi	Leontis	VI
232/1	Jason	.....	Ptolemais	VII
231/0	Diomedon	Hagnous	Akamantis	VIII
230/9	... βιος	Epikephisia	Oineis	IX
229/8	<i>Lysitheides</i>	.....	Kekropis	X
228/7	Leochares	.....	Hippothontis	XI
227/6	Theophilos	Aphidna	Aiantis	XII
226/5	Ergochares	Alopeke	Antiochis	XIII
225/4	Niketes	.....	Antigonis	I
224/3	Antiphilos	.....	Demetrias	II
223/2	Kalli . . .	.....	Erechtheis	III
222/1	Menekrates	.....	Aigeis	IV
221/0	Thrasyphon	Paiania	Pandionis	V
220/9	Kallaischros	.....	Leontis	VI
219/8	Chairephon	.....	Ptolemais	VII
218/7	Heliodoros II	.....	Akamantis	VIII
217/6	Archelaos I	.....	Oineis	IX
216/5	Pantiades	.....	Kekropis	X



Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.
215/4	Diokles	Keiriadai	Hippothontis XI
214/3	Euphiletos	.....	Aiantis XII
213/2	Herakleitos	Alopeke	Antiochis XIII
212/1	<i>Philinos</i>	.....	Antigonis I
211/0	Aischron	.....	Demetrias II
210/9	<i>Isokrates</i>	Lamptrai	Erechtheis III
209/8	.....	Erchia	Aigeis IV
208/7	.....	.....	Pandionis V
207/6	.....	.....	Leontis VI
206/5	Kallistratos	.....	Ptolemais VII
205/4	Nikophon	Kephale	Akamantis VIII
204/3	<i>Dionysios</i>	.....	Oineis IX
203/2	.....	.....	Kekropis X
202/1	Phanarchides	.....	Hippothontis XI
201/0	.....	.....	Ptolemais V
200/199	.....	.....	Akamantis VI
199/8	.....	.....	Oineis VII
198/7	.....	.....	Kekropis VIII
197/6	Proxenides	Kopros	Hippothontis IX
196/5	.....	.....	Aiantis X
195/4	.....	.....	Antiochis XI
194/3	.....	.....	Attalis XII
193/2	(IG. II. 390)	Kedoi	Erechtheis I
192/1	.....	.....	Aigeis II
191/0	Archelaos II	Kydathenaion	Pandionis III

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON.

## ADDENDUM.

Professor Kirchner's letter concerning Roussel's reading for IG. II. 5. 381b reached me too late to make all the necessary changes in the text of this article. If we accept the new reading, it is much better to date this inscription in 227/6 B. C. and assume that the deme Aphidna was divided between Aiantis and Ptolemais (cf. note 1, p. 391). Since the year 272/1 is thus left open, it is possible to assign to it either Telokles, Sosistratos, Philoneos or . . . *λαιος*. It is also possible to restore *Ἀμαξαντελεύς* in line 2 of K. 794 (II. 372), p. 406 and to date this inscription either in 273/2 or 272/1 B. C. Since Koehler and Kirchner both place this archon in the second half of the century from the form of the letters in the inscription, the date to which I have assigned it is preferable.



## II.—NEVE AND NEQUE WITH THE IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXIV 275.]

### B. IMPERFECT.

The use of *neve* or *neque* with an imperf. subj. is very rare. . According to Bennett, Synt. Early Lat. I, p. 196, the use of a negative connective with the optative subj. is lacking in Early Latin. On p. 177 he cites Plaut. Trin. 133 and Lucil. 498 (652 *Mx.*) as examples of "the subjunctive of unfulfilled past obligation" (the former passage is cited by Blase, p. 152 as a "Jussiv der Vergangenheit"). Cf. p. 259, D. No examples are found in later Latin, except in Sall. Jug. 14. 24 *utinam esset neu viderer* and Cic. Flacc. 76 *utinam neque ipsum neque me paeniteret*. Note Quint. 1. 2. 6 *utinam non perderemus*, omitted by Blase, p. 155. For the use of the imperf. subj. jussive in *Orat. Obliq.* cf. p. 267. Note Livy 21. 41. 13 *utinam pro decore et non pro salute esset*, and for the use of *ac non* cf. p. 259.

### C. PERFECT.<sup>1</sup>

The perf. subj. with the connectives *neque* and *neve* was not used so often (91) as the pres. subj. (378) or the imperative (183). These three forms of expression are alike in three respects: all saw their most extensive use in the Classical period, all are found most frequently in poetry, and with all *neque* (*nec*) is more common than *neve* (*neu*). The greatest contrast in usage is furnished by the imperative, which jumps from 7 occurrences in Early Latin to 133 in Class. Latin, and the pres. subj. from 29 to 202, while the gap is not so great with the perf. subj., from 7 to 40. The rarest of all in prose is the imperative, being found only 4 times, to 179 in poetry. The perf. subj., on the other hand, was found 38 times in prose, 53 in poetry. *Neve* (*neu*) was found in prose but once, after *ne*, in Cic., but in

<sup>1</sup> For the "literature" on the perf. subj. cf. p. 1, note 255, and add: Giles, Cambr. Phil. Soc., 1901, p. 12 f., Kühner, Ausführl. Gram., II<sup>2</sup>, p. 189.



poetry 7 times (after *ne*, once, Plaut., after period, Pac., Sil. (3), with particle repeated, Prop., Stat.). *Neque* was not used after *ne* (only *nec*); only once (Quint.) after a period (*nec* 30 times); after an indic. once, Plaut. (*nec* 6 times). In poetry only *nec* was used after an imperative and after *ne*. Cf. pp. 271, 274.

a) AFTER AN IMPERATIVE = 15.

To introduce a new sentence in prose, *neve* (*neu*) was not used at all, but *neque* (*nec*) four times (Sall., Cic., Sen., Fronto). In poetry, however, the usage is more common, particularly with *neque* (*nec*), which was used 9 times (Plaut. (2), Verg., Ovid (2), Val. Fl. (2), Mart. (2), to *neu* twice (Sil.)).

1) EARLY LATIN = 2, both in poetry. Plaut. Rud. 1028 uses *nec*, Trin. 627 *neque*.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 5 (prose = 2). *Neque*: Sall. Iug. 85. 47, Cic. Att. 10. 18. 2; *nec*: Verg. E. 8. 102, Ovid Her. 20. 15, and Fast. 1. 680.

3) SILVER LATIN = 8 (prose = 2).

a) *Neu* = 2: Sil. 3. 571; 9. 212 (in Stat. Theb. 9. 216 Hosius reads *ne*).

b) *Nec* = 6: Sen. Dial. 6. 5, 3, Val. Fl. 5. 339, Mart. 6. 64. 27; 14. 218. Fronto, p. 252 (N.) Note the use of the imper. in —*to* and the perf. subj. side by side in Val. Fl. 1. 176 *parato nec credideris*. Cf. pp. 263, c. and 271, 3, b.

b) AFTER A SUBJUNCTIVE = 6.

This usage is found only with *neque* (*nec*) and only twice in prose (Cic., Livy). Cf. *et ne* p. 256. Enn. 509 (B.) *nemo decoret nec faxit*; Cic. Phil. 7. 26 (3d S.), 2 pfs.; with pres. and pf. Verg. A. 10. 32 (*neque*), Ovid A. A. 1. 733, Tr. 4. 9. 25, Livy 22. 3. 10. Cf. Cato Agr. 113. 2 *ne . . et ne*. *Non . . nec* was used by Sen. and Mart. Cf. p. 259.

c) AFTER A PERIOD = 35.

In prose, *neve* (*neu*) was not used at all, *neque* only once (Quint.) and *nec* 14 times; in poetry, *neve* = 0, *neu* = 2, *neque* = 0, *nec* = 18. The preference for *neque* (*nec*), 33, over *neve* (*neu*), 2, is to be noted. *Neve* (*neu*) was only used by Pac. and Sil., but *neque* (*nec*) by Cic. (5), Livy (3), Sen. Phil., Curt.,



Plin. Mai., Quint., Tac. (2), Plin. Min.; in poetry, by Verg., Pan. Mess., Ovid (11), Luc., Calp., Val. Fl., Stat. and Mart. This usage is most common in Ovid.

1) EARLY LATIN = 1 (*neu*). Pac. 200 *Neu sireis*. (After a semi-colon: Ter. And. 392; an interrogation point, Plaut. Curc. 27; a gap Lucil. 1007 (Mx.)). Cf. p. 271, line 2 f.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 18, only *nec* used. Prose: Cic. Att. 2. 23. 3; 13. 22. 5; 15. 27. 3, Fin. 1. 25, Brut. 298, all 2d pers. (5). Poetry = 13: Verg. G. 3. 404, (Tib. 3. 7. 7) Pan. Mess., and 11 in Ovid: 2. pers. = 9, and all *nec credideris* (exc. Met. 13. 869, Fast. 6. 807): Her. 20. 151; 21. 189, Met. 12. 455, Tr. 5. 14. 43, Pont. 1. 8. 29; 4. 9. 101; [10. 21]; 3. pers. = 2: Her. 16. 187, A. A. 2. 105. It is to be noted that in all of these passages *nec* is used before a consonant, and hence *neu* could have been equally well used, as far as the metre is concerned. Cf. p. 266. Note also *nil credideris*; Met. 13. 825; *nec* after a semicolon, Cic. Fam. 1. 9. 19, Att. 15. 27. 3; after a question, Prop. 2. 20. 33, Ovid Her. 4. 129. Cf. 1, *supra*.

3) SILVER LATIN = 16 (*neu* = 1, *nec* = 14, *neque* = 1).

a) *Neu* = 1: Sil. Ital. 12. 502 *Neu tardarit*.

b) *Neque* = 1: Quint. 1. 4. 13.

c) *nec* = 14, prose: Livy 9. 9. 9; 21. 43. 11; 23. 3. 3. Sen. Ep. 15. 7, Curt. 5. 18. 13, Plin. Mai. 10, 136, Tac. Hist. 2. 47; 2. 76, Plin. Min. 8. 24. 5 (= 9); poetry = 5: Luc. 9. 1026, Calp. 1. 17, Val. Fl. 7. 229, Stat. Ach. 1. 917, Mart. 5. 6. 16 *Nec perrexeris sed teneto*. Cf. p. 419, a, 3, b.

Note the perf. subj. with *nullum* Livy 2. 12. 11, *nihil* Sen. N. Q. 6. 32. 6, Apul. Phil. 73. 16, *numquam* Sen. Ep. 98. 1, *neminem* Sen. Ben. 3. 28. 3, *nemo* Quint. 12. 10. 20, and *nulli* . . . *nec* in Mart. 7. 5. 5. Note the use of *nec* with pf. subj. after a semicolon in Val. Fl. 1. 175, in parenthesis in Livy 5. 53. 3 (cf. Verg., p. 270, b), of *numquam* . . . *nec* Val. Fl. 7. 94 (Luc. 8. 451 has *ne* in latest text).

d) AFTER AN INDICATIVE = 6 (*nec* = 5), prose = 3.

This usage is found three times in prose (Cic., Sen. (2)), and Plautus was the only writer to use *neque* (Capt. 149): Cic. Acad. 2. 141, Verg. G. 3. 393, Sen. Ep. 15. 7; 25. 2, Juv. 14. 48 (Pan. Mess. (Tib.) 3. 7. 7 (H.)). Cf. 2, *supra*, line 9.



- e) NEVE (neu) . . NEVE (neu) = 2, NEQUE (nec) . . NEQUE (nec) = 20.

The former expression was not used in prose, but the latter 10 times (Cic. (3), Livy (2), Sen. (4) Suet. (1),); in poetry, the former by Prop. and Stat., the latter by Enn., Tib., Ovid (4), Luc., Stat., Mart., Cato. In no case is *neve* used, *neu* (4), but *neque* 10 times and *nec* 31.

- 1) EARLY LATIN = 1: Enn. Ann. 143 (B.) nec . . nec.
- 2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 9 (prose = 3).
  - a) *neu* . . *neu* = 1: Prop. 1. 10. 23.
  - b) *neque* . . *neque* = 2 (Cic. Rab. 34, Sulla 25), *neque* . . *nec* = 1 (Cic. Rep. 6. 25), but *nec* . . *nec* = 5 (Tib. 2. 2. 13, Ovid A. A. 3. 683, Am. 2. 2. 25, Her. 8. 23, A. A. 2. 391).
- 3) SILVER LATIN = 12 (prose = 7).
  - a) *Neu* . . *neve* = 1: Stat. Theb. 9. 889 decipito; neu . . . neve veneris. Cf. p. 420, 3, c.
  - b) *neque* . . *neque* = 2: (Livy 29. 18. 9 Suet. Cal. 55. 1.); *neque* . . *nec* = 1 (Lucan. 1. 53); *nec* . . *nec* = 6 (Livy 24. 43. 8, Sen. Ben. 6. 35. 1, Epist. 96. 2; 104. 12; Stat. Theb. 4. 844, Mart. 1. 92. 13); *nec* . . *nec* . . *nec* = 1 (Sen. N. Q. 6. 32. 6, 3 pfs.); *nec* . . *nec*, with pres. and pf. subj. = 1 (Cato Dist. 2. 16). Cf. Apul. 111. 11 non . . ac nec monstremus nec norimus.

- f) NE . . NEVE (neu) = 2, NE . . *neque* (nec) = 3.

From the formal point of view, *neve* was used once, *neu* once; *neque* not at all, *nec* 3 times. *Ne* . . *neve* (neu) was used by Cic. and by Plaut., *ne* . . *nec* by Sen., Hor. and Luc.

- a) *Ne* . . *neve* (neu) = 2: Plaut. Merc. 401 ne duas neu dixeris, and by Cic. Acad. 2. 125 (neve) two perfs.; *ne* . . *nec* by Hor. C. 1. 11. 1, Sen. Ep. 123. 11 with two pfs., and Luc. 7. 591 ne rue nec admoveris. Cf. p. 423.

- g) NEQUE ENIM = 2.

This usage is exceedingly rare, its very existence in fact being disputed (cf. A. J. P. XXII, p. 90). With the perfect subj. it is found only twice, Ps. Quint. Dec. 22. 3 with negaveris and 50. 15 with spectaveris (Hor. Sat. 1. 4. 40 and Ovid Met. 13. 291 hardly belong here). For its use with a pres. subj. cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 43, with sinant. Cf. p. 271.



## h) ET NE, AC NE, NON . . NEC.

The pf. subj. with *et ne* was used by Cato and Apul., with *ac ne* by Cic., with *non . . nec* by Sen. Phil., Pers. and Mart. Cf. p. 256 f.

The following table will show the kind of connective that was used and the number of times (doubled connectives, *neque enim* and the use after *ne* are omitted):

PERFECT.									
Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	neve	neu	neque	nec	neve	neu	neque	nec	
Early Latin. . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	5
Classical Latin . . . . .	0	0	2	7	0	0	1	19	29
Silver Latin. . . . .	0	0	1	14	0	3	0	10	28
Total. . . . .	0	0	3	21	0	4	3	31	62

## NOTES.

1) *Neve* (neu) was not used at all in prose except after *ne* (Cic.), but *neque* (nec) 24 times. In poetry only the form *neu* was used (4), but *neque* (nec) 34 times.

2) *Neque* (nec) was used more often than *neve* (neu) in every period. Note the classical usage with *neque* (nec) 29 to *neve* (neu) 0, and Silver Latin with 25 to 3. In the three periods *neque* (nec) was used 58 times, but *neve* (neu) only 4 times. For a similar condition of affairs with the imperative cf. p. 265, and with the pres. subj. cf. p. 275. See Conclusion, p. 267.

3) The preference for the form *nec* over *neque* in every period except the first, and the exclusion of the form *neque* from Silver Latin poetry is noteworthy.

4) After *ne* a perf. was used with these connectives only 5 times, but the pres. 32 times. The use of *neve* (neu) has the sanction of Cicero and Plautus, the use of *nec* (*neque* = 0) that of Sen. Phil., Horace, and probably Lucan (7. 591: *neu* = *v. l.*). In the Horatian passage, c. 1. 11. 1 *nec* was used before a consonant, and hence *neu* was metrically possible. Cf. p. 266.

## PLUPERFECT = 11.

*Neve* (neu) as a connective with the plpf. subj. was used only twice, in poetry, and in Early Latin (Enn., Ter.). On the con-



trary, *nec* (*neque* not used) was used 9 times (Cic. (2), Sen. Phil., Catull., Ovid (3), Tib., Phaedr.), and with two exceptions (Ovid Her. 7. 140, Tib. 1. 10. 11) was always introduced by *utinam*. For a similar preference for *neque* (*nec*) with the imperative and subj., pres. and pf., see above, pp. 265, 275 and 422. This use of the plpf. subj. begins with Enn. Sc. 248 (205. *B.*) with *ne . . neve*, and in Ter. Phorm. 157 with *ne . . neu*. After Terence only *nec* was used: Cic. Off. 2. 3, Att. 3. 8. 4, Sen. Ep. 19. 5, Ovid Her. 7. 140 vellem, vetuisset nec fuisset; 10. 99 utinam . . nec . . nec . . nec; Met. 13. 44 utinam . . aut . . nec umquam; Tib. 1. 10. 11 foret nec nossem nec audissem, Phaedr. 4. 7. 6. u. nec . . nec, Catull. 64. 171 u. ne . . nec . . nec (cf. f, *supra*). Note: Cic. Att. 2. 1. 3 perspicies *aut ne* poposcisses, Att. 11. 9. 3 utinam *non . . aut ne*, and Quint. 10. 1. 100 utinam non.

## II. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

### I. *Neque* (*nec*).

#### A. UT . . NEQUE (*nec*).

As a feature of style, it may be noted that subordinate clauses, particularly of the type *ut . . neque* and *ut . . neve*, belong chiefly to prose, and pertain to the ratiocinative style. Accordingly such forms of expression are found in a writer like Cicero 59 times (with particles doubled, 116), in Caesar 22, in Livy 39 (with parts. doubled 71), but in Plin. Mai. only twice, in Quint. only 3, Pliny Min. only 3, Apul. only 4, Suet. only twice, and in Gellius only once. Sen. Phil., owing to his fondness for the epigrammatic style, shows only 5 such expressions. In Ovid such forms are found more often (11) than in any other poet, Lucr. showing only 2, Cat., Hor. and Sen. (Oed.) only one each, while Verg. and most poets hold entirely aloof from these forms.

The literature of these three periods shows a variety of taste in the selection of the form of connective adopted, and the writers may accordingly be divided into four classes: **a**) those who use *ut . . neque*, but do not use *ut . . neve*, as Auct. Her., Nepos (15)<sup>1</sup>, Sen. Rhet. (2), Vitruv. (3), Vell. (7), Cels. (14), Plin. Mai. (5), Quint. (9), Qu. Decl. (3), Plin. Min. (5), Frontin., Flor., Just. (10), Gaius (3), Gell. (3), Fronto (3) and the poets, Lucan. (3), Calp., Val. Fl., Sil., Mart. (3), Juv. (2); **b**) those who use *ut . . neve*,

<sup>1</sup> The number in parenthesis indicates how often the former expression is used.



but not *ut . . neque*, as Varro (3), Sall. (8), Suet. (2), the poets, Cat., Hor., Lucr. (2); c) those who use both, as (*neque* first in parenthesis), Plaut. (4-5), Ter. (1-2), Caes. (11-11), Cic. (42-9), Ovid (6-5), Livy (25-14), Sen. Phil. (4-1), Apul. (3-1); d) those who use neither, as Cato, Verg., Tib., Mela, Petron., Phaedr., Pers., Stat. and Cato Dist. In all, *ut . . neque* is used 191 times to *ut . . neve* only 65 times, but it is to be remembered that the only proper form of comparison is with reference to the times that *ut . . neque* was used to express purpose. In purpose clauses *ut . . neve* was more common until the Silver Age, where it is used 23 times to *ut . . neque* 29 times, while before the ratio was 7-4 and 47-26. In Cicero, it is to be noted, *ut . . neve* is used 25 times to *ut . . neque* 17, to introduce purpose clauses. Cf. p. 268.

1) **Early Latin**: in prose (excluding inscriptions) neither form was used, but in poetry *ut . . neve* was used twice (Plaut.), *ut . . neu* 5 times, and *ut . . neque* once (Pl.), *ut . . nec* 3 (Pl.). In Early Latin, then, *ut . . neve* (neu) = 7, *ut . . neque* (nec) = 5 (Plaut. 4, Ter. 1), and in no case does the latter introduce a result clause.<sup>1</sup>

2) **Classical Latin**—*ut . . neque*: in prose = 62, in poetry = 7 (Cat. 1, Ovid 6). In **Silver Latin**, prose = 51, poetry = 8 (Luc. (2), Val. Fl., Sil., Mart. (2), Juv. (2)),

CAESAR = 11 (nec = 2), all with two verbs, and all result exc. 3: 1. 35. 2; 5. 44. 13; 6. 39. 5; 41. 3; 43. 4; 7. 23. 3, B. C. 3. 69. 4. 84. 4; purpose: B. G. 2. 10. 5 persuaderi; 3. 65. 3 iussit; 3. 92. 2 praedixerat. (In the *Bella Alex.*, *Afr.*, *Hisp.*, the author of the first uses both *ut . . neque* and *ut . . neve*, that of the second, only *ut . . neque*, and that of the third, neither).

CICERO = 42 (nec = 18).

a) *With two verbs* = 36 (nec = 15).

1) *Speeches* = 13 (nec = 2, Result = 7 (nec = 1. S. Rosc. 57, Verr. 1. 70; 4. 81, Sest. 88, Piso 68, Rab. 36, Phil. 13. 25; purpose = 6 (nec 1): Div. Caec. 52 suadebit, S. Rosc. 66 fecisse ut agitent neque patiantur, Verr. 2. 41 commonefaciant; 3. 18 postularunt; 3. 115 cognoscite, Balb. 27 velit.

2) *Philosophical* = 14 (nec = 9. Result = 12 (nec = 8): Acad. 2. 27; 40, Fin. 2. 43; 5. 55; 67, N. D. 3. 19, Div. 1. 24; 125, Lael. 14; 19, Off. 3. 87, Tusc. 4. 9; purpose = 2: Off. 2. 73 administrabat, Tusc. 5. 52 ut . . nec.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Early Latin I*, pp. 243, 254, 263 f.



3) *Rhetorical* = 6 (nec = 2). Result = 3 (nec = 2): De Or. 1. 110; 2. 308, Or. 117; purpose = 3 (nec = 1): De Or. 1, 19 hortamur, 2. 350 adiungam, Or. 14 videamus.

4) *Letters* = 3 (nec = 2), all purpose: Fam. 1. 10. 10 fac, Att. 7. 18. 4 denuntiavit, 13. 23. 3 loquere (Plancus, Fam. 10. 8. 3 opus fuerunt ut . . neque).

b) *With one verb* = 6 (nec = 2. Result = 3: Verr. 2. 164; 3. 160, Acad. 2. 101; purpose = 3: Verr. 4. 45 Qui? ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem; Tusc. 5. 13 ut videatur, Off. 1. 119 ut possimus, both *nec*.

NEPOS = 8 (nec = 0).

a) *With two verbs*: Result = 5 (Alc. 3. 5, Dion 2. 1, Chab. 3. 3, Ages. 8. 2, Att. 6. 1; purpose = 1: Alc. 7. 1 postulasset.

b) *With one verb* = 2, Epam. 5. 1; purpose: Eum. 8. 2 periculum est.

CATULLUS = 1: 68. 116, (2 vbs., purpose): perculit.

OVID = 6 (neque = 0), all with 2 vbs. Result = 3 (Tr. 1. 6. 7; 10. 50; 3. 5. 3), purpose = 3 (Her. 7. 21 erit; A. A. 2. 111 adde, Tr. 2. 480 vocato.

VITRUVIUS = 2 (neque): 1. 5. 4; 2. 4. 1 purpose: quaerendum. Note also purpose in 3. 5. 15 uti ne . . neque (2 vbs.).

### SUMMARY: CLASSICAL PROSE.

#### WITH TWO VERBS.

	ut-neque		ut-nec		Total	
	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose
Caesar .....	7	2	1	1	8	3
Cicero, Speeches.....	6	5	1	1	7	6
Cicero, Phil.....	4	1	8	1	12	2
Cicero, Rhet.....	2	2	1	1	3	3
Cicero, Epis. ....	0	1	0	2	0	3
Nepos .....	5	1	0	0	5	1
Vitruvius .....	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total .....	25	13	11	6	36	19

#### NOTES ON CONNECTIVE WITH TWO VERBS.

1) *Ut . . neque* (nec) introduces result (36) about twice as often as it does purpose (19).

2) *Ut . . nec* introduces a result almost twice as often as it does a purpose clause, in Cicero Phil., 8 times as often.



3) Ut . . *neque* was the only form used by Nepos and Vitruv., as ut . . *nec* was the only form used by Ovid, who in this particular also was followed by the Silver Latin poets.

### 3) SILVER LATIN.

LIVY, ut . . *neque*: result 3, purpose 5; ut . . *nec*: result 6, purpose 11. VELL. = 3, result (nec); 2. 22. 4; 23. 3; purpose 2, 14. 3 promitteret (*neque*). CELSUS = 1, *neque*: 350. 24. SEN. PHIL. = 4 (nec): Ep. 26. 10; 98. 11; purpose, Dial. 5. 13. 4 rogemus, Ben. 2. 10. 1 fallendus est. PLIN. MAI. = 2 (nec): 6. 128; 17. 179. QUINT. = 3 (nec): 11. 1. 3; 87; purpose 1. 2. 15 cura habenda est; cf. 5. 7. 31 ut . . *aut ne*. QUINT. DECL. = 1 (nec): 49. 23, purpose: quis dubitavit? TAC. = 1 (*neque*): Ann. 13. 56 placitum esse. PLIN. MIN. = 3 (nec): Pan. 38. 2; purpose: 8. 14. 14 postulabam; 10. 70. 1 consequemur. JUST. = 3 (nec): 2. 1. 20; 7. 6. 16; 12. 16. 10. GAIUS = 1 (*neque*): 3. 56. GELLIUS = 1 (*neque*): 11. 13. 5, purpose, admoniti. APUL. = 3 (nec): Met. 185. 10, Phil. 117. 1; purpose: Met. 142. 15 orabit. (Prose = 51.) Poetry: LUCAN. = 2 (nec): 3. 324; 7. 428. VAL. FL. = 1 (nec): 8. 167. SIL. ITAL. = 1 (nec), purpose: 2. 509 extendam. MART. = 2 (nec): 6. 25. 5 cauta sit, purpose, and so 11. 71. 5 rogat. JUV. = 2 (nec), 6. 282; 16. 9 (ut) . . *nec*. (Poetry = 8.)

### SUMMARY: SILVER LATIN PROSE.

	ut-neque		ut . . -nec		Total	
	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose
Livy .....	3	5	6	11	9	16
Velleius .....	0	1	2	0	2	1
Celsus .....	1	0	0	0	1	0
Sen. Phil. ....	0	0	2	2	2	2
Plin. Mai. ....	0	0	2	0	2	0
Quint .....	0	0	2	1	2	1
Quint. Decl. ....	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tac. ....	0	1	0	0	0	1
Plin. Min. ....	0	0	1	2	1	2
Justin .....	0	0	3	0	3	0
Gaius .....	1	0	0	0	1	0
Gellius .....	0	1	0	0	0	1
Apul. ....	0	0	2	1	2	1
Total .....	5	8	20	18	25	26



## NOTES.

1) In poetry *ut . . neque* was not used at all, *ut . . nec*, 5 times result, 3 times purpose.

2) In Silver Latin, in contrast to Classical Latin (cf. *supra*), *ut . . neque* and *ut . . nec* are each used about the same number of times in expressions of purpose and result.

3) *Ut . . nec*, as in Class. prose, is used oftener with a result clause than with a purpose clause, and *ut . . neque* was not used, at all by Sen. Phil., Plin. Mai., Quint., Qu. Decl., Plin. Min. Justin. and Apul., tho all used *ut . . nec*.

4) *Ut . . neque* (*nec*) was used to introduce purpose clauses 61 times: 4 in Early Latin (Plaut.), 28 in Class. Lat. (24 in prose, 5, 1 vb.), and 29 in Sil. Lat. (prose 26). This combination is much more common in result clauses, except in Silver Latin, where the difference is very slight. It is to be especially noted that in Silver Latin *ut . . neque* (*nec*) is used oftener (26) to introduce purpose than *ut . . neve* (*neu*) (24), but 14 of these are in Livy.

B. UT NON . . NEQUE (*nec*) = 6.

With two verbs (2): Cic. Acad. 2. 54, Pomp. 44 (Praeteritio), with one verb (4): Rosc. 75, Verr. 3. 227; 4. 45 (Praeteritio), Pomp. 7.

## C. VARIOUS.

*Ut neque* (*nec*) . . *et*: Caes. B. G. 3. 14. 4, Cic. Inv. 1. 24, Att. 3. 15. 6, Livy 35 times (cf. Class. Phil. III, p. 318), Vell. 2. 113. 3 *ut neque auderet et . . non possent*, Cels. 229. 22; 282. 20 and with one verb 63. 25; 312. 36; 332. 37; Plin. Min. 10. 61. 2, Quint. Decl. 166. 2, Frontin. 2. 3. 16 (2 vbs.), Florus 1. 1. 11. For *ut . . et ne* cf. p. 257. Cic. Cat. 2. 28 has *ut neque . . —que possitis*; Caes. B. C. 3. 82. 2, Varro. L. L. Frg. 43 (G. and Sch.) *ut nec . . aut non*.

D. UT NEQUE (*nec*) . . NEQUE (*nec*) = 175.

a) *With two verbs* = 61 (poetry 6) *ut neque . . neque* = 29, *ut neque . . nec* = 9, *ut nec . . nec* = 23.

1) **Early Latin** = 2: Ter. H. T. 964 *cepi rationem ut neque . . neque*; And. 279 (*neque quat.*).

2) **Classical Latin** = 32 (poetry = 3), purpose = 4.

CAESAR = 0, but cf. Bell. Alex. 16. 5; 61. 4 and Bell. Afr. 8. 4; 47. 3; 54. 5.



CICERO = 22 (9-7-6)<sup>1</sup>, *Speeches* = 5 (neque . . neque): Verr. 2. 67, Cluent. 88, Leg. Agr. 2. 43, Mur. 15,<sup>2</sup> Dom. 28. *Phil.* = 5 (0-3-2): Fin. 1. 41; 2. 38, C. M. 72; purpose: Lael. 40; 52 (stipulative?), both with neque . . nec. *Rhet.* = 6 (3-2-1): De Or. 2. 108; 3. 16; 30; 193, Brut. 120, Or. 117. *Epist.* = 6 (1-2-3): Att. 3. 13. 2, Fam. 1. 5a. 3 (*bis*); 9. 16. 6; 9. 2. 3. and purpose: Att. 15. 13. 1 (stipulative?).

NEPOS = 4 (neque . . neque): Dat. 7. 3; Tim. 4. 1, Att. 2. 4; 14. 2.

CATULLUS = 1 (nec . . nec): 50. 9.

HORACE = 2 (nec . . nec): Ep. 1. 16. 12, A. P. 8.

VITRUVIUS = 3: neque . . neque 10. 2. 6; nec . . nec 8. 3, 1 and purpose: neque . . nec, 3. 4. 4.

3) **Silver Latin**, 2 verbs = 27 (poetry = 2): ut neque . . neque = 13, ut neque . . nec = 1, ut nec . . nec = 13.

a) *Ut neque . . neque* = 13 (purpose = 3): Livy 4. 11. 4; 22. 12. 8, both purpose; Vell. 2. 129. 3, Celsus (6) 45. 15; 237. 36; 307. 28; 315. 1; 322. 32, and purpose: 80. 7; Val. Max. 6. 8. 4, Just. 12. 8. 6; 43. 1. 3; Gell. 9. 4. 14.

b) *Ut neque . . nec* = 1: Calpurn. 1. 86.

c) *Ut nec . . nec* = 13 (purpose = 5). Livy 45. 25. 4 purpose; Sen. (5): Dial. 12. 10. 5; 11. 16. 3; 12. 15. 3, Ben. 2. 7. 2, and purpose: Dial. 9. 5. 5; Curt. 3. 1. 17, and purpose, 4. 13. 44; Quint. 10. 5. 23, Just. 2. 10. 10; 43. 1. 2 purpose: Apul., Apol. 105. 12. Poetry = 1: Mart. 5. 46. 4 purpose.

b) *With one verb* = 114 (poetry 4): ut neque . . neque = 66, ut neque . . nec = 11, ut nec . . neque = 2, ut nec . . nec = 35.

1) **Early Latin** = 2: Ter. Phorm. 176 (neque . . nec) and 498 (neque . . neque).

2) **Classical Latin** = 37, poetry = 1: ut neque . . neque = 28, ut neque . . nec = 3, ut nec . . nec = 6.

CAESAR = 3 (neque . . neque): 7. 76. 2; B. C. 1. 45. 4; 2. 32. 12.

CICERO = 30 (23-2-5).

1) *Speeches* = 10 (neque . . neque): Verr. 1. 81; 3. 162; 5. 159, Pomp. 10; 53, Cluent. 20; 82, Sest. 44, Phil. 13. 21. Purpose: Cluent. 118 caute dicerentur.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in parenthesis show the number of times the forms ut neque . . neque, ut neque . . nec, and ut nec . . nec are used respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Merguet Lex. Red. cites as Cat. 4. 15.



2) *Philosophical* = 5 (1-1-3): Fin. 2. 87; 1. 45, N. D. 1. 101, Tusc. 4. 22. Purpose: Fin. 4. 9 (neque . . nec) denuntiant.

3) *Rhetorical* = 3 (2-0-1): De Or. 2. 126, Or. 229, Inv. 1. 52.

4) *Letters* = 11 (9-1-1): Fam. 2. 4. 1; 3. 7. 5; 13. 17. 3; 15. 1. 5, Q. Fr. 1. 12, Fam. 1. 5a. 3, Att. 1. 11. 1. Purpose: Fam. 1. 9. 17 enitor; 5. 11. 2 velim; Brut. 1. 17. 4 timet; Att. 15. 11. 1 placeret (all purpose, with ut neque . . neque).

NEPOS = 3 (neque . . neque): Alc. 2. 1, Iph. 2. 1. Purpose: Dat. 6. 2 ponit (cf. Cato 3. 2 fecit ut non neque de . . neque de . . possit).

SEN. CONTR. = 2 (2. 1. 6 nec . . nec. Purpose 2. 1. 11 (neque . . nec).

LUCRET. = 1 (neque . . neque): 2. 339.

3) *Silver Latin* = 75; poetry = 2: ut neque . . neque = 37, ut neque . . nec = 7, ut nec . . neque = 2, ut nec . . nec = 29.

a) *Ut neque . . neque* = 37 (purpose = 7). Livy = 7 (purpose = 3); Vell. 2. 124. 4; Cels. (7) 40. 16; 61. 28; 78. 5; 114. 28; 190. 24; 229. 30; purpose: 275. 33 subsecrare; Plin. Mai. 18. 32; 24. 68; 29. 46; Quint. 9. 1. 25; 11. 2. 37; purpose: 10. 7. 29 debent efficere, and 11. 3. 53 colligendus est; Ps. Quint. Decl. 140. 18; purpose: temperanda est; Frontin. 2. 1. 5; Suet. Iul. 40. 1; 65, Nero 51, Galba 6. 3. 21; Florus 2. 2. 2; Justin. 9. 4. 3; 25. 2. 10; 45. 5. 2; Gaius 1. 123; 3. 193; Gell. 14. 1. 18; Apul. Apol. 105. 12.

b) *Ut neque . . nec* = 7 (purpose = 3), poetry = 1. Livy (3), Curt. 3. 10. 8 purpose, admonebat; Quint. 1. 6. 40 purpose, opus est; Just. 2. 1. 7; Lucan 9. 376 purpose: spes erat.

c) *Ut nec . . neque* = 2. Only found in Livy: 22. 28. 14; 40. 9. 4.

d) *Ut nec . . nec* = 29 (purpose = 3), poetry = 1. Livy (18), purpose = 3; Vell. 2. 101. 1; 2. 103. 4; Val. Max. 5. 2. 10; Plin. Mai. 29. 46; Quint. 10. 1. 76, Plin. Min. 1. 1. 2; Pan. 79. 6; Florus 2. 2. 1; Apul. Apol. 103. 22; 105. 13. Poetry: Mart. 5. 46. 4.

#### E. VARIOUS.

*Ut . . . neque (nec) . . . neque (nec)*, as Cic. Cael. 16 ut accusaret neque quaereret nec arcesseret; Verr. 3. 125, Rep. 5. 7, Tusc. 4. 37, Ovid Met. 2. 538. Purpose: Cic. Verr. 2. 41, Off. 1. 102; and Off. 2. 85 ut . . . et neque . . neque. *Ut neque (nec) ter*, etc. Caes. B. C. 3. 110. 1; Cic. Caec. 92, Fat. 40, Fam.



1. 12, Q. Fr. 2. 3. 2, Att. 13. 1. 1, Rep. 2. 23; Ovid Tr. 1. 8. 13, Cic. Verr. 3. 20, Or. 88; 231, Tusc. 4. 37; Auct. Her. 2. 27. Cf. Varro L. L. Frg. 43 ut nec . . aut non.

#### SUMMARY.

1) *Ut neque* (nec) . . *neque* (nec) was used more often with one main verb (114) than with two (61).

2) These combinations were not found in Early Latin, except in Terence (4).

3) The formula *ut nec* . . *neque* was only used twice and by one writer, Livy.

4) These combinations belong chiefly to prose, being found 164 times in prose to only 11 in poetry (4-4-3).

5) With *two* verbs, *ut neque* . . *neque* was used in result clauses 25 times, in purpose 5 times (Class. = 0); *ut neque* . . *nec*, 7 in result, 2 in purpose (Class.); *ut nec* . . *nec* in result 17, in purpose 6 (0-10-13).

6) With *one* verb: *ut neque* . . *neque* was used in result clauses 54 times, in purpose 13; *ut neque* . . *nec* in result 8, in purpose 3; *ut nec* . . *neque* in result twice (Livy), and *ut nec* . . *nec* in result 31, in purpose 3.

F. NE . . NEQUE (nec) = 17 (poetry = 4).

This combination with two verbs begins in prose with Livy,<sup>1</sup> in poetry with Vergil, and is used in all 15 times, 12 being with *nec*. *Ne* . . *neque*: Verg. A. 11. 43, Tac. Ann. 6. 12, Apul. Apol. 9. 8, but *ne* . . *nec*: Livy 3. 21. 6 (dum ne); 5. 3. 8; 26. 42. 2; 40. 46. 4. Sen. Dial. 9. 14. 1, Tac. Ann. 11. 18; 15. 43, Apul. Apol. 97. 12, Phil. 129. 15; in poetry: Sil. 13. 635, Mart. 12. 55. 10, Cato Dist. 3. 12. With one verb: Cic. Verr. 4. 60 facio ne fuisse videatur neque se instruxisse et ornasse; Fin. 4. 10 effecit ne necesse sit decantare neque discedere. Cf. Cic. Leg. 2. 60 and Lease, Class. Phil. 3, p. 313. For *ne* . . *neque* with the imperative cf. p. 263; with pres. subj., p. 273.

G. NE . . NEQUE (nec) . . . NEQUE (nec).

With two verbs: Just. 11. 13. 8 *ne* . . *nec* . . *nec*. With one verb: Cic. Div. Caec. 73 *ne neque placuisse neque placere arbi-*

<sup>1</sup> In Nepos, Paus. 46 Halm's reading *ne* . . *nec* has been changed to *ne* . . *neu*.



tretur. Caesar B. G. 7. 75. 1 has *ne . . nec . . nec . . nec* with one main verb. Note Ter. Eun. 965 *ne neque prosis et pereas*.

## II. NEVE (neu).

A. UT . . . NEVE (neu) = 70 (neu = 35), poetry = 17.

1) EARLY LATIN = 7 (neve = 2), in Plaut. and Ter.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 40 (neu = 17), poetry = 9. Varro (3): R. R. 3. 7. 3; 10. 4; 11. 3, all *neve* and with 2 vbs.; Caesar 11 (neu = 8); *neu* 2. 21. 2; 4. 17. 10; 5. 34. 3; 7. 8. 4; 47. 5; 71. 3, B. C. 111. 9; *neve* 6. 20. 1, B. C. 3. 103. 4, Poet. Fgt. p. 327 (B.), and parataxis; B. G. 5. 58. 4 *neu*. Cf. B. Alex. 9. 1. Cicero = 9 (neu = 0): Pomp. 69, Sest. 101, Phil. 7. 8, Off. 3. 6, Fam. 10. 16. 2, Q. Fr. 1. 1. 17, Att. 3. 23. 5; 13. 45. 1, Verr. 3. 14 (*v. l.*). Note Fam. 5. 16. 2 *quo minus . . neve*. Sallust = 8 (neu = 7): Cat. 34. 2 (*neve*), Jug. 8. 2; 10. 3; 102. 5, Or. Ph. 9, Macr. 13, Ep. Pomp. 8 and Mith. 23. Parataxis: Cat. 33. 5; 58. 21, Jug. 108. 2, and Or. Ph. 16 with *hortor*,<sup>1</sup> and Lep. 4 *quod est aliud quam . . neu*. Catullus = 1 (neu): 116. 3 (*qui . . neu*), Lucr. = 2 (*neve*): 2. 558; 1010, Horace = 1 (neu): Sat. 1. 10. 9. For Prop. 2. 27. 10 cf. p. 434. Ovid = 5 (*neve*): Am. 1. 8. 76; 2. 15. 16, A. A. 1. 35. 4, Trist. 3. 11. 73, Met. 4. 87.

3) SILVER LATIN = 23 (neu = 13), poetry = 1. Livy = 14 (neu = 10). Curt. = 2 (neu): 8. 2. 27; 3. 15. Tac. = 3 (*neve*); Ann. 1. 42; 2. 83, Hist. 4. 32. Suet. = 2 (*neve*): Vit. 17, Vesp. 11. Apul. = 1 (neu): Flor. 9. 9. Poetry, once: Sen. Oed. 73 (*neve*).

B. UT NEVE (neu) . . NEVE (neu) = 4.

a) *With two verbs*<sup>2</sup> = 1: Cic. De Or. 3. 172 (Parataxis: Caes. B. G. 1. 35. 3; Sall. Cat. 51. 43, Tib. 1. 6. 17. Cf. Val. Max. 2. 7. 15.)

b) *With one verb*: = 3: Cic. De Or. 1. 171 *ut neve asper neve hiulcus sit*, Off. 1. 141, Att. 5. 21. 12 in a *Sen. Cons.*, Fam. 1. 9. 19. Cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 86. 5 *ut essent neu suam neu reliquorum opinionem fallerent*, and B. C. 1. 76. 1 (first *neu* may be explained as *et ne*); Verg. Aen. 9. 41, parataxis. (The text is

<sup>1</sup> Without *ut*, as in Jug. 5. 62, Or. Ph. 16, Caes. B. G. 6. 33. 5, B. C. 1. 21. 4. It may be noted that in Early Latin *hortor* is used with *ut* 7 times, without *ut* twice (Bennett). Caesar uses *ut* in B. C. 103. 4, and Cic. in Pomp. 69, De Or. 1. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lease, Class. Phil. III, p. 302, and also Schmalz Synt.<sup>4</sup>, § 280.



uncertain in Aen. 9. 90). Note also Livy 30. 37. 4 condiciones pacis ut . . . ; *neve* . . *neve* ; 25. 38. 5 excitant neu se neu milites neu rem patiar, and Sen. Ep. 7. 8. devitandum est : *neve* similis malis fias *neve* inimicus multis.

C. NE . . NEVE (neu) = 168.

This usage increases from 33 in Early Latin to 65 in Classical Latin and 70 in Silver Latin. In poetry it decreases from 27 in the first period to 22 in the second and 4 in the third. *Neve* is more common than *neu* in every period.

1) EARLY LATIN = 33 (neu = 14), prose = 6. Excluding inscriptions *ne* . . *neve* (neu = 1) is only found in prose in Cato. In Plaut. *neve* = 9, neu = 12, in Ter. *neve* = 3, neu = 2, in Pac. *neve* = 1. Cf. Ter. Hec. 729 *ne* . . *aut ne*, 595 *ut ne* . . —*ve*.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 65 (neu = 29), prose = 43. Varro = 3 (*neve*), R. R. 1. 12. 3; 3. 11. 5; 12. 3. *Sallust* = 6 (neu = 4), with 2 vbs.: Cat. 51. 7, Jug. 15. 1; 51. 4; 64. 2, all with *neu*; 1 vb.: Iug. 45. 2; 58. 5. *Caesar* = 12 (neu = 7), 2 vbs.: 6. 32. 1; 7. 29. 1; 53. 1, B. C. 1. 86. 4; 3. 73. 2; 98. 2; 112. 12 (= 7); 1 vb.: 1. 26. 6;<sup>1</sup> 5. 22. 5; 7. 14. 9, B. C. 1. 64. 2;<sup>1</sup> 74. 3 (= 5).

*Cicero* = 18 (neu = 2), 2 vbs. (12): Balb. 31, Fin. 3. 72, Rep. 1. 9; 2. 53, Lael. 65; 78 (ut *ne*), Leg. 2. 64, Off. 1. 91, Fam. 15. 12. 2, Q. Fr. 1. 1. 4; *neu*: ad Brut. 1. 4a. 1; 16. 10. With one verb (6): Verr. 1. 107; 2. 60, Phil. 1. 19; 2. 91, Or. 29; 221 (Att. 3. 15. 6, a law, and Fam. 16. 8. 1, Quint. Cic.). *Nepos* = 4 (neu = 1), with 2 vbs.: Paus. 4. 6 (neu), Thras. 3. 1; 3. 2, Epam. 1. 1. **Poetry** = 22: *Lucr.* (2), neu = 1, 2 vbs.: 5. 81; 6. 599 (neu), Cat. (2), neu, 2 vbs.: 32. 6; 68. 12, *Verg.* (6), neu, 2 vbs.: G. 1. 180, A. 413; 7. 22; 333; one vb.: A. 2. 188; 12. 824, *Hor.* (3), neu, 2 vbs.: C. 1. 33. 2; 1. 35. 13, Sat. 2. 5. 37, Tib. 3. 10. 6. neu, Prop. = 1, *neve*, 2 vbs.: 1. 3. 30, *Ovid* (7), neu = 2, 2 vbs.: Her. 3. 79; 7. 62 (*ne* . . *noceamve* . . *neu*), A. A. 1. 668; 3. 194; Tr. 2. 204; 4. 515, *Pont.* 1. 3. 90 (neu). Note: in prose this usage with both 2 vbs. and with one is found in every writer except *Nepos*; in poetry, only with 2 vbs., except *Verg.* (2).

**SILVER LATIN** = 70 (neu = 24), poetry 4, and used with one verb, only by *Livy*, *Plin. Mai.* and *Tac.* *Livy* = 32 (neu = 9); with 2 vbs., *neve* (10): 4. 30. 13; 7. 14. 2; 23. 7. 1 (quis); 26. 1. 10; 28. 13 (quis), 36. 3. 3 (quis); 37. 53. 6; 39. 19. 4; 40, 44, 10;

<sup>1</sup> Omitted by Meusel, Lex. Caes. s. v.



41. 8. 12 (quis); *neu* (5): 2. 24. 6 (quis); 3. 50. 5; 8. 34. 6; 23. 7. 4; 34. 35. 9. With one verb, *neve* (13): 1. 52. 6; 3. 17. 12; 21. 40. 5; 23. 2. 10 (quis); 34. 9 (quis); 25. 14. 2; 27. 38. 6; 30. 37. 6; 33. 30. 6; 38. 4. 6; 29. 8; 39. 17. 3; 38. 18. 8; *neu* (4): 4. 30. 11 (quis); 34. 35. 11; 39. 14. 8; 45. 25. 9. Celsus = 3 (*neve*): 23. 16; 298. 38; 311. 14. Curt. = 1 (*neu*), 8. 5. 14. Petron. = 2 (*neve*): 17; 80. Plin. Mai. = 3 (*neve*), 2 vbs.: 17. 85; 261; one vb.: 17. 124. Quint. = 1 (*neu*): 5. 13. 42. Tac. = 13 (*neu* = 8), 2 vbs.: Ann. 1. 6; 4. 63; 12. 19; 13. 28, all with *neve*; with *neu*: Ann. 2. 58; 15. 22; 31. 73; Hist. 4. 46, Ann. 3. 71 (*dum ne*); with one verb: 1. 7; 2. 29 (*neve*); 6. 5. 12. Plin. Min. = 2 (*neve*), 10. 33. 3; 79. 1. Frontin., *neu*, 15. 3. Suet., *neve*, Aug. 21. 2. Justin., *neu*, 6. 3. 8; 18. 4. 10. Gaius, *neve*, 4. 140; 1. 27 (*ut ne*). Gell. Praef. 20 (*ut ne*); 9. 8. 2; 10. 22. 2. Note Apul. Met. 107. 23 *ne . . neve . nec*; cf. p. 273, f. Poetry = 4 (*neu* = 2): Sen. Theb. 4. 83 (*neu*), Val. Fl. 3. 308, Sil. 6. 585 (*neu*), Mart. 1. 3. 10.

## SUMMARY.

1) In Early Latin *ne . . neve* was used over four times as often in poetry (27) as in prose (6). In strong contrast to this is the usage of Silver Latin, where it is used only 4 times in poetry to 66 times in prose, and of Class. Latin, where poetry shows 29 occurrences but prose, 43.

2) In every period *neve* outnumbers *neu*, 19–14, 36–29, 46–24.

3) In class. prose *ne . . neve* is used 30 times with two verbs, 13 times with one. In poetry, Vergil alone uses this combination with one verb. In Silver Latin, Livy, Pliny Mai. and Tacitus alone use *ne . . neve* with both two verbs and with one. (In all, with two verbs 49, with one 21.) Note Tac. Ann. 3. 71 *dum ne . . . neu*. For *ne . . neque* cf. p. 430.

D. NE . . . NEVE (*neu*) . . . NEVE (*neu*).

The formula *ne neve . . neve* was not used. Cf. p. 435 *extr.*

a) *With three verbs*: Caes. B. C. 2. 28. 2 *ne deponerent neu ferrent neu pugnarent*, and so: Hor. Ep. 1. 16. 20, Livy 34. 1. 3, Suet. Iul. 42; with *dum ne*: Livy 25. 7. 4, Frontin. 4. 1. 44. Cf. Prop. 3. 12. 10 *ne . . neve . . neu . . neve*.

b) *With one verb*: Cic. Leg. 2. 67 *ne quis minuat neve vivus neve mortuus*, and Prop. 1. 10. 21 (cf. p. 435, I); cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3.



110, Livy 29. 24. 3 and Celsus 57. 17 ne . . ne . . ne . . neve . . neve.

c) *With two verbs*: Cato 5. 6 ne ares neve plostrum neve pecus impellas Livy 8. 32. 15 ne tenderet neu . . neu . . . neu iniungeret: 39. 18. 9 dum ne . . . neu qua . . . neu quis esset.

d) *Various*: Cato 37. 4 Caveto ne doles neu caedas neu tangas nisi siccam neu gelidam neu rorulentam; 38. 2 caveto ne intermittas neve noctu neve ullo tempore intermittatur caveto. Livy 43. 2. 12 ne . . neve . . et ne. Celsus 62. 34 ne neve (*quat.*).

#### E. NEVE AFTER A PERIOD.

After a period *neve* (neu) was used to begin a principal clause only by Ovid<sup>1</sup> (cf. p. 270), and to introduce a subordinate clause only by Ovid and Lucan. For a similar use of *et ne* and *ac ne* and *neque* cf. pp. 256, 262. However, Sen. Phil. uses *neve* (neu) twice after a semicolon (Phaedr. 1250, Agam. 184), and its use after a comma is more common: Sen. H. F. 681, Lucan 10. 232, Stat. Theb. 2. 94, Silv. 1. 5. 32. Ovid's usage shows three varieties:

a) *Before an imperative* = 9 (neu = 2): Am. 1. 7. 67 *Neve* supersint, pone; Met. 2, 693; 8. 794; 11. 136, Her. 18. 70; 20. 152, Fast. 1. 288; 683; 4. 838. Cf. Tib. 1. 6. 17 *Neu* celebret, caveto, *neve . . neu . . digitoque* trahat.

b) *Before a subjunctive* = 1: Ibis 252 *Neve* cruciere, sint.

c) *Before an indicative* = 40 (neu = 11): Am. 3. 7. 83 *Neve* possent, dissimulavit; Her. 15. 298; 361; 16. 71; 18. 191; 20. 111; 21. 51, Met. 1. 72; 151; 445; 2. 395; 482; 800 (plpf.), 4. 716; 5. 516; 6. 40; 7. 137; 297; 520; 850; 9. 415; 10. 679; 11. 30; 13. 306; 14. 473; 759, Trist. 2. 245; 3. 5. 41; 3. 9. 29, Pont. 1. 3. 53; 2. 9. 53; 3. 3. 45; 85; 4. 8. 46; 9. 110, Fast. 1. 507; 623; 3. 135; 4. 59, and once by Lucan, 8. 498 (*H., nec* v. l.) *Neu* privaverit, sunt. Note Caes. B. C. 1. 76. 1 milites appellat neu se neu Pompeium tradant, obsecrant.

#### F. NEVE AFTER AN INDICATIVE.

This usage is very rare: Ovid. Met. 9. 415 petet annos neve sinat; Prop. 2. 27. 10 (timetis) ruinas neu subeant. Further examples of such inconcinnity are Tac. Hist. 3. 25 precabatur manes neve se aversarentur; Pers. 3. 5 (erat in voto) neu quis

<sup>1</sup> Draeger, H. S. II<sup>2</sup>, p. 695 cites only 6 occurrences in Ovid.



(esset). Cf. also Tac. Ann. 1. 35 *mederetur neu mortem . . . orabant*. Cf. under I *infra*.

#### G. NEU . . NEVE after a Supine.

This form of expression is found only in Prop. 2. 29. 28 : *ibat narratum somnia neu sibi neve mihi nocitura forent*. (Butler (Loeb Classics) translates: "for fear", etc.

#### I. NEVE (neu) WITH AN INFINITIVE.

This anomalous construction is found in Tac. Ann. 16. 34 *flentes facessere neu miscere hortatur*, and Sil. Ital. 2. 385 *legere neu fallere imperat*. Cf. Prop. 1. 10. 21 *ne cupias pugnare neve loqui neve tacere*; Tac. Ann. 3. 63 *iussi figere neu delaberentur*. Cf. *ac ne* (Suet.), p. 358, e.

#### J. NE AUT . . . AUT.

As this form of expression gives the key to the clause, showing its character at the start, one would naturally expect it to be more common than *ut neve . . neve* or *ut neque . . neque*. Accordingly, Cicero uses *ne aut . . aut* 43 times (17 with 2 vbs.), but *ut neve . . neve* only 4 times (1 with 2 vbs.). Caesar uses the former 9 times (5 with 2 vbs.), and Livy uses it 24 times (13 with 2 vbs.), but neither use the latter, though each has *ut . . neve . . neve* once. It is to be noted that in poetry neither form of expression is found, that *neve . . neve* following an *ut* is used only twice in Silver Latin (by Livy and Val. Max.), that writers of such scope as Sen. Phil. use *ne aut . . aut* only 8 times, Val. Max. only 3 times, Quint. 8, and Tac. only once, Suet. only 5, and that neither form is used by Sall., Nepos, Mela, Petron., Plin. Mai., Plin. Min., Quint. Decl., Gaius, Gellius and Apuleius.

*Ut neque . . neque* was used by Cicero to express result 41 times, but 9 times to express purpose, the latter a usage foreign to Caesar. This formula is also used 9 times by Livy to introduce purpose clauses, with result, 23 times. See further, p. 430. Contrast the use with *ne aut . . . aut*.

*Ne . . . neve . . . neve* is another possible combination. Schmalz, *Antib. d. Lat. Spr.* II', p. 145 remarks that *ne aut . . aut* is more common than *ne neve . . neve*. This statement is unquestionably correct, inasmuch as the latter expression was not used at all! The combination should be: *ne . . . neve . . . neve*. For details, cf. D, *supra*, p. 433.



*Ne aut . . . aut* was used, in general, more often with one verb than with two. The occurrences are as follows: Caesar 5, with two verbs, 4 with one, but Cicero 17-26, Livy 13-11, Val. Max. 1-2, Sen. Phil. 4-4, Quint. 1-7, Suet. 1-4, Justin. 2-4, while Vell. Pat. and Curt. use it only once each with one verb, and Celsus only twice, with 2 verbs. The total is: 47 with two verbs, 65 with one verb. The details are as follows:

a) *With two verbs* = 47. Caes. = 5 (1. 13. 5; 6. 5. 5; 7. 54. 2; 72. 2, B. C. 2. 9. 4), Cicero = 17 (Inv. 1. 12; 32; 33, De Or. 2. 177; 3. 188, Part. Or. 18, Verr. 1. 14, Sest. 39. Off. 1. 14; 7. 3; 136, Fam. 1. 5a. 3; 11. 91; 15. 13. 2, Att. 3. 10. 2; 7. 3. 11; 9. 7. 2). Note Lael. 65 ut ne . . . aut . . . aut, Sex. Rosc. 82 ne aut . . . sim aut ne . . . videar. Livy = 13, Cels. = 2 (61. 5; 311. 32), Val. Max = 1 (7. 2. 4), Sen. Phil. = 4 (Dial. 4. 21. 1; 11. 4. 5, Ep. 17. 2; 24. 6), Quint. = 1 (12. 11. 9), Tac. = 1 (Ann. 14. 61), Suet. = 1 (Aug. 92. 2), Justin. = 2 (5. 2. 14; 14. 2. 3).

b) *With one verb* = 65. Caes. = 4 (1. 43. 9; 6. 5. 2, B. C. 1. 21. 1; 3. 1. 5), Cic. = 26 (with 2 substs., 8: De Or. 1. 35; 2. 205; 3. 192, Sest. 37, Font. 22, Fam. 3. 8. 9, Att. 3. 17. 3; 15. 3. 3; two adjs., 8; Cluent. 6, Quinct. 57, Pomp. 47, De Or. 2. 230, Part. Or. 89, Fin. 1. 68, C. M. 31, Off. 1. 133; with two infins., 5: Inv. 2. 40, Cluent. 51, Leg. Agr. 34, Planc. 74, Fam. 4. 1. 2; with other forms, 5: Att. 1. 16. 9, Inv. 1. 30; 2. 63, Fan. 10. 23. 7; Q. Fr. 2. 3. 2. Cf. Dom. 36 ut ne quid aut de . . . aut de), Sen. Contr. 1. pr. 11, Livy 11, Vell. Pat. 2. 40. 6, Val. Max. 2 (3. 5. 1; 6. 2. 7), Sen. Phil. 4 (Dial. 6. 5. 1; 7. 16. 1; 9. 12. 1, Ben. 7. 8. 3), Curt. 8. 1. 18, Quint. 7 (1. 3. 11; 4. 1. 58; 2. 60; 6. 3. 34; 8. 3. 73; 11. 1. 67; 86), Suet. 4 (Iul. 53, Aug. 12; 49. 2; Tib. 10. 1), Justin. 4 (2. 7. 9; 18. 1. 2; 20. 5. 13; 23. 3. 7).

EMORY B. LEASE.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.



### III.—MUMMY-LABELS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly all archaeological museums now contain mummy-labels from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Although the total number of these objects is large, relatively few of them have been published, but even these few have made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Demotic names and of the relations existing between the Greek and native populations of lower Egypt during the second and third centuries A. D.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally an odd label has now and then been the means of conclusively identifying some ancient site. For instance, the discovery of No. 8 of our collection at Kôm Ushîm enabled the excavators to identify this place as the ancient Karanis.<sup>4</sup> In a similar way Tanis was located.<sup>5</sup>

Mummy-labels are made of a variety of materials, such as stone, bronze, faïence, papyrus, cloth and wood. Wood is by far the commonest, the plane, sycamore, acacia, pine and cedar being chiefly employed.<sup>6</sup> The labels are as a rule small rudely-cut slabs varying in thickness from five to twenty millimetres. They are roughly rectangular in outline, with or without trapeziform offsets at the ends. A common variant of this type is

<sup>1</sup> These were placed at my disposal through the kindness of my friend Mr. C. T. Currelly, the Director of the museum. Since this article went into the printers' hands he has given me access to three other labels which I hope to publish later.

<sup>2</sup> A bibliography of the subject was published by De Ricci in the *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 4, V, 1905, pp. 435-442. To this must be added the following later publications: H. R. Hall, *Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, XXVII, 1905, pp. 13-20, 48-56, 83-91, 115-122, 159-165; N. Reich, *Demot. und gr. Texte auf Mumientäfelchen in der Sammlung der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, 1908; H. F. Allen, *Two Mummy-labels in the Carnegie Museum*, *Annals of the Carnegie Mus.*, VIII, 1912, 2, pp. 218-221: id., *Five Mummy-labels in the Metropolitan Museum*, *A. J. P.*, XXXIV, 2, pp. 194 ff.; G. Lefèvre, *Inscr. gr.-chrét. d'Ég.*, pp. 135-136; E. W. Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>3</sup> See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Allen, *Two Mummy-labels*, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, p. 41 *Arch. Rep. of the Eg. Expl. Fund*, 1895-1896, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Rep. of the Eg. Expl. Fund.*, 1901-1902, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Merriam, *Amer. Jour. of Arch.*, II, 1886, p. 152.



one in which the corners have been chamfered off to a blunt point. Less common is the type with a single circular or trapeziform offset above the inscription. Often the wood is more or less evenly discolored as with a dark oily substance that possesses an odor highly suggestive of hot asphaltum. There can be no doubt but that this is due to the bitumen in which, as Bouriant tells us,<sup>1</sup> the corpses were plunged in the process of embalming in the late period. In some cases the label has become so darkened as to make it almost impossible to read with any certainty an inscription traced upon it in ink or paint.

The labels were generally tied about the necks of the mummies<sup>2</sup> and served many purposes, either singly or in combination. They were used as documents of identification, shipping-tags, bills of lading, letters, and even as memorials.<sup>3</sup> But as their chief purpose was to identify, the inscriptions were generally made up of such items as were directly pertinent to that end, as the name (or names) of the deceased, a patronymic, a matronymic, other relationships either of blood or by marriage, profession, nativity or citizenship, age, date of death, as well as the source, destination and route of shipment of the mummy. In no single instance are all these elements found together; on the contrary, the utmost caprice prevails in combining them. On some labels the inscription is reduced to the minimum of a single word, the name.<sup>4</sup> The opposite extreme of unusual fullness of detail may be observed in No. 9 of this series.

It is to be regretted that we know nothing of the circumstances connected with the discovery of our labels, save in the case of No. 8.

1. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; a combination of a document of identification and shipping-tag; probably from Akhmîm; a rhomboid  $12.6 \times 12$  cmm.;<sup>5</sup> thickness uniformly 2.1 cmm.; trapeziform offset at top  $11.4 \times 1.8$  cmm., pierced at its line of junction with the body of the label, the hole still retain-

<sup>1</sup> Recueil des Travaux, XI, 1889, pp. 143-144.

<sup>2</sup> Wilcken, Arch. Anzeiger, IV, 1889, p. 3; Flinders Petrie, Denderah, p. 32; Letronne, Egger et Brunet de Presle, Pap. gr. du Louvre, p. 234, No. 18 bis, ll. 5-6.

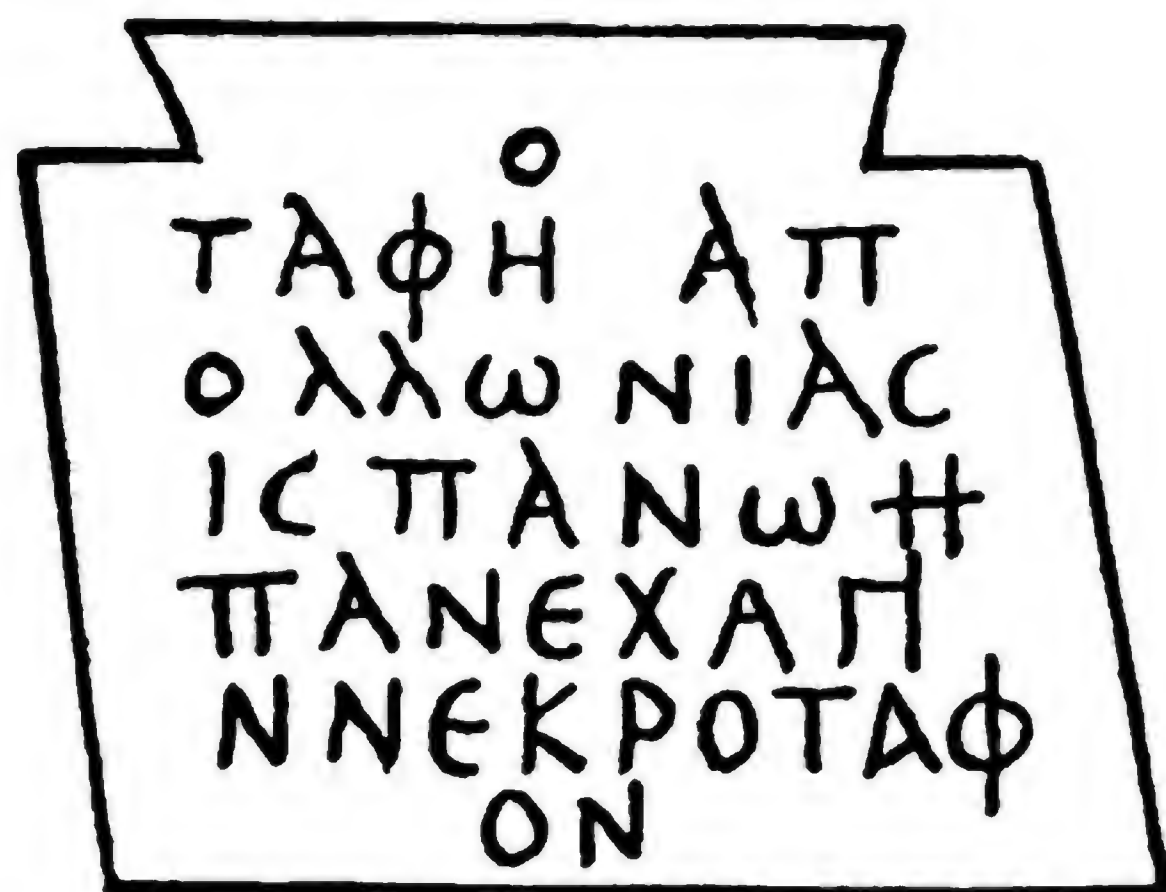
<sup>3</sup> See De Ricci, pp. 437-438, No. 3; Spiegelberg, Rec. des Trav., XXVI, 1904, pp. 57-58, No. 4, ll. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> Milne, Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire, Gr. Inscr., 9320; 9332.

<sup>5</sup> These measurements in each case include the offsets.



ing a piece of coarse cord ; wood of an uniformly deep brown ; uncial letters varying in height from 1 to 5 cmm., rudely punched in outline with the point of a burin.



Ταφή Ἀπὸ Ὀλλωνίας ἰς Πανὼ π. Πανεχάτι ν νεκροτάφον.

Ταφή: "Die Bedeutung des Wortes ταφή, welches die Leichenhülle, eventuell den Sarg sammt der Leiche, eventuell Mumie bezeichnet, ergibt sich aus dem im Eingange citirten Pariser Papyrus 18 bis . . ." <sup>1</sup> Trans., therefore, "mummy" or "remains". The word is frequently omitted, though implied, as in No. 3 (cf. Allen, Two Mummy-labels, pp. 218-219).

Ἀπολλωνίας: Not uncommon in the Fayûm ; for mummy-labels see Krebs, <sup>2</sup> 62 ; Spiegelberg, <sup>3</sup> pp. 1\* (= Guimet, 1) and 45.

ἰς: In mummy-labels more usual than εἰς, as in Nos. 2, 8, 9 (but εἰς in No. 3). ἰς Φιλαδελφίαν (Wessely, Holztäf., 6) ; cf. Reich, Gr. 21 ; εὐψύχι (Hall, 19 ; 20). For ι = εἰ in papyri see Mayser, Gram. d. gr. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit, pp. 87-88 ; in inscriptions, see Schwyzer-Meisterhans, Gram. d. att. Inschr., p. 38.

Πανὼ: = Πανώνπολιν or Πανόπολιν, the modern Akhmîm (Hall, p. 48 ; Schmidt, as below). Ἀπόδος τὴν ταφήν ἰς Πανώνπολιν ὅτι Δίδυμος Πανοπολίτης ἐστὶν Δίδυμος υἱὸς Πατρίφουτος (Schmidt, Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr., XXXIV, 1896, p. 80 ; cf. Krebs, 33) ; ἰς Πανωνπόλεως (sic) (Reich, Gr. 21). Only Πανὼ occurs in Nos. 2, 3, 9 of this series.

Η = Π, which is clearly read in No. 2a 4 : perhaps an abbreviation of π(ρός), or π(αρά), or π(αράδος). I can find no other occurrence of the sign in mummy-labels. Ordinarily the consignee

<sup>1</sup> Wessely, Holztäfelchen der Samm. d. Pap. Erz. Rain., V, 1889, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. Mumienetiketten aus Aeg., Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr., XXXII, 1894, pp. 36-51.

<sup>3</sup> Demotische Stud., I, Aeg. und gr. Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten d. Röm. Kaiserzeit, 1904.



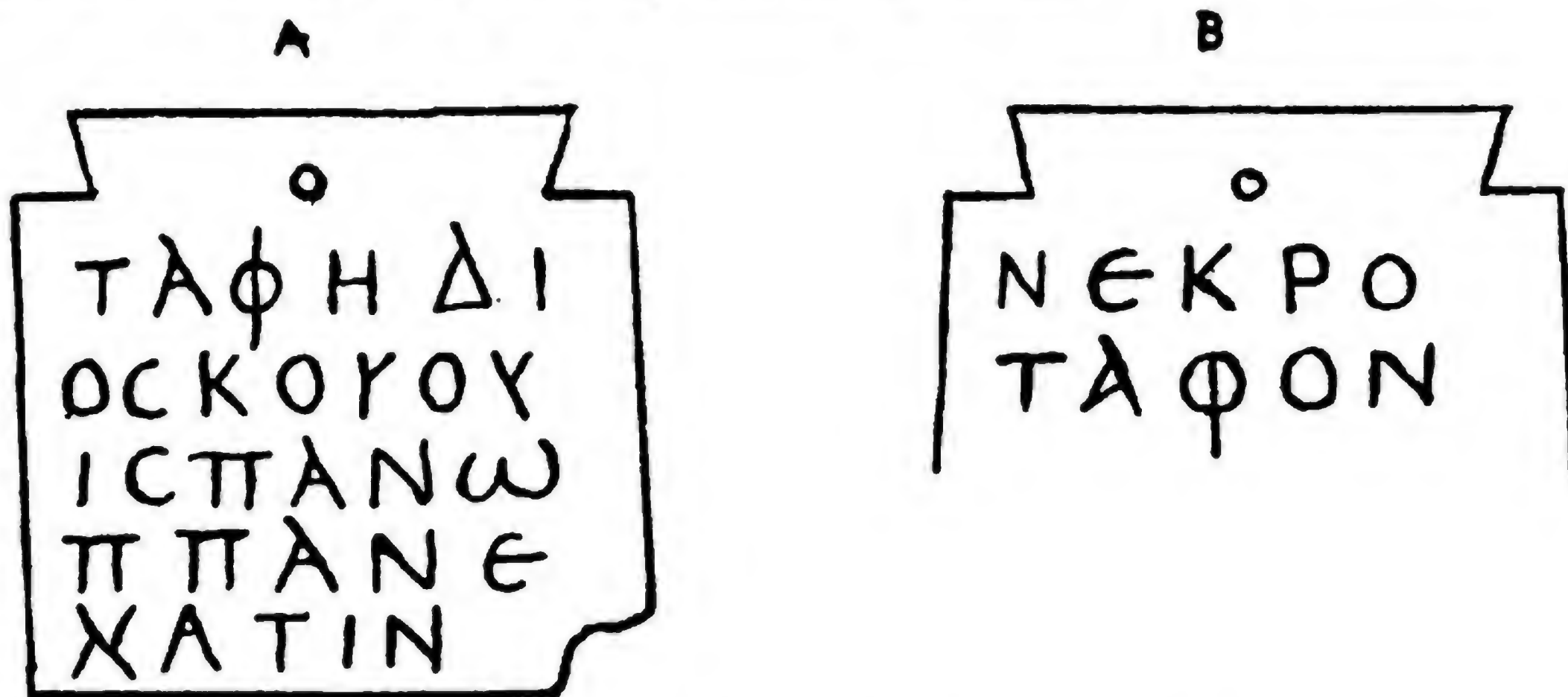
is indicated by the dat., as παράδος ἰς Πανὸ τῷ υἱῷ Πανεχάτου (No. 9); ἀπόδος ὅστι τῷ υἱῷ (Reich, Gr. 4). If the sign stands for παράδος, then Πανεχάτιν νεκροτάφον will have to be read as datives, as is Πρώταρχον (No. 8; see n.).

Πανεχάτιν = Πανεχάτην: Here and in Nos. 2 and 9, this name, referring evidently to the same man in each case, appears for the first time in published mummy-labels, though it is not unknown in the papyri; e. g., Aeg. Urkunden aus d. K. Mus. zu Berlin, gr. Urk., III, 997, i, 3: ii, 4, 8; 998, i, 3, 9; ii, 2, 5. For ι = η see Mayser, op. cit., pp. 83-84; Schwyzer-Meisterhans, op. cit., p. 19; cf. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, Paris, 1904, 30, 9. 20. 24. 38; 242, 43; 159b 26.

νεκροτάφον: So in No. 2b, but νεκροάρτου in No. 9. Cf. n. on Διοσκόρου (No. 2a).

Translation: Remains of Apollonia (to be shipped) to Panopolis to Panechates the embalmer. Or, if π = παράδος—Remains of Apollonia (to be shipped) to Panopolis. Deliver to Panechates the embalmer.

2. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; serves the same purpose as No. 1; probably from Akhmīm; slightly rhomboidal in outline, the lower right hand corner being broken off roughly at a knot in the wood; dimensions 11 × 10.4 cmm.; thickness uniformly 2.1 cmm.; trapeziform offset at the top 9.2 × 1.6 cmm., pierced at the centre of its line of junction with the body of the label; wood of an uniformly deep brown; letters same as in No. 1; opisthographic. This label and No. 1 are clearly prepared from the same plank and by the same hand.



A. Ταφή Δι | οσκόρου | ἰς Πανὸ | π. Πανε | χάτιν |,  
B. νεκρο | τάφον.

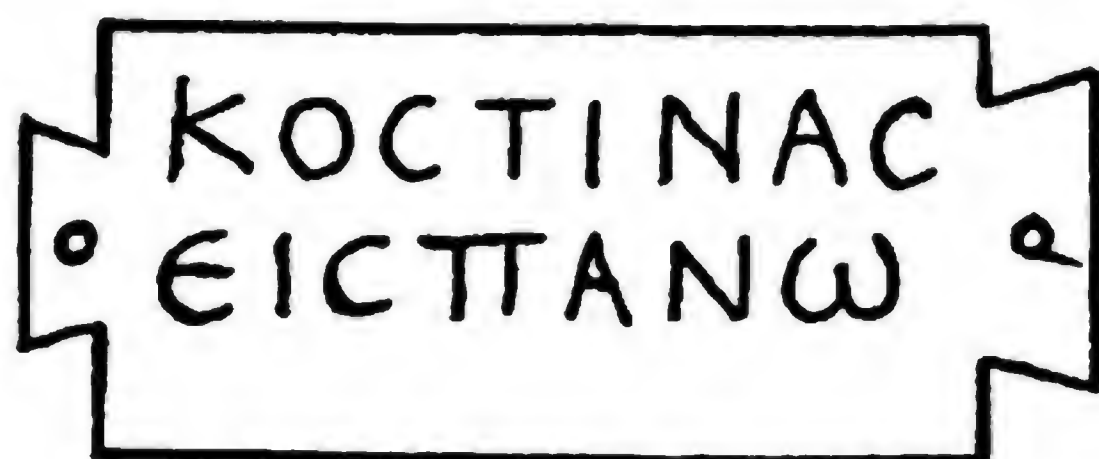
Διοσκόρου: A common name in mummy-labels and in the



papyri of the Fayûm; as ταπή (= ταφή) Διοσκόρ(ο)υ ἰς Πανώπου ἀρτικάϊπου (= ἀρτοκόπου?) Ἑρσεούτι νεκροτάφ(φ). (Milne, 9352, recto); Πετρώνιος Διοσκόρου γναφεύς (Reich, Gr. 5). See also Milne, 9389; Reich, Gr. 2; Fayûm Towns, ind., p. 340. The same forms of ρ, Υ and Ρ are found in Milne, 9352, recto, just quoted.

Translation: Remains of Dioscorus (to be shipped) to Panopolis to Panechates the embalmer. (For the alternative interpretation, see No. 1).

3. Mummy-label of soft pine; serves the same purpose as Nos. 1 and 2; probably from Akhmîm; rectangular, with trapeziform offsets of unequal size at both sides, 18.3 × 8.4 cmm.; thickness uniformly 1.2 cmm.; right offset 5.1 × 2.2 cmm., left offset 4.4 × 1.8 cmm.; each offset is pierced near its centre with a hole in which still remain remnants of knotted cord; wood very dark in color and strongly smelling of bitumen; uncial letters 1.8 to 1.1 cmm. in height, first outlined with a brownish paint and then deeply and neatly incised with a sharp cutting edge.



Κοστίνας ἰς Πανώ.

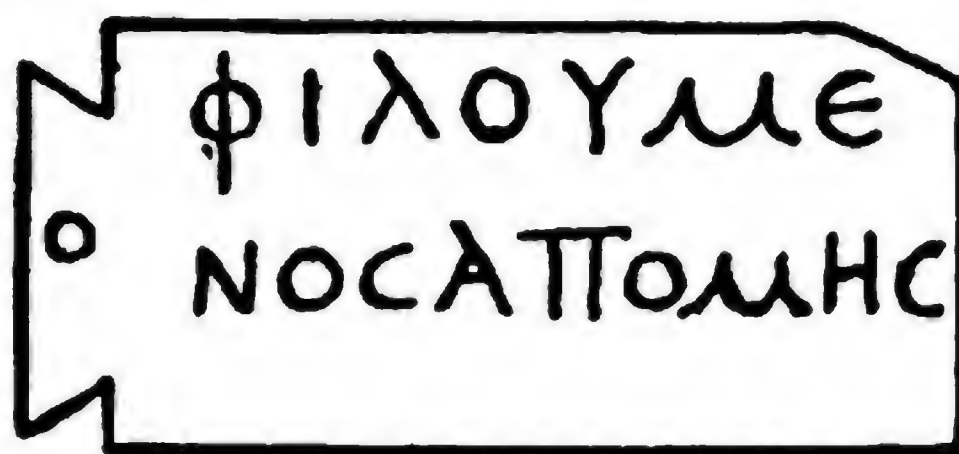
Κοστίνας: An entirely new name; probably in the gen. after (ταφή). There are two possible explanations of its origin. One (to my mind, the more satisfactory) would trace it to the fem. of a cognomen Costinus which appears once in an inscription on an amphora now in Bologna (Costini, CIL, III, 12010, 12) and once in a Sardinian sepulchral inscription (Cursiuo Costini f. ann. XX, De Vit, Onom., s. v.). The other would account for it as a plebeian contraction of Κωνσταντίνας, the reduction of Κωνσ . . . to Κος . . . being well attested; as in Κοσταντίνος (CIG, IV, 8786; 9287); Costantinus (CIL, VI, 2457; 3234; 32604; IX, †4660). I can find no instance, however, where the interior syllable . . . ταν . . . is dropped; furthermore, neither masc. nor fem. forms of the name are common before the fourth century, a period to which only one mummy-label has been attributed.<sup>1</sup>

Translation: (Remains) of Costina (to be shipped) to Panopolis.

<sup>1</sup> Krebs, p. 37.



4. Mummy-label of some very soft wood, badly chipped and decomposed; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a rectangle 12.8 X 6.6 cmm., with a trapeziform offset at the left side; thickness 1.1 to .9 cmm.; offset 1.9 X .6 cmm., pierced at about its centre; letters uncial in general appearance, first sketched in outline with thin perpendicular incisions the edges of which were afterwards beveled off.



Φιλούμενος ἀπὸ Μης.

**Φιλούμενος:** Apparently the first occurrence of this name in an Egyptian document, *Φιλουμένη*, on the contrary, being frequently found. For its use outside of Egypt see CIG I, 191, 13; 192, 5; 1278; Sozom., H. E., II, 22; Phot., Bibl., 177, 13. The Latin transliteration is noted in CIL, IV, 3185; 24136 (?); 24138; 24139.

**ἀπό:** In mummy-labels this word is often taken to indicate the place from which the mummy was to be shipped; but Wessely (Holztäf., p. 15) says, and rightly in my opinion: "Dass ἀπό in dem Sinne von 'gebürtig aus' gebraucht ist, erhellt aus dem beständigen Gebrauche der Papyrus und unserem Holztäfelchen (i. e. 4) das Πουπλιανὸς Φιλαδελφίτης bietet." Perhaps sometimes it may mean also "citizen of". Either interpretation would fully account for the place occupied in the formulae of the labels by the phrase with ἀπό, i. e. generally after the designation of parentage, as Παφιδῶμις Κολλούτου μητρὸς Σεγκολαντᾶτος ἀπὸ Βομπαή (Spiegelberg, Rec. des Trav. XXVI, 1904, pp. 57-58; Cf. Milne, 9348; De Ricci, 5, 6 = Price Coll. of London, 2126, 2127); but occasionally before, as Πκῦρις Βήσιος ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος Σεπούθη (mummy-label in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 10. 130. 1130).<sup>1</sup>

**Μης:** A form hitherto unattested, but probably an abbreviation of Μη(τροπόλεω)ς, i. e. Arsinoe, the capitol of the Arsinoite nome; for its location see the maps in Wessely, Topographie des Faijum, Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl., L, 1904, 1. Other abbreviations of the word are found in the

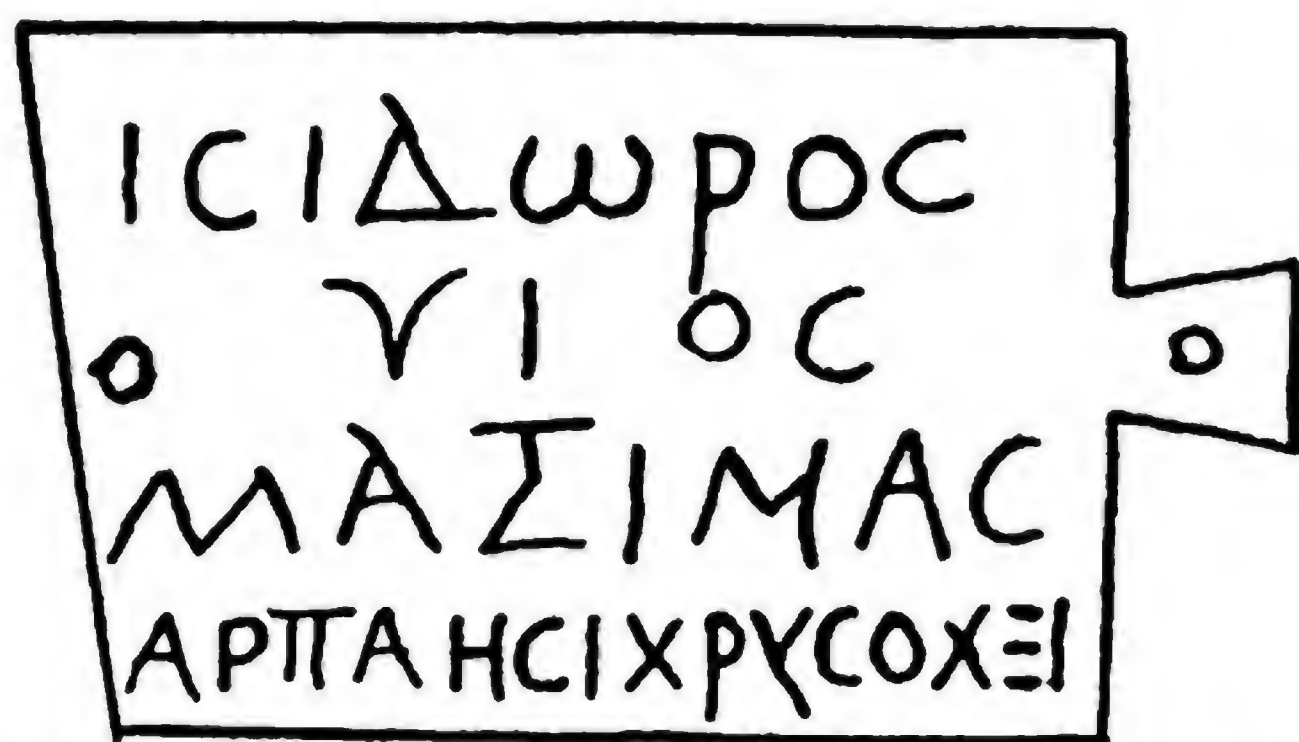
<sup>1</sup> Allen, Five Mummy Labels, No. 2b.



papyri: μη . . . , Aeg. Urk., gr. Urk., II, 561, 1, 7, 11, 13, 16; μητ . . . ib., I, 217, recto, i, 9, 23; ii, 7, 10; ib., II, 652, 2; μητρο . . . , ib., I, 55, ii, 12; 57, i, 3; μητροπ . . . , ib., I, 110, 11; 115, i, 13; 116, i, 5. Generally, however, the full spelling is observed.

Translation: Philumenus of the Metropolis (Arsinoe).

5. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood: a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a trapezoid  $15.7 \times 9.2$  cmm., with a small trapeziform offset at the right; thickness uniformly 1.4 cmm.; offset  $1.8 \times 1.8$  cmm., pierced near line of junction with the body of the label; there is a small hole on the horizontal axis and close to the left edge of the label; uncial letters 1.8 to 1.1 cmm. in height, punched with a blunt point over painted outlines; in the first line the letters are obscured by particles of hardened resin or bitumen, while in the last line they are shallowly punched and badly worn.



Ἰσιδωρος υἱὸς Μαξίμας Ἀρπαήσι(ος) Χρυσοχερ(ίου).

Ἰσιδωρος: A very common name in this department and in papyri; as Ἰσιδώρου φιλοσόφου (Krebs, 33); cf. Milne, ind., and see Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud., I, p. 16\*, name No. 101. This name and its fem. form are thoroughly Egyptian, built as they are on the name of the deity Ἰσις (Spiegelberg, ib., p. 47).

υἱός: In such connections the word may be used or omitted at will; as Κλαύδιος Κόλανθος υἱὸς Διοσκόρατος (De Ricci, 4); Δίδυμος υἱὸς Πατρίχουτος (Schmidt, p. 80); Πετρώνιος Διοσκόρου (Reich, Gr. 5); Τάλητος πατὴρ Ἰέρακος (Letronne, 18 bis); Πεκῦσις Πεκύσιος μητὴρ Σεπταίτος (De Ricci, 6 = Price Coll., London, 2127).

Μαξίμας: found only here in mummy-labels, but occasionally in papyri; as Fayûm Towns, 125, 5.

Ἀρπαήσι: = Ἀρπαήσιος. Case-endings and case-constructions in Egyptian proper names are very frequently disregarded in the vulgar departments; as Ταψαεῖς Ἀρμιῦσις θυγατέρα Τατεμγωτε ἀδελφῆς Σευρις καὶ Ἡρώνι (Reich, Gr. 20); cf. Krebs, 62; Wilcken, Gr.



Ostraka aus Aeg. und Nubien, II, Nos. 413-418, 420. The name is attested in mummy-labels in Milne, 9287, and in Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud. I, p. 5\*, name No. 21 (= Guimet, 4), and is of very frequent occurrence in the ostraka (Wilcken, Gr. Ost., II, ind.). According to Spiegelberg (ib., p. 45) the name comes from the Demotic H<sup>a</sup>r-p<sup>a</sup>-e<sup>s</sup>e, and signifies "Son of Horus".

Χρυσοχερ(ίου): Or perhaps Χρυσοχει(ρίου). This cannot be χρυσοχοῦ, as the next to the last letter can be only ε, and as the last mark might be either ι or part of ρ. Χρυσοχέριος is found as a cognomen, "the gold-ringed" in Σαραπίων Ἑρμαῖσκου Χρυσοχερίου (Le Blant, 81); in CIG, III, 4970a it is uncertain. Cf. the cognomina Χρυσάμπυξ, Χρυσήνιος, Χρυσόστομος (Bechtel-Fick, Gr. Personennamen, p. 466; Pape, Gr. Eigennamen, s. vv.).

Translation: Isidorus son of Maxima (and) Harpaësis (called the) Gold-ringed.

6. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; an almost regular rectangle 18.6 × 8.4-7.8 cmm., with trapeziform offsets at the sides; thickness 1.8 cmm.; right offset 4.6 × 1.6, and left, 4.6 × 1.9 cmm., each pierced at the points where their lines of junction with the body of the label meet the horizontal axis; letters, mostly square, 1.5-1. cmm. in height, roughly punched with a blunt point over painted outlines.



Φθεύς Τκ | αλκον από | Ψινομούνε | ως.

Φθεύς: Also in Reich, Dem.-Gr. 1; Revillout, Planchettes bilingues trouvées à Sohag en Thébaïde, Rev. Égyptol., VI, 1891, pp. 43-45, 100-101; VII, 1892, pp. 29-38, No. 14; Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud., I, p. 36, name No. 406, where it is derived from the Demotic p-t<sup>e</sup>w, "the wind".

Τκαλκον: New and unexplained name.<sup>1</sup> The cross-bar of λ is drawn with paint only.

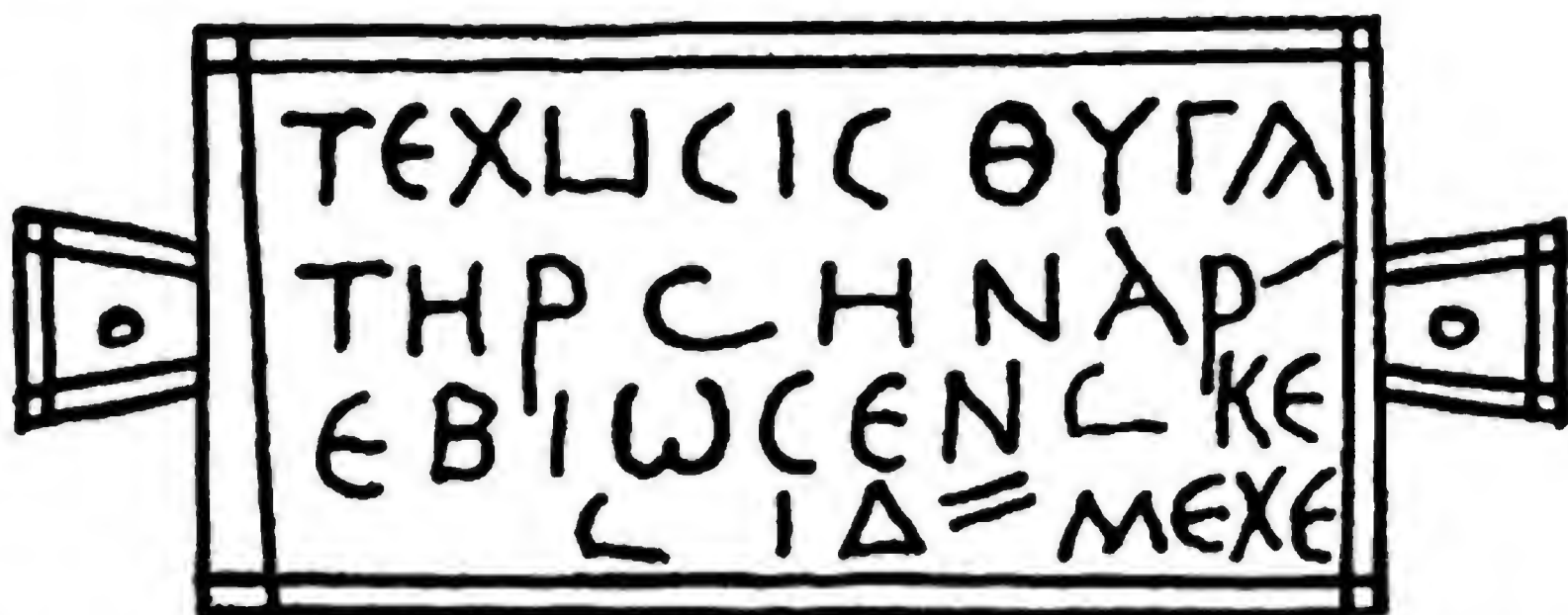
<sup>1</sup> Professor Spiegelberg writes me: "Ich kann Ihnen leider zu Τκαλκον keine Aufklärung geben. Wie sich aus den Sammlungen von Herrn Dr. Preisigke und meinem eigenen Material ergibt, ist der Name neu".



**Ψινομούνεως**: First appearance in mummy-labels; but better **Ψιναμούνεως**, from **Ψιναμούνης**, the name of an Arsinoïte village, which is not to be confused with **Ψεναμούνης**, the personal name, although sometimes spelt the same (Flinders Petrie Pap., 58, e, iii, 14; 117, a). Frequently the gen. of this word appears in **-ιος**, instead of **-εως**, the regular ending in Egyptian place-names in **-ιος** (Mayser, op. cit., p. 264). For **ο = α** see ib., pp. 60–61; Schwyzer-Meisterhans, op. cit., pp. 16–20; Robinson, Inscr. from the Cyrenaica, A. J. A., XVII (1913), No. 2, p. 171, has a number of other valuable references on this phenomenon. **Ψεν-** represents the Old Egyptian **p<sup>3</sup>-ši-n**, “the sea of . . .”, and often appears as a prefix in place-names; as **Ψιναρύω** (Wessely, Gr. Texte zur Topographie Aeg., 113, 18): **Ψιν = Ψιναρύω** (ib., 113, 1); **Ψινεύρεως** (ib., 15, 8; 114, 2; 138, 20); **Ψιντάχης** (Fayûm Towns, 119, 9, 33; 230; 248). **Ψιναμούνης** means “the sea of Ammon”.<sup>1</sup>

Translation: Phtheus Tkalkon of Psinamunis (Ammonsea).

7. Mummy-label of hard wood; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; rectangular, 18.4 × 7.4 cmm., with trapeziform offsets at the sides; thickness uniformly 1.7 cmm.; each offset 2.2 × 2.6 cmm., pierced at about its centre; wood of an even deep brown; uncial letters very irregular in their dimensions, first painted in outline and then roughly but deeply incised; a plain border 5–8 cmm. in width and consisting of a single incised line follows the entire contour of the label.



Τεχῶσις θυγάτηρ Σηναρ ἰ. ἐβίωσεν Lkel. Lιδ' Μεχε(ίρ).

**Τεχῶσις**: This form of the name is found only here and in No. 9 in published mummy-labels; the same person may be referred to in both instances. For its occurrence in papyri see Ox. Pap., VIII, 1121, 3; Flinders Petrie Pap., [66, a, ii, 25; 117, d, 3]. The form **Τεχῶσις** is noted in Milne, 9341; Ox. Pap., III, 482, 24–25; and **Τεκῶς**, Kenyon, Gk. Pap. in Br. Mus., 1883, p. 154;

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Spiegelberg for this explanation.



III, pp. 233 ff. Professor Spiegelberg writes: "Ich glaube, dass beide Namen identisch und Varianten von *Τεκύσις* (Pap. Lond., III, IV, ind.) sind. Der Name bedeutet "die Aethiopin". Cf. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Stud.*, I, p. 26\*, name No. 190.

*θυγάτηρ*: As in Reich, Gr. 20, quoted under n. on *Ἀρπαήσι*, No. 5; cf. use of *υῖος*, No. 5.

*Σηναρ* ' := *Σεναρ* ' ; perhaps an abbreviation of *Σεναρνώτιδος* or *Σεναρέτης*, the commonest of a large number of fem. names beginning in *Σεναρ*—, as . . . *γηνίς*, . . . *εμῆφίς*, . . . *έτη*, . . . *ίς*, . . . *μύσις*, . . . *σιῆσις*, . . . *ρώς*, . . . *υῶτις* (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Stud.*, p. 28,\* name No. 253, where see variants . . . *εῶθ(τ)ίς*, . . . *υῶδης*, . . . *υῶς*). This name is read in Milne, 9392; Krebs, 64; 70; De Ricci, 5 = Price Coll., London, 2126. Reich (p. 16) derives it from the Demotic *Senharyotis*, which is composed of the roots *sen-Har-wod* and means "Daughter of Horus-is-healthy". For *η* = *ε* see Mayser, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–64; Schwyzer-Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 19, § 10, 7, n. 96. For parallels to the sign of abbreviation (/) used here see Prentice, *Publ. of an Amer. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, III, nos. 120; 122; 181 and elsewhere *passim*, where the sign strongly resembles a sigma (ς); also Robinson's review of the work, *A. J. P.*, XXX, 2, p. 205.

*ἰβίωσεν*: Such details, common to mummy-labels in general, are found only here in this series.

L: Here = *ἔτη*, but in the next line = *ἔτους*.

ιβ': The fourteenth year of an emperor whom we cannot identify (see, however, *infra*, p. 25). There are other similar instances in Egyptian documents of the omission of the name of the reigning emperor (or king); e. g., L δ' *Καίσαρος Φαρμ(οὔθι) κ'* (Milne, 9202); L ιη'' *Μεχεῖρ ια* (Krebs, 24; cf. *ib.*, 23, 27); L ιθ *Μεχεῖρ κ* (Milne, 9201); see Hall, 58; 59. On the other hand, the name of the emperor is specified in Milne, 9355; 9358.

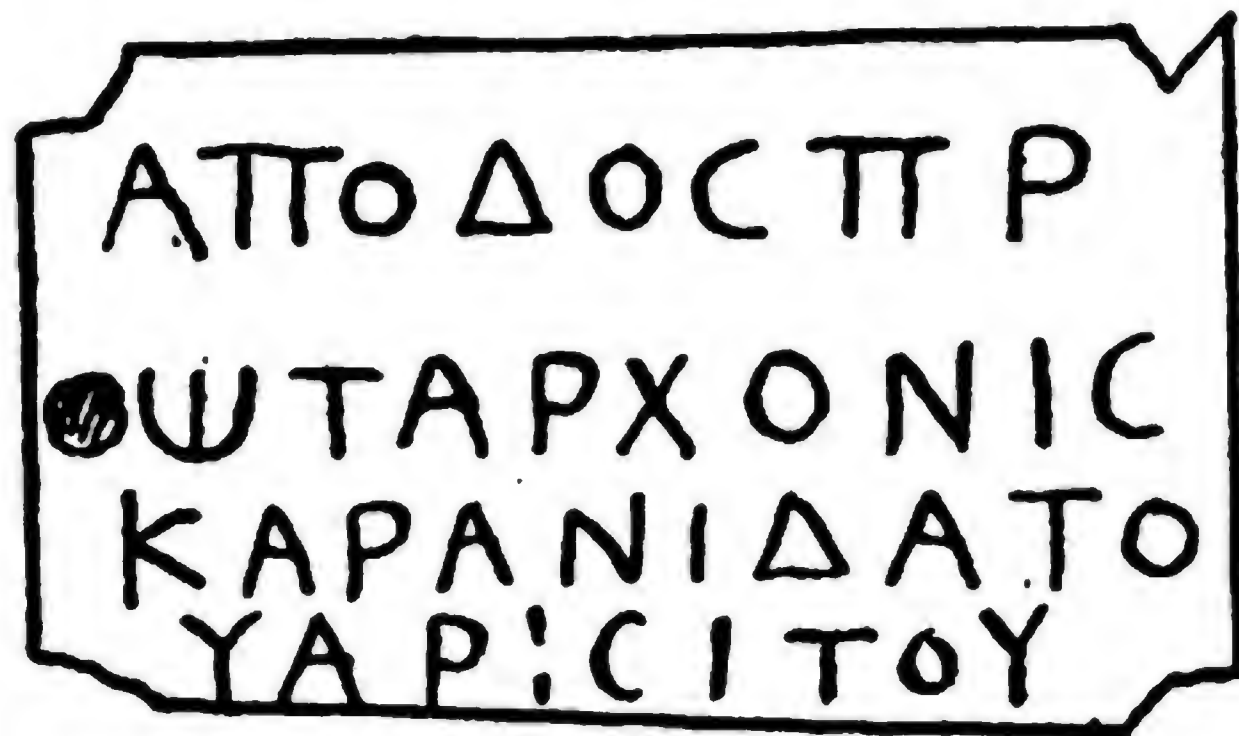
*Μεχε(ίρ)*: The sole instance of this abbreviation in published mummy-labels. This curtailment of the word and the waiving of the rule that prescribes indication of the day of the month are due mainly to lack of space; cf. L ιβ *Παῦνι* (De Ricci, 4); L ε'' *Μεσορή* (*ib.*, 6 = Price Coll., London, 2127).

Translation: Techosis daughter of Senar(yotis). She lived 25 years; she died in the month Mecheir of the year 14.

8. Mummy-label of some hard wood; a shipping-tag; from Kôm Ushîm in the Fayûm; a roughly cut rectangle 16.6 × 9–7 cmm., pierced at about the middle of the left side; average



thickness 1.3 cmm.; irregular letters 1.9–1.3 cmm. in height, deeply cut out with a sharp edge and rather epigraphical in character. This is the label by which Hogarth identified Kôm Ushîm as the ancient *Karanis* (see p. 437, n. 4).



'Απόδος Πρ | ώταρχον ις | Καρανίδα το | υ 'Αρσι(νοί)του.

*ἀπόδος*: "Deliver" or "ship", as in *ἀπόδος* Ψοι τῇ νίῃ (Reich, Gr. 4); cf. ib., Gr. 20 b; Hall, 68; Wessely, Holztäf., 3. Similarly *δός* in *δός* Σεν . . . . ρος Θυγάτηρ Σεν . . . . Reich, Gr. 22b); *παράδος* (No. 9, infra; βάλε in βάλε ις Κερκή (Wilcken, Arch. Anzeig., No. 2a); ἐκβολήν ποιῆσαι (ib., No. 2b). For *ἀπόδος* used in the same sense in the papyri see Fayûm Towns, 126, verso.

*Πρώταρχον*: = *Πρωτάρχῃ* (so in Fayûm Towns, p. 41). It is not probable that this is a pure acc., as it is against the regular usage for the name of the defunct to appear in the acc. after *ἀπόδος* or other expressions of like content. That *Πρώταρχον* was felt as a dat. is apparent when one compares it with the datives in the quotations of the previous note. This seems to be an instance of the encroachment of the acc. on the dat., a phenomenon that began to show itself about 300 A. D. (see A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, p. 341, 1348). *Πρώταρχος* occurs here for the first time on mummy-labels.

*Καρανίδα*: A village, often noted in papyri, situated in the north of the Fayûm (see Wessely, *Top.*, pp. 82 ff.).

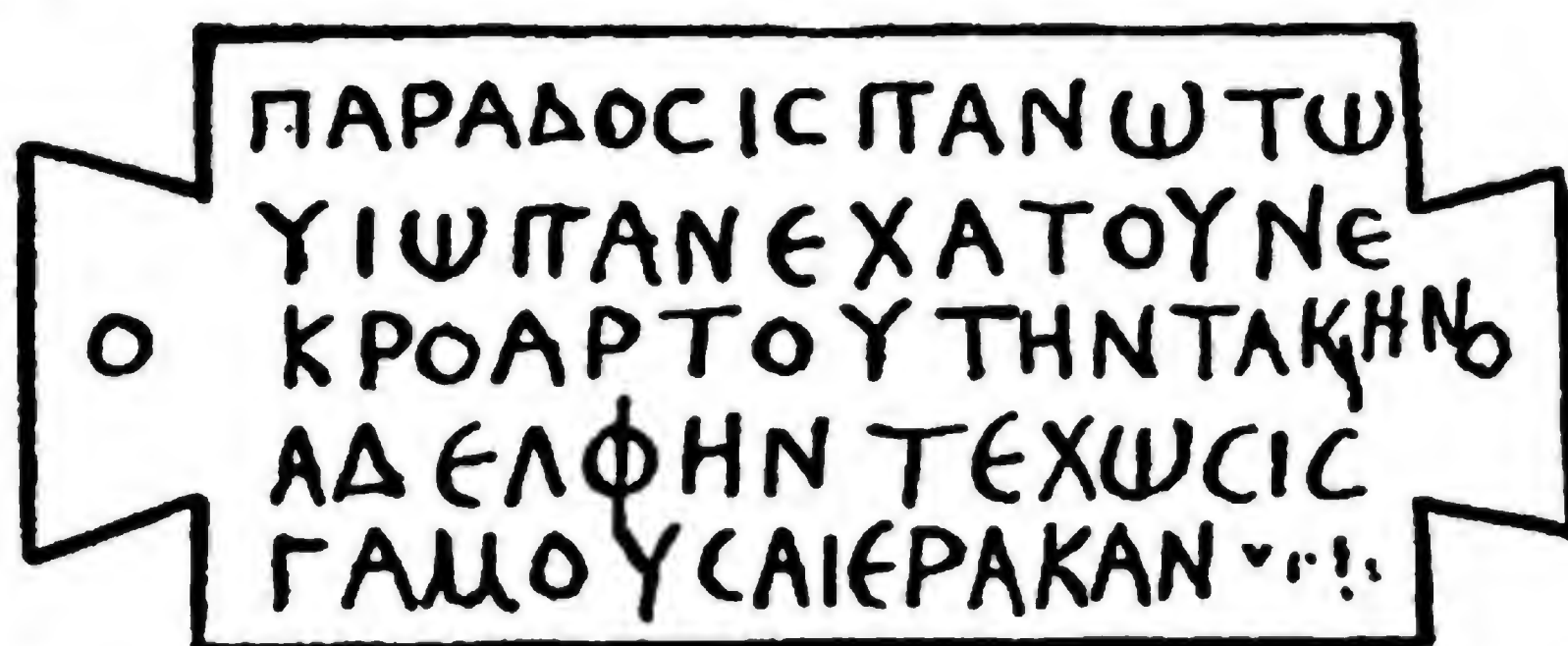
*τοῦ 'Αρσι(νοί)του (νομοῦ)*: I can find no other instance of this abbreviation; 'Αρσι—, however, is very common in Fayûm papyri, e. g., Fayûm Towns, 24, 1; 26, 1; 31, 3; 32, 4; 33, 1; 41, i, 1; ii, 1; 42, 2. For that reason I count —νοί— as the part of the word dropped, instead of —νο—. In Wilcken, Arch. Anz., No. 4, the reading is τοῦ 'Αρσενοίτου; but ib., No. 1, it is τοῦ 'Αρσιν[ο]ίτου νομοῦ; cf. Wessely, Holztäf., No. 1.



The engraver of our label by mistake began but did not finish an iota before the sigma of Ἀρσι(νοί)του.

Translation: Ship (to) Protarchus in Karanis of the Arsinoïte nome.

9. Mummy-label of soft pine; combined shipping-tag and document of identification; probably from Akhmîm; a rectangle 25 X 10.2 cmm., with a trapeziform offset at each side; thickness .9-.7 cmm.; right offset 5.8 X 2.9 cmm.; left, 5.1 X 2.9 cmm.; each offset pierced at about its centre; regular uncial letters 1.3 cmm. in height, first traced in black ink or paint and then carefully punched with a narrow chisel.



Παράδος ἰς Πανὼ τῶ(ι) υἱῶ(ι) Πανεχάτου νεκροάρτου τὴν τακην (= Τάκην ὅς ταφήν?) ἀδελφὴν Τεχώσις γαμοῦσα Ἰέρακα ν . . . . .

παράδος: "Deliver" or "ship", like ἀπόδος (No. 8; see n.). It appears elsewhere in mummy-labels only in . . . παράδες Ἀνθίστατι . . . . . (Wilcken, Arch. Anz., No. 2a) where παράδες = παράδος. Cf. τὸν χοῖρον καὶ τὰ δελφάκια τὰ β<sup>π</sup> καλὰ παράδος Γρηγορίῳ τῷ μαγείρῳ . . . (Papiri Greco-Egizii, II, Pap. Fiorentini, No. 166). See No. 1, n. on † = Π.

Πανεχάτου: See No. 1, n.

νεκροάρτου: Cf. νεκροτάφον (No. 1).

τὴν τακην: Are we to read τακήν = ταφήν ὅς Τάκην = Τάκιν? Acceptance of the first reading involves glozing over the obvious phonetic difficulty of κ for φ, a difficulty which the engraver may have felt himself, as the superfluous and partially corrective stroke on the κ seems to indicate. A parallel to this reading is seen in ἀπόδος τὴν ταφήν ἰς Πανώνπολιν (Schmidt, p. 80). Acceptance of the second reading is in violation of the custom of never putting the name of the deceased in the acc. after ἀπόδος and its synonyms (see No. 8, n. on Πρώταρχον). Moreover, there are no instances in this department of the article being used in this relation to a proper name. The occasional confusion of η and ι would account for Τάκην = Τάκιν, as Τρικατάνης = Τρικατάνις (Le Blant, 49); cf. the



converse phenomenon, Πανεχάτιν = Πανεχάτην (Nos. 1; 2). In the main, the first reading, in spite of the phonetic difficulty, squares more closely with our knowledge of the language of mummy-labels. For the name Τάκις see Aeg. Urk., gr. Urk., II, 532, 5.

ἀδελφήν: If Τάκην = Τάκιν, the apposition is normal, but if τακήν = ταφήν, the apposition serves in the stead of a regular gen. Cf. Reich, Gr. 20, quoted in No. 5, n. on Ἀρπαήσι.

Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα: See No. 7. n. Owing to the uncertainties involved in τήν τακην and to the compressed character of the language, several interpretations offer themselves here. One would read, "the remains of (his) sister", i. e. of Panechates' son, Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα Ἱέρακα then following in the nom. as a detached identification in loose apposition to ἀδελφήν. This, however, lacks the support of probability, as the nature of the inscription would lead to the belief that Panechates' son was to receive these remains in his capacity as embalmer, and not as a relative of the deceased. Another interpretation would read, "the remains of the sister of Techosis", the wife of Hierax", Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα being construed as genitives in intention, for not uncommonly does the gen. in Egyptian names stand in -ις for -ιος, thus coinciding in form with the nom. (Mayser, op. cit., pp. 117; 148; Robinson, op. cit., p. 170 and references); this coincidence may account for the form of γαμοῦσα. A third interpretation would be identical with the second, save that "Takis" would be substituted for "the remains of". Still another would regard γαμοῦσα as an acc. in agreement with τακην or ἀδελφήν. For the loss of final -ν, especially in the acc. sing. in -αν of the α-declension see Mayser, op. cit., p. 192; as the article generally accompanies the nouns thus affected, Mayser rightly holds this to be a phonetic, not a syntactical phenomenon. This last interpretation is weak in that it is contrary to the normal procedure of specifying the more important relationships first. In our translation we have adopted the second interpretation because it presents the fewest difficulties.

γαμοῦσα: See previous n. This relationship is elsewhere indicated by γυνή, as in Milne, 9348 and Hall, 55.

Ἱέρακα: Cf. Letronne, p. 234, 18 bis; Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud. I, p. 16\*, name No. 93. Hall (p. 16) explains the name as a translation of the Egyptian Pabēkis, "the Hawk", i. e. Horus.

ν . . . . .: Only ν is certain, probably the initial of a word in contracted form indicating the occupation or official standing of



Ἱέραξ, as νομογράφον (Milne, 9312); ναύκληρον (Le Blant, 54); or perhaps νομικόν, νοτάριον, νομάρχην (νόμαρχον).

Translation: Ship to Panopolis to the son of Panechates, the embalmer, the remains of the sister of Techosis, the wife of Hierax, the (lawyer?).

#### DATE.

Seeing that we know practically nothing of the conditions connected with the finding of these mummy-labels, we have, with three exceptions, only epigraphical characteristics as guides to dating them. On these grounds all save Nos. 7, 8 and 9 must be assigned indiscriminately to the second and third centuries of our era, the period to which belong all such objects with the rarest exceptions (see p. 437, n. 3). No. 7 can be dated somewhat more closely, as it bears an indication of date that restricts our attribution to those emperors of the above period who reigned at least fourteen years. The list of possible emperors includes Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus (who reckoned his accession from 176 when he joined Marcus Aurelius on the throne), Septimius Severus, Caracalla (who reckoned his accession from 198 when he joined Septimius Severus), Diocletian and Maximian (see Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani*, pp. 105-118). Of these we can set aside Trajan, as being probably too early, and Diocletian and Maximian as too late. We think it likely therefore that this mummy-label was prepared sometime in the period between the accession of Hadrian and the death of Caracalla, i. e. between 117 and 217 A. D. If the Techosis of this label and of No. 9 be the same person, then the two labels must have originated not many years apart. Presumably the latter is the older, as its text seems to warrant the inference that Techosis was still alive. Indeed it is only natural to identify the remains of the dead by a reference to living kin. In No. 8 the substitution of the acc. for the dat. of the ind. obj. is very likely to point to a year subsequent to 300, and in any case to a point not long prior. This label therefore can safely be attributed to the close of the third or to the early part of the fourth century A. D.

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#### IV.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM LORYMA AND VICINITY.

Loryma has long been identified with practical certainty. Mentioned by Thukydides (VIII, 43, 1) as port of refuge for the Athenian ships in 410 B. C., described by Diodorus Siculus (XIV, 83, 4) as the rendezvous for Konon's great fleet of more than ninety sail in 395 B. C. just previous to the naval battle off the coast, it is located definitely by Strabo (XIV, 2, 4 and 14) as lying between Physkos on the east and Kynossema and Syme on the west. Save the small Port Serse the only harbor on this stretch of coast is Port Aplotheke which must be the ancient Loryma.

The entrance to this excellent harbor is guarded by two fortifications. On the right as one approaches, that is, almost due east, stands a tower of late workmanship, now in a dilapidated condition; but on the west is an elaborate castle, 350 m. long by 38 m. wide, still very well preserved and of a good Greek period. Probably it was constructed by the Rhodians at the end of the fourth century after the attack on Rhodes by Demetrios Poliorketes in 305 B. C. had been successfully repulsed. From the entrance the harbor runs in a northwesterly direction for nearly a mile terminating in three small beaches which are the outlets of three valleys, in each of which considerable ruins are visible.

This site has been visited occasionally in modern times. Leake paused here in the course of his extensive travels in 1824 (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, pp. 222 ff.); while somewhat later, in 1840, Ludwig Ross made a careful examination of the ruins (*Reisen auf den Gr. Inseln*, 4, pp. 46 ff.), but found no inscriptions or ancient objects apart from undecorated altars and bases and architectural blocks of buildings. Other explorers have been more successful. Otto Benndorf in 1881 spent two days in the harbor and later published several sketches of the fortification walls as well as one dedicatory inscription (*Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, I, pp. 20 ff.). Additional inscriptions were found and copied by Mr. Theo. Bent, and published by Mr. E. L. Hicks in *Journal Hell. Stud.* IX, 1888, pp. 82 ff., and X, 1889, pp. 49 ff., while more recently the inscriptions from this district have been



collected by H. van Gelder in *Mnemosyne*, XXIV, 1896, pp. 184 ff., and included in Collitz and Bechtel, *G. D. I. III.* 1, nos. 4260 ff. Finally in *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.* 1907, pp. 209 ff., and 1911, pp. 52 ff., the indefatigable Greek antiquarians of Symi, Messrs. Chaviara, published a number of new inscriptions from here and other parts of the Rhodian Peraea. In the spring of 1912 I spent some weeks in the harbor with authority from the Ottoman Government to make *sondages*, and in consequence had the opportunity to find and copy a few inscriptions hitherto unpublished as well as to correct some others long since known.

1. Loryma, in the westernmost of the three valleys, near the sea, in an enclosed area behind the house of Michael Kypriotis, a rectangular limestone basis, length, 0.95 m.; width, 0.79 m.; height, 0.37 m. The top surface of the block has a number of cuttings, perhaps to accommodate a figure seated in a chair. In the centre is an ellipse, length, 0.45 m.; width, 0.36 m., on each side of which are cuts of rectangular shape, with a larger rectangle behind, while in front on each side of the ellipse is a small circular cutting. The inscription on the front of the block has letters 0.018 m. high.

ΤΙΜΑΣΙΘΕΟΣ·ΑΡΙΣΤΥΛΛΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ	<i>Τιμασίθεος 'Αριστύλλου          'Απόλλωνι</i>
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The letters are carefully executed and belong to a fairly early period, perhaps the beginning of the third century B. C. Near where this inscription was found is a circular basis dedicated to Apollo, published by Messrs. Chaviara in *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.* 1911, p. 55, no. 25, cp. also *ibid.* 1907, p. 211, no. 3, and in the same field I found a fragment of an inscription also bearing the name of Apollo. But a few meters distant from these inscriptions are the foundations of a large Byzantine church which consist of great architectural blocks of stone and marble. A small part of this area is now occupied by a tiny chapel built by the aged Michael as a dedication to St. Michael, the Archangel, and in this area was discovered a marble basis sculptured on both ends in the style of the sixth or early fifth century which I hope shortly to publish. All these indications then point to the existence of a temple of Apollo on this site, in whose honor the offerings were made.

2. Loryma, about an hour's distance from the harbor, near the modern village of Karamaka, in a field on the slope of the



hill facing the island of Symi, a limestone basis with a cutting in the top for a stele. Length at the top, 1.395 m.; height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.70 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m.

ΛΡΑ ΛΙΩΝΟΞΥΠΕΡΘΥΜΟΝΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΞΑΝ  
ΚΡΥΠΤΕΙΓΑΙΑΠΑΤΡΙΞΤΟΝΟΜΑΔΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ

[Θυγατ]έρα [Κ]λίωνος ὑπέρθυμον Πολέμισσαν  
κρύπτει γαῖα πατρίς, τ' ὄνομα δ' Εὐρυκράτης

Her country's earth hides Klion's daughter, valiant Polemissa, Eurykrates (her husband) has her fame.

The epigram in honor of Polemissa is written in good letters of the third to the second century B. C. The elegiac distich is metrically almost correct. The ὄνομα should be οὄνομα found frequently in Homer; the alpha of πατρίς, though of common quantity, is usually long by position in the Epic, the phrase appearing often in Homer as πατρίδα γαῖαν. The restoration of the first word seems certain, and a kappa is the only letter that could be supplied to complete satisfactorily the name of the father. This is not a common name, though four examples are cited by Pape-Benseler, Gr. Eigennamen, s. v. The name Polemissa is not given in Pape-Benseler. It would indicate that the girl had shown early signs of militancy which later did not belie themselves, to judge from the epithet ὑπέρθυμος. Polemoussa, an Amazon attendant of Penthesileia at Troy, figures twice in Quintus Smyrnaeus (I 42, 531) but without qualifying adjective, though her companion Hippothoe is described as ἐρίθυμος (Quint. I 532). Nowhere in the Epic is ὑπέρθυμος applied to a woman, though it is used to designate many heroes, as Achilles, Diomedes, Herakles and others; it is also found several times qualifying the Greeks and is a common epithet of the Trojans. Polemissa thus is admitted to valiant company.

The arrangement of this hexameter line which begins with the father's name and concludes with that of the daughter may be compared with an epigram from Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 806, Ἀντιπάτροιο θύγατρα νήεν ἔτι Καλλίκλειαν, except that in our case the first two words have been transposed. The phrase κρύπτει γαῖα = to bury, to be buried, in one form and construction or another is quite common both in prose and poetry. The word ὄνομα seems to have here the meaning of "good report", "glory", used in a somewhat similar sense to that in Od. 4. 710; 13. 248;



24. 93. A good example of its use signifying the fame that survives the body dead is found in Theog. 245 f.: οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδέ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις | ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα, beside which may be cited a distich of Tyrtaeus, 12, 31 f.

3. Loryma, on the path, half-way to Phenikeh, near some pyramidal bases standing in situ, a round marble basis with a frieze encircling the top composed of small bulls' heads, set 0.11 m. apart, joined by fillets. From this frieze are suspended wreaths at intervals. The frieze around the bottom is a well executed maeander pattern. The height of the basis is 0.77 m.; the diameter of the bottom, 0.60 m. The height of the letters, 0.02 m.

Δ Α Μ Α Λ Υ Κ Α Ω Ν Ο Σ	Δαμαλυκάωνος
Κ Α Ι Τ Α Σ Γ Υ Ν Α Ι Κ Ο Σ	καὶ τᾶς γυναικὸς
Α Ν Τ Ι Ο Χ Ι Δ Ο Σ Α Ν Τ Ι Ο Χ Ι Σ Σ Α Σ	'Αντιοχίδος 'Αντιοχίσσας
Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Υ Υ Ι Ο Υ Δ Α Μ Α Κ Ω Ο Υ	καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαμακῶου

The script is of the third to second century B. C. The names Δαμαλυκάων and Δαμακῶος I have not found elsewhere and such compounds with δαμα- are not common. The second element of the first word is derived from λύκος, but the meaning of the second compound is not so clear. As the island of Kos is but a few miles distant the -κωος may contain a reference to that.

The name 'Αντιοχίς is not rare, see I. G. XII-1, 382, 403, 544, and elsewhere, but its connection with 'Αντιόχισσα is new. This chorographic feminine from a masculine 'Αντιοχεύς referring to an inhabitant of one of the many Antiochs occurs several times, see I. G. XII-1, 165, 404, in neither of which places however is the word completely preserved. In the Attic corpus are better illustrations, I. G. II-3, 2793, 2802, 2812 and others. It is a frequent practice in inscriptions to add the name of their city to women's names, which are given sometimes with and sometimes without mention of their fathers, see especially I. G. XII-1, 544, 'Αντιοχίς 'Ροδία.

4. Phenikeh, ancient Phoinix, in the lower village, about 3½ hours' walk from Loryma, built into the house of Mevlud by the side of the hearth, a block of limestone, height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.185 m. Height of the letters, 0.02 m.

ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΙΞΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝΟΣ	Εὐφρανορίς 'Αριστοφῶνος
ΓΥΝΑΔΕΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ	γυνὰ δὲ 'Ιερωνύμου



The letters are probably also of the third century B. C. The name is the feminine of the common masculine *Εὐφράνωρ*, perhaps the father's name has lost its *τ*, as the genitive of *Ἀριστοφῶν* is *Ἀριστοφῶντος*. The formula for adding the husband's name is of frequent occurrence, see in the Rhodian Corpus, I. G. XII-1, 104, 193, 197, etc.

5. Phenikeh, a small block of limestone broken at the top and bottom, but complete at each side, height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.

ΑΡΞΙΝΗ

ΧΡΗΣΤΑΧΑΙΠΕ

*Ἀρσίνη*

*χρηστὰ χαίρει*

The name seems to be a shortened form of *Ἀρσινόη*. On *Ἀρσίνοος*, *Ἀρσίνοος* as alternate forms yielding the patronymic *Ἀρσινίδας* see Bechtel in *Genethliakon*, Essays in honor of Carl Robert, p. 71. The inscription repeats a phrase frequent on sepulchral monuments.

6. Phenikeh, a limestone basis with an aperture in the top for the insertion of a stele built into a ruined building constructed entirely of ancient blocks about half-way between the lower and upper villages, the same building in which are the two inscriptions published by Messrs. Durrbach and Radet in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* X, 1886, p. 258, nos. 4 and 5. Height of the stone, 0.745 m.; width, 0.64 m.; thickness, 0.34 m. Height of the letters, 0.025 m.

ΚΛΕΑΓΟΡΑ

*Κλεαγόρα*

7. Phenikeh Acropolis, a stele cut in the solid limestone rock decorated by a moulding at the top and bottom. The height of the stone between the mouldings is 1.39 m.; the width is 0.705 m. to 0.69 m. as the stele tapers slightly. This inscription was published in 1886 by Durrbach and Radet, l. c., pp. 252 ff. and is reproduced by van Gelder in *Mne.* XXIV, 1896, pp. 184 ff. as well as in his collection of Rhodian inscriptions in *G. D. I.* III, 1, no. 4262. Three visits to Phenikeh during my work at Loryma in the spring of 1912 enabled me to study more carefully this stone and to make so many corrections on the previous copy that an amended version seems desirable. The letters read by Durrbach and Radet which were not visible to me are underlined.



Τοῖδε τοῦ δάμου ψαφισμένου κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διονύσου  
ἐπαγγείλαντο δώσειν χρήματα δωρεὰν

(a)

Νικασαγόρας Βουλακρίνευς  
τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ὁ ναὸς  
5 καὶ τὸ τέμενος κατασκευάσται  
Ῥόδιππος Νικαγόρα ΗΔΔ  
Ἀγέμαχος Μενεμάχου  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Η  
Χαρμοκλῆς Χαρμαντίδα Η  
10 Ἀλεξίων Πεισαγόρα  
Τεισαγόρας Ἀριστομβρότου Η  
Σιμυλῖνος Μιννίωνος  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Η  
Ἰέρων Ἀριστομβρότου Η  
15 Ἰερώνυμος Ἀριστομβρότου Η  
Κλεύδαμος Θευδώρου  
Μέγων Δαμοξένου Η  
Τιμασίθεος Τιμασιάνακτος Η  
Κλευμένης Κλεοβούλου  
20 Πείσαρχος Πεισαγόρα ὑπὲρ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν  
Δαμοσθένης Ἱεροφάνευσ  
[ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ καὶ Μ[έ]γωνος... μου  
Σατυρίων  
25 ὑπὲρ Εὐφράνορος καὶ ὑ[πὲρ]  
Τιμοτέλους  
... ατ ... ὑπὲρ  
... πα ...  
... λεξιλ ...  
30 καὶ τῶν υἱῶν  
... ατης Τιμοθέου Π  
Δαμόνικος Νικατορίδ[ε]υς  
Ἱεροφάνης Μέγωνος Π  
Ἱεροτέλης Ἀγησίππου  
35 Τιμασιάναξ Τιμασιθέου Π  
Θαρσιάδας Θρασυβούλου Π  
Βουλακρίνης Νικασαγόρα  
Ἀριστοκράτης Εὐφράνορος

(b)

Σώπατρος Θρασυβούλου Π  
Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροφάνευσ Π  
Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστομάχου  
Ξενοκλῆς Ἀναξίλα ΔΔΔ  
Ἱεροκλῆς Τιμα . . . . . ΔΔΔ  
Ἱππαρχος  
  
Ἱεροκλεὺς ΔΔΔ  
... τολας Ἀναξίλα ΔΔΔ  
... κρατης Ἀγησ[ι]δάμου ΔΔΔ  
Ἀριστόμβροτος Ἱερωνύμου ΔΔΔ  
Εὐφράνωρ Εὐφραγόρα ΔΔΔ  
Ἀρισταγόρας Κλ[ε]υφάντου ΔΔΔ  
Χαρμύλος Χαιρήμονος ΔΔΠ  
Εὐφράνωρ Ἀσκληπιάδα ΔΔΠ  
Ἱεροτέλης Ἀλεξιδάμου ΔΔΠ  
Βουλαγόρας Βουλάρχου ΔΔΠ  
Ἀπολλώνιος Χαιρήμονος ΔΔΠ  
Π[ολύ]κλειτος Τιμαράτου καθ' ὑο-  
θεσίαν δὲ Βουλαγόρα ΔΔΠ  
Σιμυλῖνος Εὐφραγόρα ΔΔ  
Τιμαχίδας Εὐφράνορος ΔΔ  
Μενέστρατος Μενεστράτου ΔΔ  
Κ[ά]νθαρος Ἀρμέ[ν]ιος ΔΔ  
[Ε]ὐφάνης Σίμου ΔΔ  
Κλεύστρατος [Ε]ὐφραγόρα ΔΔ  
Ἀνάξαρχος Εὐρυκράτευσ ΔΔ  
Ἀπολλώνιος Στρατονίκευσ ΔΔ  
Ἀνταγόρας Ἀντικράτευσ ΔΔ  
Νικασιμένης Κλεισαγόρα ΔΔ  
Κλεώνυμος Τιμασιπόλιος  
τοῦ Κλευμένευσ ΔΔ  
Ἀγήσιππος Ἀριστοβούλου ΔΔ  
Κλεαγόρας Νικασαγόρα ΔΔ



(a)	(b)
Δαμάτριος Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ	Κλεύστρατος Μενεστράτου ΔΔ
40 καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Π Πύθιππος Ἐπικράτειος Π Ἀναξίλας Ἀρετωνύμου Π Ἰερώνυμος Ἀρχήνακτος Π Μενέμαχος Νικασαγόρα Π	Ἀρετώνυμος Ἀριστοδρόμου ΔΔ Τιμόστρατος Κλεισιμβροτίδα ΔΔ Εὐφάνης Ἀριστοκρίτου ΔΔ
45 Πύθιππος Ἀπολλωνίου κατὰ γένεσιν δὲ Πύθωνος ΔΔΔ Δαμάτριος Δωριτίμου ΔΔΠ Διοσκουρίδας Τιμομάχου ΔΔ Τιμασίπολις Τιμομάχου ΔΔ	
50 Δαμόξενος Μέγωνος ΔΔ	

Lines 1 and 2. The reading of the first two lines which comprise the caption of the inscription is certain; each letter can be wrested from the stone and each is visible in my impression. No trace of any letter appears to the right or to the left of the second line as given above, and this line is made designedly shorter to separate clearly the two lines of announcement which run across the stone from the list of subscribers arranged in two columns below. The Doric form of the participle *ψαφισαμένου* is correct as conjectured by van Gelder, l. c., but the xi appears without exception in the inscription with the vertical bar Ξ, and not x as given by van Gelder. This use of *κατασκευάζω* is common, see I. G. II-1, 489 b (add., p. 419) 21, 29 and Dittenberger, Syll. 601, 29; 928, 17. For the phrase  *χρήματα δωρεάν* cp. I. G. II-1, 1b, 32 (p. 393) and for a similar use of *δωρεάν*, I. G. XII-1, 736, 3, 10, 11, and *Inscripfen von Priene*, 112, 77; 113, 76.

Line 3a. This line is complete in my version. Nikasagoras is the father or son of Boulakrines in line 37 where the name *Βουλακρίνης* is correctly read by van Gelder after Bechtel-Fick's conjecture, *Personennamen*, p. 81, though given wrongly by Durrbach and Radet as *Βουλαρρίνης*. Line 3b. This name is found in another inscription at Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4263, 26.

Line 4 too is fully legible in both columns. The sense of 4a and 5a was obvious as pointed out by Durrbach and Radet, but they did not attempt to supply the lacuna; the verb is repeated from line 1 and in the singular agrees with the nearer subject. In 4a the dative of the relative has iota adscript. In 5b the name has been recovered though not the amount given. This



line has been set in from the margin of its column because of the crowding of the long line 5a. 6a and b have been completed. 7a, the father's name is clear, and in 8a the completion of the phrase. In 9a and 11a the father's name can be read as well as the amount. 12a, the father's name has been deciphered. 13a, 14a, 15a are complete so that van Gelder's conjecture in Mne. XXIV, p. 186, of *Ἀριστοκράτης* in 15a must be abandoned. In 14b the letters ΗΞ appear after Γ in the father's name proving it to be *Ἀγησιδάμου* and not *Ἀγαθοδάμου* as conjectured by Durrbach and Radet. 15b like 15a is complete. 16a, my squeeze shows the name of the father, and 16b is entirely corrected. 17a, the recovery of the father's name here indicates that this man is either father or son of the contributor mentioned in line 5a. In 17b part of the lambda and upsilon can be made out so that the second name must be correct as given. 19a and b, though quite misread before, are given clearly in my impression, and 21a is also legible. 22a, at the end of this line there is not space for *ὑπέρ* before the beginning of 22b, and that word, therefore, must have been placed before *αὐτοῦ* in line 23a, though the neighboring lines have been pushed in from the left-hand margin apparently because of an old break in the stone which developed presumably after the inscription was begun. At the end of 23a there is no space for the letters . . *μου* inserted there by Durrbach and Radet, who may have misread them from 23b where in my copy the first letter is clearly Π and therefore I have supplied *Πολύκλειτος*. The first syllable in the second word is not *τειμ*, the difficulty of which was recognized by van Gelder, but *τιμ*. Line 24a, *Σατυρίων* is clear on my impression, thus rendering impossible van Gelder's conjecture *Ζωπυρίων* made on the basis of the former reading ΣΤΥΡΙΩΙ. The names in 26b and 41b occur in an inscription from Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 1442, 34 and 35, but the Rhodian inscription is dated in the first century while ours can not be later than early in the third century. 31b, the theta supplied by Durrbach and Radet should be rho, confirming van Gelder's conjecture in Mne. XXIV, p. 187. In 32b the word *Στρατονίκευς* questioned by van Gelder is given clearly in my copy. 34b, *Νικασιμένης* is correct, not *Νικο*, read by D. and R. 36a, the first letter is theta, so that van Gelder's suspicion is confirmed, but his alternative conjecture *Ἀλξιάδας* is ruled out. The name *Θαρσιάδας* occurs at Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 1442, 8, and elsewhere. 39a, *ὑπέρ* is clear on the stone, *περί* given by D. and R. was just a



misreading. 41a, Πύθιππος not Εῤθιππος here as well as on another inscription at Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4263, 34. It might be appropriate to add here that in G. D. I. 4263, 28 the reading of the stone is Βουλακλῆς not Βουλευκλῆς of D. and R's version. In 42b the father's name is spelled with an iota instead of alpha, Ἀριστοκρίτου. 43a, the reading Ἀρχήνακτος is clear, cp. Ἀγήνακτος on an inscription found near Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4261a, and Ἀρχήνασσα on a Rhodian inscription I. G. XII-1, 194. 46a, the name is Πύθωνος; there is no iota and van Gelder's attempt to transpose it is fruitless. A slight injury to the stone misled Durrbach and Radet.

8. Marmarice, ancient Physkos, a marble basis with a moulding around the top and bottom, and unfinished at the back, length, 0.187 m.; width, 0.165 m.; height, 0.133 m. On the top of the stone is a worked depression to hold a statuette, the length of which is 0.125 m. and the width 0.095 m. On the front the space between the mouldings is 0.065 m. high where the inscription is written in letters 0.015 m. high.

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΑ	Ἱερόκλεα
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΕΥΧΑΝ	Ἐκάτα εὐχάν

The letters are of the second century. The stone was said by the peasant who had it to have been brought from the interior, and therefore it is possible that it was an offering made at the famous temple of Hecate in Lagina close to Stratonikeia, mentioned by Strabo, XIV, 2, 25. For a discussion of this sanctuary and inscriptions from it see Newton, Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae II-2, pp. 554 ff. and in appendix inscriptions Nos. 62 ff. See also B. C. H. V, 1881, pp. 185 ff.

9. Knidos, a small block of limestone found at the tomb of Jason on the hill of tombs to the east of the city, length, 0.235 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ	Ἀπολλοδώρου
ΤΟΥ	τοῦ
ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΥΣ	Τιμοκλεὺς

The Jason inscription on the altar in this tomb is published by W. J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia, II, p. 459.

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*Postscript.*

The latest number of *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1913, parts 1 and 2, came to my hands too late to enable me to take notice of the publication there, pp. 1 ff., by Messrs. Chaviara, of inscriptions from the Rhodian Peraea, among which are four, nos. 78, 80, 82, 89, that are discussed in my article. Of the differences in reading one instance must be mentioned. In no. 80 = my no. 2 Messrs. Chaviara supply a tau after sigma in the last word of the first line, reading *πολεμιστάν*, which gives a totally different meaning to the epigram. The stone is much injured at this place, but I copied from it a sigma and can see the two upper bars on my squeeze. The impression, however, has become somewhat worn through handling and does not now show the entire letter. The last letter of the second line, sigma, omitted by Messrs. Chaviara, is clear on my squeeze.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**The Elegies of Albius Tibullus. The Corpus Tibullianum, edited with Introduction and Notes on Books i, ii, and iv, 2-14, by KIRBY FLOWER SMITH, Professor of Latin in The Johns Hopkins University. New York: American Book Company, 1913.**

'Eine Erneuerung des veralteten Kommentars von L. Dissen (Gött. 1835) ist ein Bedürfniss'. These words of Eduard Norden (Einl. in die Alt., i, 1912, p. 437) are a concise expression of a want long felt. Several excellent texts of Tibullus exist, selections for use in schools have been well edited by such scholars as K. P. Schulze, K. Jacoby, and J. P. Postgate, but the complete commentaries of Martinon (1895) and Némethy (1905) were half hearted attempts from which scholars turned back with relief to Dissen. Meantime valuable contributions to our knowledge of Tibullus have continued to accumulate until the need of an edition which should present the results in scholarly form has become urgent. Professor Smith has answered the call. At last we have a real edition—an edition which supersedes that of Dissen and becomes the standard interpretation of Tibullus.

The purpose of the book more than justifies its bulk. At first thought an introduction of 93 pages and a commentary of 343 pages on a Latin text of 48 pages seem entirely disproportionate. But to all who care for a real interpretation of Tibullus, his position in the history of elegy, and his relation to ancient and modern poetry, Professor Smith's book will seem none too large. On the contrary the reader will regret the loss of much valuable material when he learns (p. 9) that the volume even in its present generous size is the result of rigid condensation and excision. Among other losses are a full *apparatus criticus* and a complete list of authorities.

The form of the book is conditioned by the requirements of a series 'edited for use in schools and colleges,' but since after all Professor Smith's appeal is primarily to scholars and advanced students the world over, there will be a feeling of regret that the book could not appear in a form more in harmony with its character—with a page large enough to admit a critical apparatus and notes beneath the text.

The text, which includes the entire Corpus Tibullianum with the exception of the two Priapea, is based on that of Hiller's



edition, Leipzig (Tauchnitz), 1885. Professor Smith makes no claim of originality for his text; he has collated no manuscripts (this has been adequately done by others), and he makes no conjectures. Nevertheless every real commentator must constitute his own text, and even when the manuscript materials have been supplied by others the task requires nice judgment. The choice of Hiller's text (1885) as a basis was wise. It is convenient and accessible, it contains the manuscript readings, and it has the necessary quality of sane conservatism. It is superior in one or more of these points to each of the other texts which were available: Hiller's of 1893 in the *Corpus poetarum latinorum*, vol. i, Postgate's in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 1905, Haupt-Vahlen's sixth edition, 1904 (the seventh published by Helm, 1912, appeared too late for Professor Smith's use), and Cartault's, Paris, 1909.

The process of condensation to which Professor Smith has subjected his material has inevitably produced errors and inconsistencies and the parts concerned with the manuscripts and the text seem to have suffered especially. I record these, following in general the order in which they occur. The remarks on Textual Tradition (Introd. §vi) are sometimes misleading and sometimes inconsistent with the Appendix. Is there other evidence than Norden's (*Kunstpr.*,<sup>1</sup> p. 724) that in all likelihood we owe a special debt of gratitude to Hildebert, † 1134, for the preservation of Tibullus from the 9th to the 13th century? Hildebert's influence is possible, not 'likely'. He was 'a famous Latin poet and teacher', a great admirer of the classical poets, and his elegiac verse is remarkably pure, but he does not mention Tibullus, and the purity of his elegiacs is probably due to the influence of Ovid, which was incomparably greater in the middle ages than that of Tibullus. At p. 89 we read that the *Codex Eboracensis* 'is occasionally of some value', but that 'other manuscripts of this family . . . have no independent value', and (p. 90) 'the exact position of the *Guelferbytanus* in our textual tradition is not altogether certain'. This seems to imply that no members of the  $\psi$  group, the inferior manuscripts, except possibly  $y$  (cod. Ebor.) and  $g$  (Guelf.) have a value independent of  $A$  and  $V$ , the two best of the complete manuscripts. Such a view would mean that no excellent reading of  $\psi$  not in  $AV$  is pure, i. e. comes from the archetype by a route different from that of  $AV$ , but that all such readings are due to conjectures of the Itali. It seems to me unsafe to adopt this view at present. Excluding agreements with Fr. Par. more than 60 readings of  $\psi$  are accepted by Hiller (1885), Vahlen<sup>6</sup>, and Postgate (1905) in the first book (nearly half the *Corpus*) and more than 20 such readings are accepted in addition by one or more of these editors. Thus over 80 or, if we substitute Hiller (1893) for his text of 1885, over 100 of these readings are either right or worthy of notice. Now it is just possible that all these good readings may



be conjectures, but it is far more likely that some at least are derived from the archetype through a copy or copies now lost. So too the account of the Freising and Paris Excerpts (Fr. Par.) is misleading because it has been condensed into one paragraph (p. 89). All the statements are not true of Fr., for the two collections differ in important details. It is not correct to say that the editors of *both* excerpts 'do not scruple to Bowdlerize'. I can find no certain case of Bowdlerizing in Fr.; on the contrary Bowdler would hardly have excerpted III. 2, 1-2:

Qui primus caram iuveni carumque puellae  
Eripuit iuvenem ferreus ille fuit,

or I. 2, 19.

Illa docet molli furtim derepere lecto.

It is true that Fr. occasionally cite from the midst of an erotic passage without representing the erotic context (I. 6, 33-34), but the same conciseness is observed where no erotic content is at hand (I. 1, 25, etc.). The excerptor of Par., on the other hand, actually changes erotic allusions to a form not offensive to monkish ears (III. 3, 32; II. 4, 29, etc.). Again many of the Fr. excerpts are single words—which is not true of Par.—so that it is not certain that all of Fr. come from *florilegia*. Nor is it by any means certain that Fr. 'enjoyed a wide popularity from the eleventh to the fourteenth century'. The dates assigned to Fr. and Par. in the Introd. (p. 89) are respectively the eleventh and twelfth (or thirteenth) centuries, but in the Appendix (p. 527) the tenth and eleventh centuries. The former statement is the one usually made by experts who have inspected them.<sup>1</sup>

The brief statements (p. 90) about editions need some revision and expansion. I. G. Huschke's ed. of 1814 had notes on only three elegies (I, 1, 3 and 7). Huschke's complete ed. appeared in Leipsic in 1819. Not enough credit is given to Baehrens (1876-1878). His 'great service lay' not so much, I should say, 'in demonstrating the position and value in our textual tradition of the Ambrosianus' as in virtually discovering the two mainstays of the text (AV), although he wrongly set g above them.

One cannot help regretting that Professor Smith did not retain in some form an *adnotatio critica* containing just the bare manuscript variants. As it is we find in the Appendix a mere record of the variations from Hiller's text (1885) and even so it is not always clear what Hiller's reading is, for the latter's name is omitted from many of the readings and the assumption that the *second* reading cited in each record is Hiller's does not work out, since at I. 7, 49 two readings (centum ludis  $\psi$  *Smith*; centum ludos *A*) are printed, neither of which is Hiller's. So at II. 3,

<sup>1</sup> Postgate, 1905, assigns Fr. to the 10th, and Par. to the 11th, and Hiller 1893, both to the eleventh.



14c and III. 4, 26 Hiller's reading is not given at all, and at IV. 1, 1 Smith's own reading is not printed. Two passages are recorded as varying from Hiller in which Prof. Smith agrees with Hiller: I. 10, 50 and II. 3, 34, where both mark a lacuna. In two others the Appendix misleads one as to Hiller's text: I. 6, 72, where Hiller is said to have in *medias propriasque*, but actually has *in medias proripiarque*, and II. 6, 45 where Smith omits *vetat Hiller*. There is no record of the fact that Smith differs from Hiller in the line numbering of the Panegyric from v. 113 (=Hiller 112<sup>a</sup>) to the end. Hiller's final judgment on the text is contained in his edition of 1893, which is still more conservative than that of 1885. It is significant of Professor Smith's attitude toward the text that he agrees with Hiller in ten of the passages in which the latter in 1893 adhered more closely to the manuscripts.

Professor Smith's choice of Hiller as a guide indicates his sympathy with that scholar's attitude toward those two nuisances of Tibullian studies, transposition and strophic symmetry. He makes the one transposition (iv, 4) which is universally admitted and nowhere discovers couplets arranged in 'sevens' or 'nines' or what you will, whereas in some of the most recent editions (Postgate's 'Selections', 1903, and Cartault's text, 1909) there are survivals of the time honored practice of transposition. The ghost of Scaliger has been hard to lay. And yet the logic of the transpositionists has had one good effect: it has forced the defenders of the manuscript order to seek arguments, and in this way they have attained a finer understanding of the development of the elegiac mood.

On details of text Professor Smith's judgment is generally sound, but there are, of course, decisions with which one disagrees. In i, 3, 4, for example, editors have always been divided between *Mors modo nigra AV* and *Mors precor atra ψ Smith*, and as Cartault is fond of saying, 'La décision est délicate!' Undoubtedly *Mors atra* is the regular phrase, but exactly for that reason its presence in *ψ* creates suspicion. *Niger* on the other hand, though not applied anywhere to *Mors*, is used symbolically of death by *Lygdamus* iii, 3, 5, a passage based in general on this, cf. *Hor. Sat.* I. 9, 73. I should not venture to reject the reading of *AV*—yet. V. 17 *aves dant omina dira AV Smith* *aves aut omina dira ψ Hiller, etc.* The shift from the direct statement *aves dant, etc.* (17) to the indirect *Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem* (18) is very hard, especially in Tibullus. The support cited (ii, 5, 71–78 and several passages from Livy) contains nothing very much like this and *causor* seems nowhere in Latin to introduce a direct statement (*Thes. s. v.*). It seems better to follow *ψ* in 17 and read in 18 *Saturnive* supporting the *aut . . . aut . . . -ve* by examples from the *Thes. s. v.* V. 86 *colo AV Smith colu Fr. Hiller*. The high authority of *Fr.* and the fact that it is *lectio difficilior* commend *colu*. Tibullus's tendency to purism



can hardly override this argument. I. 6, 7 *illa quidem tam multa negat AV Smith*. But no parallels for *tam multa* as adverb (= 'So many times as she is asked') are cited. I. 6, 72 *immerito pronas proripiarque vias Smith*, chiefly after  $\psi$  (*A* is corrupt). Probably (cf. Cartault) *proprias A* has crowded out some word which may have been entirely different in form. Therefore no form of *pronus* is especially probable. Moreover the accusative with *proripi* is unparalleled. Rigler's *in medias . . vias* is at least better syntax. ii, 2, 22 *hic veniat Natalis avis AV Smith*. No parallel is cited for *hic*, cf. I, 3, 91. There are good notes on the textual questions raised by ii, 3, 34; ii, 5, 79 (the 'shifted' pluperfect which renders changes unnecessary); iv, 6, 15; iv, 7, 1, but none at all on ii, 5, 4; ii, 5, 108 (where *ista A* seems perfectly good against *illa  $\psi$  Smith*); iv, 2, 23; iv, 4, 6; iv, 6, 19, and some other passages. In most of these difficult passages the best solution has been adopted, but some of them call urgently for at least a brief discussion, e. g. ii, 5, 4; iv, 4, 6; iv, 6, 19, in all of which the reading of *A* is rejected. In iv, 8, 6 *neu tempestivae saepe propinque viae A Smith* (Hiller 1893 and Postgate mark as corrupt) the editor admits that no explanation is satisfactory. He translates 'always on the eve of some untimely journey' which is the woman's point of view even if the Latin is decidedly what Gruppe called 'weiblich', *neu tempestivae* being taken in the sense of *intempestivae*. Moreover no acceptable parallels are cited for *propinquus* with the genitive. But Professor Smith seems justified in leaving the passage as it stands and trying to interpret it instead of making several changes. This is in general his attitude, and that such conservatism is sound is amply proved by the history of textual emendation.

The connected presentation of those topics which concern the history of Tibullus in antiquity and during the middle ages is to be found in the Introduction, pp. 30-87, but these pages must be supplemented by the material scattered throughout the Notes. The first of these topics is the 'Life of Tibullus' (§ ii). Professor Smith uses for his reconstruction the *vita* and Horace's two poems to Albius—sources which have been rejected without sufficient reason by some scholars—in addition to the other external and internal evidence. He displays admirable care in stating nothing as a fact which is merely a more or less probable inference and a still more admirable restraint in refusing to make any inferences at all on some points which have too often been taken as certainties. He says, for example, that the date of Tibullus's death, 19 B. C., 'is the nearest approach to a definite date in the life of our poet'. He refuses to assign the impoverishment of the poet's estate (I. 1, 19-22) to any definite cause. He frankly admits that we do not know the order of Messalla's expeditions to the East and to Gaul and thus abandons our only hope of dating accurately I, 1, 3, and 7. All this is correct and it is gratifying to have it stated so frankly. He expressly com-



bats the favorite method of making inferences from the poet's silence—for example, that Tibullus and the circle of Messalla were politically opposed to the circle of Maecenas. The supposed rivalry indicated by Vergil's ten eclogues and Tibullus's ten elegies of Book i, by Horace's Priapus Satire and Tibullus's Priapus elegy, is sufficiently explained by 'the common phenomenon of a contemporary interest in certain themes and forms'. Very interesting too is the suggestion (p. 39) that Messalla, who is known to have been interested in niceties of style, may have had far greater influence on Tibullus than we know. Against the oft tried effort to write a history of Tibullus's love affairs Professor Smith says (p. 43), 'The poet is free to interweave fact with fiction, actual events with mere literary motives; and only those who are in the secret can be sure which is which', and yet 'the simple faith of the old commentators who . . . took every reference at its face value, is not more unreasonable than the sweeping incredulity of some of our modern critics'—this last a sensible protest against those who would make of the poet's work a mere cento of bookishness. Of the Delia elegies the editor says that although there is no chronological sequence, 'it is significant of the poet's art that . . . the *emotional* sequence, the *psychological* development, and its effect on the persons concerned, are at once complete and convincing'. To disengage the realities from these artistic presentments of the poet's moods is indeed 'peculiarly difficult', and one of these realities is the character of the poet. To Professor Smith, as to most of the poet's readers, 'he rarely fails to ring true', he was tender and refined, and loved the simple life of the country, but when we read that the poet's reference (ii, 3) to his 'tender hands' and 'slender limbs' is no doubt really descriptive of his personal appearance, that probably his vitality 'was low and his constitution delicate. Otherwise he would not have died at the early age of 35', that in fine 'Tibullus was a hypochondriac', we feel that even Professor Smith's carefully qualified inferences are going a bit too far. All this rests primarily on that interpretation of Horace, Epist. i, 4 which was recently elaborated by Ullman (A. J. P. 33, 1912), and although Professor Smith apparently rejects most of the exact agreements which Ullman finds between the Tibullus of this epistle and him of the elegies, he draws from it nevertheless the inference that Tibullus was a hypochondriac. Some such meaning must certainly be contained in the epistle, but even so we cannot date it accurately, we know that hypochondriacs are often, when not obsessed, the gayest of men, that Tibullus was by no means lacking in humor, and that he had been vigorous enough to endure the hardships of at least one campaign. I doubt whether we really know anything about the poet's 'delicate constitution', or whether 'the last years of our poet's brief life were perhaps occasionally haunted by the fear that he was destined never to realize his one



consuming ambition, a permanent place in the Roman Temple of Fame'. It is a cleverly drawn picture, it may be true, but it cannot be regarded as more than possible.

The third section of the Introduction is a good sketch of the Later Tradition and Imitation of Tibullus. The outline of his influence on European literatures is entirely new and provides a good basis for future work in this field. Indeed Professor Smith has done an enormous amount of this work himself and the Notes are full of the results of his reading. He has had in addition the valuable aid of his colleague Professor Mustard, who has earned a name as a specialist in this department. This feature of the book will prove of value not only to classical scholars but also to workers in modern literature. It is noteworthy that Tibullus, like many another poet, has had his periods of eclipse. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, little attention was paid to him—there was no 'Tudor translation', as Professor Smith says. Indeed Miss Palmer's 'List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641' shows that there was neither edition nor translation as late as 1641.

The fact that the influence of Tibullus on modern literatures has on the whole been 'less than that of any other great Roman poet' is Professor Smith's justification for comparing Tibullus with Propertius and Ovid in order to determine those qualities of Tibullus which have retarded his influence. Such comparisons inevitably lead to the selection of certain qualities in one's favorite by virtue of which he is superior to the others. Professor Smith's favorite is Tibullus, but he disarms criticism by admitting that 'comparisons . . . are more or less futile' and 'the three poets are complementary rather than parallel'. He does not forget that there are to-day, as there were in Quintilian's time, those *qui Propertium malint*. Moreover in rehandling this timeworn theme he has not only accomplished his immediate object, but has supplied us with the best brief critique of Tibullus in English.

Conservatism marks the discussion of The Corpus Tibullianum (§ V). Professor Smith would like to identify Lygdamus with Ovid's brother (Doncieux's theory), but thinks that the famous natalem primo nostrum videre parentes, etc., cannot be proved to mean the first anniversary of Lygdamus's birth. iv, 2-6; 13-14, are assigned to Tibullus and the stylistic arguments against this are rightly characterized as of no value. In passing we note an error (p. 77): Gruppe was the first to note that iv, 2-12 fall into two groups, but he connected 2-7, not 2-6, as Professor Smith has it. A correct statement may be found on p. 81.

The discussion of Sulpicia's elegidia is written with unusual sympathy and insight. Professor Smith compares these little poetic love notes in their straightforward simplicity and absolute



lack of affectation with the poems of Catullus. He is rightly skeptical about the 'weibliches Latein' of which Gruppe and Baehrens made so much and adds that 'inexperience in style is not distinctively feminine', but his citation of Cicero's oft quoted praise of Laelia for speaking Latin like that of Plautus or Naevius seems to me beside the mark, since a woman who spoke pure Latin might not be able to write clear Latin verse and whatever Sulpicia's conversational powers may have been, she certainly cannot write clearly. Cf. Catull xxii for a masculine parallel.

The last section (vii) of the Introduction is entitled The Poet's Art and contains a brief treatment of some topics which are illustrated more in detail in the Notes. There is first an admirable account of Tibullus's method of developing his theme. This is followed by an account of the development of the distich at Rome. Catullus is correctly termed 'the beginner, still too near his Greeks', but is it correct to say that Propertius 'especially in his earlier work . . . drops back almost to the inexperience of Catullus?' Was not Propertius consciously attempting to carry further those principles of Catullus which would have given the Romans a form at once more Greek and less monotonous than that which reached its perfection in Ovid? I for one regret that Propertius abandoned this attempt and went over to the Ovidian camp. The monotony of that eternally recurrent dissyllabic ending would hardly be altered even if we could 'pronounce as Ovid did'.

Extreme compression was necessary in the first section of the Introduction, the Development of Elegy, and there are a good many points on which one could wish for more light and especially the citation of more evidence. The views of Crusius (s. v. Elegie, Pauly-Wissowa), to which the reader is referred 'for further details', are often not acceptable. Professor Smith is right in declining to discuss the origin of elegy, but the insertion of one or two typical ancient views would have been wise. The emphasis laid on the subjective character of Old Greek Elegy is correct; it was both objective and subjective. But do we know that the 'Nanno' of Mimnermus consisted of 'poems', and does any certain fragment of the 'Nanno' have a clear 'sentimental-erotic' character? There is almost nothing about the Attic school or about Theognis, and yet Solon and Theognis, for example, contain things which are of decided value to one who would understand Augustan elegy—the praise of abstracts, the satiric note, the mythological παράδειγμα in its erotic application. The 'Lyde' of Antimachus is spoken of as 'elegies' (p. 16), but Plutarch's words are τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην Λύδην.

The sketch of social conditions in the Alexandrian Age (pp. 17-18) follows Crusius too closely. Crusius knows too much about the emancipation of women at that period. We are apt to assume this from Catullus lxvi and from Augustan elegy, but Berenice was a queen and the Augustans endowed the amica



with attributes which were due to the higher position of women at Rome. In other words it is difficult to prove that the 'feminization of life, literature, and art' had made much headway at Alexandria. It is in fact difficult to reconstruct a general picture of the literary and intellectual development of that age, cf. Wendland, *Hellenist.—röm. Kultur*, p. 2. Again Professor Smith agrees with Crusius in thinking it 'likely . . . that the poems [of Philetas] to Bittis were essentially lyric and subjective', and refers to the lines of Hermesianax in Athenaios, 13, 598 F. But this testimonium tells us nothing definite of the lyric or subjective character of that poetry. Professor Smith seems inclined to agree with Pohlenz that Philetas wrote subjective-erotic elegy of the idyllic variety much like that of Tibullus, cf. Pohlenz, *Xáπιτες* etc., 1911, and Smith's review *A. J. P.* XXXIV, 208. A careful study of Pohlenz's article has convinced me that on this point his conclusions cannot be regarded as more than possible. Likewise P. Troll's interesting and valuable dissertation, *De elegiae Romanae origine* (1911), an attempt to show by analyzing methods of composition that there must have been Alexandrian elegies like the Roman type, has failed to prove its main point, although it throws much light on the structure of elegy and epigram. We are in fact at present not able to approximate a trustworthy view of the origin of the subjective-erotic type of elegy. Much more work, like that of Pohlenz and Troll, on the numerous elements which enter into the problem is needed before we can hope for substantial agreement.

The Notes—and the reader must bear the Introduction constantly in mind—prove that Professor Smith has the highest ideal of a commentator's duty. He aims not merely to determine the characteristics of Tibullus himself, but to place these characteristics in the proper perspective. This involves a comparative study of Greek and Roman elegy and the related literature of antiquity, and many excursions into modern literature as well. All the features of Tibullian thought and style and metre are richly paralleled. In the mass of this material there is very little that is superfluous, for Professor Smith never forgets that he is interpreting Tibullus, and yet his method is so broad that the commentary is a sort of handbook of Roman poetics so far as the general nature of Roman poetry may be illustrated from Tibullus and the elegy. Anybody who has attempted an adequate interpretation of a single Latin poem will perceive at once what enormous toil has been required to produce this commentary and all who have attempted such an interpretation of Tibullus will appreciate the fine taste and excellent judgment with which the work has been performed. Every statement has been carefully considered and the omissions are hardly less significant. Indeed the excellence of a commentary based, as in this case, upon the accumulated labors of centuries is determined almost as much by what is omitted as by what is included.



It is not accident that the first elegy has been the chief centre of controversy concerning the poet's art. It is one of his most characteristic poems. Whoever interprets it correctly can be trusted with the other elegies—and a scrutiny of some crucial points proves that Professor Smith can be trusted. He does not know, for example, the exact date of the elegy, the special occasion which impelled the poet to write it, nor the exact cause of the poet's impoverishment (vv. 19–22)—prominent examples of good judgment by way of omission. An understanding of the development of the thought is absolutely essential to an appreciation of Tibullian art. There is an admirable discussion of this question (Introd., pp. 93 ff.), together with a better arrangement of i, 1 than has hitherto been given—even by Vahlen. The break after v. 52 seems to me exactly right. The note on v. 3 contains a good discussion of those puzzling plurals about which editions of Latin and Greek poets contain so many wild statements. Similar notes may be found at v. 23 (on anaphora), v. 29 (the 'aoristic' infinitive), v. 33 (-que . . -que), v. 38 (the dissyllabic close of the pentameter—a condensed statement of the facts in Latin poetry), v. 40 (postponed -que), v. 54 (homoeoteleuton and rhyme). These are not mere local phenomena and each is treated from the broader point of view. The same method is maintained throughout the notes. The characteristic motives of elegy are exceptionally well handled: witchcraft (i, 2; i, 5, 49 ff.), the golden age (i, 3, 35 ff.), lover's oaths (i, 4, 21; i, 5, 35), the sick amica (i, 5, 9–18), the rich lover (*ibid.* 47–48), etc., etc. No other edition contains so many adequate notes. There are of course many statements about whose validity opinions will differ since the questions concerned are not yet solved, but errors of fact are very rare—for example, the statement accepted (i, 1, 35) that *que . . et* never occurs in Cicero (cf. Att. 4, 1, 5) and the misleading note on i, 7, 2 concerning diaeresis of *solūo* (cf. i, 10, 62).

The foregoing gives but a hint of the richness of this commentary. Professor Smith has laid a very solid foundation on which to build in the future. All who use the book will realize that such blemishes as it may have are exceedingly insignificant in comparison with its great merits. It is immensely superior to any other edition of Tibullus, and it will live because it possesses in so high a degree those qualities which are essential to an edition of the best type.

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**Les Sources de Lucain.** Par RENÉ PICHON, Docteur ès lettres, Professeur de Première Supérieure au Lycée Henri IV, Maître de conférences à l'École Normale Supérieure de Sèvres. Pp. IV + 279. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1912.

Mr. Heitland, fresh from the mediocrity of Lucan, ventures to preface his introduction to Haskins' copious English edition of the *Pharsalia* with the remorseful admission "that this kind of work brings neither money nor repute". M. Pichon, with repute established, brings to his larger task, erudition, the command of scholarly method, and a frank love for his author that could be possibly only Gallic. Je voudrais, runs the *avant-propos*, que mon travail aidât à mieux comprendre un poète que j'ai toujours aimé, et que j'aime encore mieux depuis que je l'ai plus patiemment étudié, and in this lies seemingly the secret to the peculiar distinction of the work. The subjects of inquiry are Les sources historiques, Les sources philosophiques, and Les sources littéraires, with an appended excursus upon the composition of the *Pharsalia*. Separate chapters upon 'the accessory facts', the account of the Civil War', and 'the alterations of history' fittingly elaborate the discussion of the historical sources.

M. Pichon is not concerned here merely with a theory of sources, but reveals at once his alertness for defence of Lucan and the characteristic resourcefulness of his imagination. From the *Commentum Bernense* down, Lucan's statement concerning the status of the Arverni (I, 426-27) has been considered a blundering version of a report correctly associated by Tacitus (*Ann.* XI, 25) with the Aedui. But after pointing out the basis of the claim accredited to the Arverni (*sanguine ab Iliaco*), and the recognized pretension of it (*ausi fingere*), with a ready surmise for the motive of the pretension (*voulant gagner la bienveillance des vainqueurs, et rivaliser en cela avec leurs vieux adversaires les Eduens, les Arvernes ont imaginé une fable qui les faisait descendre de Troie*), and the plausible conjecture of a literary source (*Livy*), M. Pichon gains courage for faith in Lucan; who, he explains, merely states that there were pretenders to the distinction which Tacitus records was granted only to the Aedui (p. 32).

In II, 418-20 Lucan is not ignorant of the existence of tributaries to the Po, mais il dit tout simplement que le Pô n'a pas d'affluents aussi considérables que ceux du Danube (p. 8). The absurdity of placing Mt. Eryx on the Aegean Sea (II. 665-66) is cleverly shifted to a copyist who, one may believe, spoiled a compliment to the Aegatian islands by turning *maris Aegati* into *maris Aegaei* (p. 9). So by denial, justification, or the doctrine of 'more sinned against than sinning', or simple faith, Lucan is



delivered from his sins. In the case of many incidental allusions which belong merely to the commonplace erudition of a man of culture, the question of sources becomes negligible. The detailed knowledge, however, revealed in the lengthy digressions upon Gaul, Africa, and Egypt suggests specific sources of information. For the description of Gaul this was Livy. The episode of the serpents (IX, 700-949) was drawn directly from Macer, probably, however, not wholly from the Theriaca, who in turn had copied Nicander. Seneca was the authority for Egypt, but rather in his *De Situ et Sacris Aegyptiorum* than in the *Naturales Quaestiones* as imagined by Diels.

The inquiry into *Le récit de la guerre civile* attains to special interest by reason of its scope and methods. Material support is given to Reifferscheid's theory, worked out by his pupil Baier, that Livy, the "pompeien", was the only serious source for Lucan's narrative. This opinion is reached by a process of elimination of other authors and defended by able refutation of the objections of its chief opponents, Westerburg and Ussani, who have maintained that the harmony between Lucan and the other supposed *auctores Liviani* points rather to the dependence of these upon Lucan than to a conjectural common source for all. This claim forces a critical examination into the nature of Lucan's relation to Florus, Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, Appian, Cassius Dio, and Orosius, and criticism of Ussani's 'decentralization theory', by which the *Pharsalia* becomes a *contaminatio* of various authors, extends the consideration to Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Pollio, Caesar, and Cicero. In the end, tout porte à croire que Lucain n'a eu qu'une source unique, et que cette source est Tite-Live.

Under *Les altérations de l'histoire* enters again, but more formally, the case of Lucan versus his critics, with M. Pichon ably but cautiously *advocatus diaboli*. Though the case of Livy be settled, even more perplexing is the problem of estimating the peculiar quality of Lucan's relation to one not merely gone before—but lost. The attempt to discover his attitude toward historical truth by an analysis of his methods in utilizing a source—dans la mesure où ce modèle peut être restitué par conjecture—becomes merely an interesting study in probabilities and the psychology of poetic license. Il n'a pas été un pur historien, mais il a aimé l'histoire, il l'a comprise, et le plus souvent il l'a respectée. He gives le récit de Tite-Live, embelli, mais non déformé, par la splendeur de la poésie.

The particular brand of Lucan's philosophy has been hard to identify. Mr. Heitland by a laborious application of Zeller makes him out both Stoic and Epicurean. M. Lejay baffled by the possibilities concludes in desperate irony that he is merely "un homme de lettres". To M. Pichon he seems a consistent exponent of the eclectic Stoicism of Seneca.

Consideration of the resemblances between the *Pharsalia* and



the tragedies attributed to Seneca, with the incidental purpose of extending the evidence for their authorship, and an examination of Hosius' evidence for the influence of Manilius and Quintus Curtius, with negative conclusions, give to the chapter on Les sources littéraires its special value.

As *errata* I note *seconde* for *première* in *la seconde supposition*, p. 40, *leur* for *leurs* in *leur époux*, p. 2, *ausi* for *aussi*, p. 12, the omission of a period before *en outre*, p. 32, and an incorrect form of the reference to Lucan I, 217, p. 113. In the *table des matières*, p. 273, § 4, CXIII should be, apparently, CIII.

M. Pichon has brought to Lucan a timely rescue from his "friends, the enemy". The impression, however, lingers that by ingenious and plausible hypotheses he has been too much his champion. Yet to characterize his evidently judicial charity as a bias of interest would be invidious and misrepresent the value of a study remarkable for critical acumen and scholarly restraint. In its wealth of matter, interpretative and controversial, it becomes an indispensable and unrivalled guide to a true insight into the poet's mind and methods.

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## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XXXIV (1910), 3 and 4.

Pp. 213-223. Maurice Croiset, Conjectures Regarding the Chronology of Some of Euripides' Plays of Uncertain Date. (The First Hippolytus, Stheneboea, Phoenix, Cretan Women.) The first Hippolytus contained a scene in which Phaedra openly confessed her love to Hippolytus and sought to seduce him before the very eyes of the audience. The poet later eliminated the objectionable features of the play, remodeled it, and won the first prize with it. The new play, which has survived, was represented in 428 B. C. None of the twenty-five plays of Euripides that may with reasonable certainty be said to have been written after this date—and twelve of these are extant—contain matter which, like that of the first Hippolytus, was likely to outrage the sense of decency of the Athenian public. It therefore appears almost certain that at some time between the production of the first and the second Hippolytus Euripides' attitude towards public sentiment underwent a complete change. If this is true, the phenomenon sheds new light on the spiritual evolution of the poet, and establishes a new chronological criterion for the undated plays. If a play shows a female character whose conduct resembles that of the Phaedra of the first Hippolytus, it must have been written some time previous to 428 B. C., the date of the second Hippolytus. In the light of this new principle, and in view of a certain dramatical progression that manifests itself in the treatment of the one fundamental theme, the Phoenix, the Stheneboea, and the first Hippolytus must be assigned, in the order named, to a period extending from about 440-432 B. C. The Cretan Women, which was played along with the Alcestis in 438 B. C., also belongs to this group of plays.

Pp. 224-235. H. Bléry, Studies on the Language and the Style of Terence. The present paper is one of a number of chapters that were originally intended to form part of a complete Syntax of Terence. The Syntax was actually completed but it proved so bulky that the author at the last moment decided to reduce it to a Syntax of the Subordinate Sentence in Terence. Through the kindness of the Revue de Philologie, Bléry is now printing some of the most interesting portions of the material that was to be sacrificed. The present instalment treats of the following uses of the substantive. 1. The substantive use of any word, phrase, or sentence. 2. The use of an abstract noun, such



as scelus, odium, etc., or of the name of a concrete object, such as crux, carcer, etc., as a term of reproach. 3. The gender of names of plays. 4. The gender of names of women that have a neuter termination. 5. The expression longinquitas aetatis. 6. The various uses and the regimen of verbal substantives in -tio, -tor, and -trix. This section has nine subsections, some of which comprise still smaller subdivisions.

Pp. 235-237. Émile Bréhier, Philo of Alexandria, De Specialibus Legibus, I, § 82 Cohn. The passage is corrupt because it contains an absurd statement, and contradicts Vita Mosis II (III), §§ 143 sq. Cohn, and other ancient statements on the subject. Emend so as to read ἡ δ' ἐσθῆς ἐστὶ χιτῶν λινοῦς καὶ περιζῶμα <καὶ περισκελές>, τὸ μὲν εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην, ἀ μὴ πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ γυμνοῦσθαι θέμις, [ὁ δὲ χιτῶν] <τὸ δὲ> ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ὀξύτητος [ἀνείμονες . . . ἡσκημένοι]. <ὁ δὲ χιτῶν λινοῦς> διὰ τὸ τὴν ὀθόνην ἐκ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ὥσπερ τὰ ἔρια γεννᾶσθαι. τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεὶ διείρηται μὲν . . .

Pp. 238-243. L. Delaruelle, Observations on Some Passages in Cicero's Orations. The author proposes and defends the following changes, which are indicated by italics: Pro Quinctio, 49 nam quid homini potest turpius, quid *uiuo* (MSS uero, editors uiro) miserius aut acerbius usu uenire? Pro. Rosc. Amer. 24 nemo erat qui non *audere* (MSS ardere) omnia mallet. *Ibid.* 149 causam mihi tradidit quem sua causa cupere <*perinde*> ac debere <*m*> intellegebat. Pro Caelio, 42 ut ea quae ratione antea non *despexerat* (MSS perspexerat) satietate abiecisset et experiendo contempsisset uideatur. Pro Marcello, 10 (s. f. c. 3) quod <*senatui*> breui tempore *restituta* (MSS futura) sit *sua* (MSS illa) auctoritas.

Pp. 244-250. René Waltz, Regarding Afranius Burrus. [Waltz spells the name Burrus, De la Ville de Mirmont Burrhus.] This paper is largely a reply to the criticisms that were directed by De la Ville de Mirmont in his article on Afranius Burrhus (see A. J. P. XXXIV (1913), 350 sq.) against some statements of Waltz's Vie de Sénèque. Waltz heartily concurs with De la Ville de Mirmont as to the wide prevalence of false notions regarding the career of Burrus, but he sets forth the unequal value of the arguments that were used by De la Ville de Mirmont to prove that Burrus' traditional reputation for virtue and honesty was somewhat exaggerated. Especially important is Waltz's exposition of the fact that Joseph. Ant. Jud. XX, 8, 9 is not available as an argument against the integrity of Burrus.

Pp. 251-294. Henri Alline, The History and Criticism of the Platonic Text, and Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1016 and 1017. (Fragments of the Phaedrus.) The first part of this paper is a historical survey of the theory and practice of Platonic textual criticism from the point of view of Platonic textual tradition.



Alline first passes in review the work of Bekker, Stallbaum, the Zurich editors, K. F. Hermann, Cobet, Schanz, Wohlrab, Jordan, and Král. These men may be said to represent a period of Platonic textual research that was characterized for the most part by the collation and the classification of the medieval MSS. A new era begins in 1891 with Mahaffy's publication of the *Phaedo* papyrus. This publication provoked a great deal of discussion, and led to the investigation of the real worth of our MS tradition. In this connection the author traces the work of Diels, Gomperz, A. T. Christ, Blass, Wentzel, Hartman, Usener, Immisch, and Couvreur. The appearance of the *Phaedo* papyrus also gave a fresh impetus to the study of the relation of the ancient quotations to the tradition of our MSS, and Alline shows how this work, which had been begun by Roos in 1886 and Rawack in 1888, was now continued with fine results by Couvreur, Schaeffer, St. Jones, Immisch, Bickel, and Apelt, until in 1905 the publication of the papyrus containing the anonymous commentary on the *Theaetetus* added new material by the aid of which it was conclusively shown that the third family of our Platonic MSS, like the second, is older than the first. After this preliminary historical sketch, the author proceeds to the special consideration of the *Phaedrus* papyri that were published by Hunt in 1910 in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part VII. These papyri reveal three new sources of the Platonic text. A detailed study of all the variants presented by these new sources leads Alline to the following conclusions: 1. There existed among the ancients a fairly large number of traditions that were distinct from one another and of varying worth. Hence, it is inaccurate to speak of an ancient vulgate edition of Plato. 2. These traditions, to judge by our papyri, differed more from B than from T, and more from BT than from the other MSS. 3. No ancient tradition is identical with any definite portion of our medieval tradition. The medieval tradition, considered as a whole, shows certain distinctive characteristics (readings that are peculiar to it and that do not result from arbitrary modifications), and seems to be derived from a single source. 4. The ancient tradition must be utilized for the establishment of the text. Not only its relation to our MSS must be studied, but also its own peculiar value must be determined. The text of papyrus 1017 is certainly the best of the three sources presented by the *Phaedrus* papyri, but the other two sources must not be neglected. For the editor of the *Phaedrus* specially, Alline lays down the law that he must derive his text from four sources, which are of varying value and purity, but which are all of them indispensable: 1. The text of the first family, represented by B and, only in a subsidiary manner, by some secondary MSS ( $\Pi$ , D etc.). 2. The text of the second family, of which the *Venetus* T is the best representative. 3. The text of the third family. In the case of the *Phaedrus*, this text is pretty close to



the text of the second family, and must be derived principally from W. The three families combined constitute our MS tradition, which is generally conclusive. 4. The ancient tradition (quotations and papyri), which is of varying form and value. In the great majority of cases, the readings common to BTW furnish the text that may be considered the true Platonic text. But in certain comparatively rare instances the papyri present a new and more authentic tradition.

Pp. 295-300. Book Notices.

Pp. 301-328. J. B. Mispoulet, *The Transformations of Spain during the First Three Centuries of the Roman Empire*. The administrative organization of Hispania ulterior did not suffer any material change during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, but, from an inscription discovered at Tangier in 1887, it appears that at some time during this period the province experienced at least a change of name. The inscription in question refers to a Nova Hispania ulterior Tingitana. The author's explanation of the designation is that during the reign of Marcus Aurelius the province of Mauretania Tingitana was temporarily attached to Spain for the sake of affording military protection to the senatorial province of Hispania ulterior Baetica. In regard to Hispania citerior, the situation is more complicated, and the facts are more obscure. The official designation of the province during the period under consideration is always Hispania citerior. It is true that the majority of modern writers speak of a provincia Tarraconensis in connection with this period, but this designation is inaccurate, as it does not appear in inscriptions before the fourth century. Other writers assume the existence of a province of Asturia et Callaecia. But the existence of such a province is far from being proved. The inscription that was discovered at Leon in 1849 seemed to have settled the question, but the author shows that the current explanation of that inscription cannot stand. According to Mispoulet, the Hispania nova citerior of the inscription is simply a reorganized Hispania citerior, the reorganization perhaps consisting in the separation of the military territory of Leon from Asturia and its annexation to the Tarraconensian district. Whilst at the time of Strabo Hispania citerior was divided into three districts, there were only two during the first three centuries of the empire, namely, Hispania citerior Tarraconensis and Asturia et Callaecia. Till the year 288 or 289 A. D., the entire province was governed by a legatus of consular rank whose official designation was legatus Augusti pro praetore Hispaniae citerioris. After 288 or 289 A. D., the governor was no longer of consular or even of senatorial rank, but he was a simple praeses of equestrian rank. In regard to the government of the districts, a distinction must be made between the Tarraconensian district and that of Asturia et Callaecia. In the Tarraconensian district we find an officer whose



rank is inferior to that of the governor of the whole province, and whose official designation is generally *juridicus*, or *legatus juridicus*, *Hispaniae citerioris Tarraconensis*, but sometimes simply *legatus Hispaniae* or *Hispaniae citerioris*. The *juridici* of this district happen never to apply to themselves the title *legati Augusti* or *legati legionis*, which the *juridici* of the other district apply to themselves. In the district of *Asturia et Callaecia* we meet with two kinds of officers, *procuratores* and *juridici*. These officers do not seem to have existed simultaneously, but the office of the procurator, which was the earlier form of office, was later abolished and gave way to that of the *juridicus*. As to the procurator, the author agrees with Hirschfeld that this official was not a fiscal agent but a real governor of the district. His official title was *procurator Hispaniae citerioris Asturiae et Callaeciae* (per *Asturiam et Callaeciam*), or, briefly, *procurator Asturiae et Callaeciae*. The *juridici*, who, as we have seen, succeeded the *procuratores* in this province, were variously designated: 1. *Legati Augusti juridici Asturiae et Callaeciae*. 2. *Legati Augusti* (with or without the name of the emperor) *Asturiae et Callaeciae* (per *Asturiam et Callaeciam*). 3. *Legati Augusti*.

Pp. 329-335. A. Cartault, *Critical Notes on the Culex*, a Pseudo-Virgilian Poem. The author believes that whilst the *Culex* will always present a residue of unsolvable textual problems, yet a certain number of the readings that are commonly regarded as hopeless or doubtful will yield to emendation. The passages that are treated here are 3, 110-114, 168, 189-200, 248, 369-371.

Pp. 336-341. Alfred Jacob, *Arrianea*. Critical notes on Arrian, *Anab.* 1, 6, 1; 1, 6, 8; 1, 7, 1; 1, 13, 3; 1, 17, 8-11; 1, 18, 1; 1, 20, 4; 1, 20, 5; 1, 20, 6; 1, 23, 3; 1, 28, 8; 2, 1, 2.

Pp. 342-349. Salomon Reinach, *Ovid's Companions and Exile*. The authors of two well-known theories as to the cause of Ovid's punishment think that Ovid's friends and servants were guilty of an act of treachery toward him and thus brought him into disgrace. In support of this view they cite *Tristia* 4, 10, 101 *Quid referam comitumque nefas famulosque nocentes?* But Reinach adduces proof to show that the heinous offence of the companions consisted in the desertion of their friend in his misfortune, and that the crime of the servants consisted in the robbery of their master on his way to Tomi. He furthermore proposes the following ingenious theory as to the cause of Ovid's banishment. On the occasion of a friendly visit to the house of Julia, Ovid was present at the performance of certain magic rites, the outcome of which was the prediction that the emperor was soon to die and that Agrippa was to be his successor. The poet had had no idea of the spectacle that was to greet his eyes, and the mistake that he made, and for which he chides himself, was that he remained and witnessed the ceremony instead of with-



drawing at once. Having previously displeased the emperor by his *Ars Amatoria* and perhaps also by his friendly relations with the two Julias, he compromised himself still further by this new act of indiscretion. His guilt was not such as to warrant the death penalty and therefore Augustus sent him into exile. In the decree of banishment the poet was charged with having written the *Ars Amatoria* and with having corrupted the young people. The emperor could not state the real cause of the punishment without publishing broadcast the prediction of his own impending doom, and Ovid, for a similar reason, could not refer in explicit terms to the circumstances that led to his misfortune. This theory, if true, would also shed some light upon the severity of the laws that were enacted by Augustus, and especially by Tiberius, against the practice of astrology and magic.

Pp. 350-378. Ch. Joret, Brunck and D'Ansse de Villoison. The author traces a history of the relations that subsisted between the distinguished Hellenists Brunck and Villoison. The materials available for this history are derived mainly from the epistolary correspondence of these two men, and especially from that of Villoison. Brunck, who was born at Strassburg in 1729, entered the field of Greek scholarship comparatively late in life. Villoison, who was born in 1750, distinguished himself very early in life, for in 1772, at the early age of 22, he became a member of the Académie des Inscriptions. It was in 1772, as Joret shows by the aid of an undated and unsigned letter of Brunck to Villoison, that Villoison first met Brunck at Paris, and submitted to him for revision and criticism the entire introduction of his *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon*. Brunck made a number of criticisms and corrections, some of which were embodied in the published work. The remarks that preceded these criticisms were extremely complimentary to Villoison, and Brunck and Villoison ought to have become very good friends. But, though Brunck twice more visited Paris, and Villoison once visited Strassburg, and though Villoison on his visit to Strassburg formed lasting friendships with other scholars, no attachment sprang up between Villoison and Brunck, and there was very little direct correspondence between the two. Brunck was a severe critic and Villoison was vain, and this difference in temperament was accentuated by the difference in age. A specimen of Villoison's vanity and of his lack of tact towards Brunck was the writing of a letter on the eve of the completion of Brunck's *Analecta*, in which letter, besides talking a great deal about his own work, and gratuitously quoting two obscene epigrams of Moeris and furnishing a commentary on them, the writer volunteers information in regard to a couple of lyric fragments and suggests, in the case of the one, that, if Brunck had perchance overlooked it in his *Analecta*, there would still be time to place it at the end of the work. It does not appear that Brunck answered the letter, but it is perhaps significant that Villoison, in two of his letters to



Wyttenbach, speaks of the notes of Brunck's *Analecta* as "very dry and arid". A glimpse of Brunck's attitude towards Villoison may be gained by reading Brunck's "Remarks on the new edition [sc. Villoison's of 1778] of Longus", which Joret publishes from a MS preserved in the National Library at Paris. These "Remarks" reveal a sort of malicious joy on the author's part at catching Villoison in a mistake, and they betoken a sad lack of the kind of spirit that one distinguished scholar should cherish towards another. It must be borne in mind, however, that these comments and criticisms were not intended for the eyes of Villoison, and that Villoison, in fact, never saw them. It is evident from the foregoing that the relations between Villoison and Brunck could never have been very close and cordial, yet, in spite of this, there is evidence to prove that Brunck did really appreciate Villoison's work, and Villoison, on the other hand, until two years before the French Revolution, maintained the highest regard for Brunck's scholarship, took a lively interest in all that Brunck was doing, was always solicitous of his good opinion, favored him with copies of the most important of his works, and in his letters to Oberlin and others at Strassburg almost invariably sent his regards to Brunck. All this came to an end in 1788. In this year Villoison sent Brunck a copy of his *Homer*. Brunck's reception of the *Homer* may have been cool, or his ardent advocacy of the French Revolution combined with the transfer of his philological activities to the field of Latin may have displeased Villoison. At any rate, Brunck's name is never again mentioned in any of the letters of Villoison, and even his death, in 1803, was passed unnoticed by one who more than once had had occasion to test the value of his life.

P. 379. Georges Romain, *Plautus, Casina* 437-451. Critical note.

P. 380. Bernard Haussoullier, *Epigraphica*. Consideration of *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1910, p. 2, and *Jahreshefte des ö. arch. Inst. in Wien*, XIII (1910), Beiblatt, p. 25.

C. W. E. MILLER.

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#### HERMES XLIV.

##### Fascicle 3.

Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte griechischer Metren. P. Friedländer agrees with Schröder (cf. *Vorarbeiten zur gr. Versgesch.* p. 81): that the dactylo-epitrite is an ionized enoplius, derived from the 'oldest' form of Greek verse:  $(\underline{\cup}) - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - (\cup)$ ; but only so far as the dactylic colon is concerned, for the epitrite  $- \cup - -$  resists its treatment as a minor Ionic, and more simply can be regarded as an abbreviated Ithyphallic  $- \cup - \cup - \cup$ , which is frequently combined with the enoplius, and at times



takes the place of the epitrite in Simonides and tragedy. Generally speaking, the epitrite holds the same relation to the Ithyphallic and Lecythion, as the Reizianum  $\frac{\sim}{\sim} - \frac{\sim}{\sim} - \frac{\sim}{\sim}$  does, to the normal enoplius and the more fully developed enoplius, with four stresses. F. discusses the varieties, and, further, maintains that the ionizing process can also be seen in the case of the Sotadeans and Phalaeceans. For adverse criticism see White, *The Verse of Greek Com.* 816 (cf. A. J. P. XXV 222).

Triumph und Votum. G. Beseler accepts the main results of R. Laqueur (A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 224); but criticizes details, and defends Mommsen's views on several points. The execution of captives was in its origin human sacrifice imported with the triumph from Etruria. The triumphal garb was preserved in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, hence erroneously came to be regarded as the god's attire.

Ein Selbstzeugnis des Terenz. F. Jacoby calls attention to the essential agreement between *Andria* 32-39, which reveals an ideal relation between Simo and his libertus Sosia, and the first lines of the Terence biography; from which he infers that Terence, at his earliest opportunity, expressed his gratitude to his patron, the Roman senator Terentius Lucanus.

Χέρνιψ. P. Stengel finds that, whereas χέρνιψ is used for cleansing in α 136, δ 52 etc., in γ 445 it is an offering. The oldest example of a water libation is λ 26 ff. (cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 469 ff., Aesch. Pers. 613; and Athen. IX 496 B on the πλημοχόαι). Homer uses χεῖρας νίπτεσθαι for 'washing one's hands' (cf. π 230, β 261 etc.); the only example of χερνίπτεσθαι, A 449, means 'they offered χέρνιψ' (cf. [Lys.] VI 52, Eur. Iph. Taur. 622). The Attic ὕδροφόρια, probably connected with the Χύτροι, was a festival commemorating the victims of the Deucalion flood (cf. Etym. M. 774, 56; Hesych. s. v. ὕδροφόρια), at which water was poured into the chasm in the sanctuary of Γῆ' Ὀλυμπία (cf. the honey cakes in Paus. I 18, 7). To these passages may be added Eur. Hypsipyle, Oxyrh. Pap. VI (1908) III 29 ff. The ὑδρόσπονδα or χέρνιβες were, perhaps originally, together with the οὐλόχυνται, offerings to the Χθόνιοι divinities for fertility and crops, which later became a means of lustration (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 471).

Die Jasonsage in der Hypsipyle des Euripides. C. Robert discusses the new Jason myth in Eur. Hypsipyle (cf. Oxyrh. Pap. VI 852), showing the correctness of εἰς Κόλχων πόλιν v. 1614, etc. The visit of the Argonauts on Lemnos preceded the massacre, they were the guests of Thoas; on leaving, Jason took the two (legitimate) children with him to Colchis, where, like Achilles, he died prematurely, which throws light on a vase painting of about 490 B. C. (cf. E. Reisch in Helbig's Führer<sup>1</sup> 1271), representing Jason in the mouth of the dragon and Athene calmly looking on, a version suggesting the success of his rival



**Heracles.** In the meantime the massacre takes place. Thoas, hidden by his daughter, is discovered and miraculously transported to Thrace, whence he returns to Lesbos with the children, who had been brought to Thrace by Orpheus. Euripides lets Hypsipyle be carried off to Nemea, where, as nurse to Opheltes, she serves to connect the Argonautic expedition with the Seven against Thebes, a large Aeschylean treatment of myths, exhibited also in Eur. Trojan (415 B. C.) and Theban (410 B. C.) trilogies, which series seems to close 409 B. C., with the trilogy: Antiope, Hypsipyle and, perhaps, Melanippe II. It is noteworthy that Euripides ignores his own Medea.

**Menanders Perikeiromene.** K. Fr. W. Schmidt presents here in forty-one pages an analysis of the P. with emendations and assignments of parts, some of which have been adopted in Koerte's Menandrea (1910). Regard is paid to the views of Leo, Koerte, v. Arnim, etc., and especially of Robert (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 225).

**Lesefrüchte.** U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff continues his series of miscellanies (cf. A. J. P. XXVII 343). Some of the results are: Pind. Ol. 2, 60 ἀβροτέραν for ἀγροτέραν, cf. Fraccaroli, p. 195, n. 2; Plat. Symp. 202 c πῶς τοῦτο [ἔφη om. Ox.] λέγεις, 208 c θαυμάζοι <μί> σ' ἄν; 213 b κατιδεῖν for καθίζειν; Ion 532 d ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ [τάληθῇ λέγω] οἶον κτλ. After rereading most of the dialogues at a stretch, W. still disbelieves in the genuineness of the Ion. Aeschin. 2, 169 τὸν τε Μενίτην for Τεμενίδην proved by MSS A and C, = 10055 Kirchn. Prosopogr. Eur. Rhesus 680 δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς (685) ἴτω ΟΔ. θάρσει· ΧΟ. πέλας ἴθι· παῖε πᾶς, a trochaic tetrameter. Eur. Hekabe 73-78, 90-97, 211-215 are interpolations adopted from actors' copies by the Alexandrians. Euripides' shade of Polydorus is the conscious counterpart of the shade of Achilles in Soph. Polyxena (Frg. 480). Alciphron's 'Lamia to Demetrius' is printed with introduction and translation. The feminine ethos and resemblance to Clärchens conversation with Egmont is noteworthy; Alciphron worked over an older letter, which originated near the time of the characters represented. Aristophanes' Daitaleis was named after a θίασος that had just returned from a banquet in a sanctuary of Heracles. The banquet described in iambic verse, according to Aristoph. oldest order, must have followed the parabasis, and was introduced to contrast the σώφρων and καταπύγων. The Ἀγών was carried on by the father and his sons, the καταπύγων was opposed to the other two in the examination, etc. . The association of Thrasymachus with the καλοκαγαθίαν (first occurrence) ἀσκοῦντες reveals the rhetor as being also a teacher of virtue. The above is a criticism, in part, of Hugo Weber's Aristoph. Studien, p. 84 ff.

**Miscelle:** K. Fr. W. Schmidt offers emendations to Menander's Samia and Epitrepontes.



## Fascicle 4.

**Die Zeit des Ephorus.** E. Schwartz expands his arguments for the earlier period of Ephorus (cf. R-E. Diodorus and Ephorus), in opposition to B. Niese (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 224). Diod. book XVI 23-25 contains a number of double passages, not identical, revealing a second source where Ephorus came to an end, i. e. at the beginning of the Phocian war 357 B. C. (cf. Paus. X, 2, 3, etc.) Demophilus attracted by the popular theme added book XXX and presumably announced, in the preface, his purpose of writing the history of the 'Holy War'; but continued down to 340 B. C., where he stopped for some unknown reason. Ephorus would have devoted, at least, ten books to this period, 357-340 B. C. The dream of Philip (Plut. Alex. 2) is probably from book XXX, as well as the estimate of 735 years from the Return of the Heraclidae to Alexander's crossing into Asia (Clem. Strom. 1, 139, 1; cf. Diod. XVI 76), which Niese would assign to one of the first three books. S. discusses Callisthenes, Theopompus, Ephorus, etc. Cratippus was an impostor of the I century B. C.

**Die Hibehrede über die Musik.** W. Crönert gives a slightly improved text, with translation, commentary, etc., of these two papyrus leaves (cf. Grenfell and Hunt, Hibeh Pap. 1906, no. 13). It is the beginning of a speech criticizing the discourse of an ἀρμονικός on the ethical value of music. In Plato Phaedr. 268 d such a musical specialist is scorned by a μουσικός. The author was an Isocratean (not Hippias); even phrases from κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν (about 390 B. C. cf. Rh. M. 1907, 182) were adopted. Hiatus occurs, hence its avoidance was not yet an established norm. Damon has been thought of as the object of the attack (cf. Plato Rep. III 398-400, Aristid. Quint. II 14, etc.); but he was known as a μουσικός (cf. Philod. de mus. 7 K., Plato Lach. 180 d.); besides Damon's Areopagite oration, though genuine (Wilam. Arist. u. Athen I 134) was fictitious (cf. A. J. P. X 110), whereas the Hibeh address criticizes one actually delivered; finally, the probable date, close to 390 B. C., points to a pupil of Damon, possibly Draco.

**Homerica.** G. Pinza, in the belief that Homeric dress was oriental, finds analogies between his interpretations of the text and representations in Assyrian and Syrian art. The ἐανός was a linen undergarment, like the Ionic χιτών; the φᾶρος a woollen ἐπίβλημα. πέπλος had a generic sense (§ 38), and so could be combined with ἐανός (cf. Θ 385); but was also used in a special sense for φᾶρος. The outer garment alone was dyed; coloring matter would have suffered from perspiration. κροκόπεπλοι and κυανόπεπλοι can be seen in Layard II pl. 55/6. P. discusses the ζώνη, καλύπτρη, κάλυμμα, the head gear in X 468 ff., and shows that the κεστός ἱμῖς of Aphrodite (π 214-217), which Hera used as a talisman, was a girdle for supporting the breasts. The



κρήδεμνον in ε 346, 351 suggests the belts worn by swimmers in Mesopotamia.

Die Jerusalemer Handschrift der Oracula Sibyllina. A. Rzach presents his collation of this hitherto unused MS, which dating from the late XIV century is one of the oldest of the Sibylline MSS, excepting the IV century fragment of book V (cf. *Atene e Roma*, 1904, p. 354 ff.). The usual criteria show that Z (so R. calls it) belongs to the α class, in general the best; that it is from the same source as Q; but has some independent value.

Plancus und Lepidus im Mutinensischen Krieg. C. Bardt gives details of Cicero's correspondence, of the movements of the contestants with the aid of a map, of the attitude of the senate and Cicero, etc. Additional proof corroborates April 21st as the date of the battle of Mutina. Plancus received the news about April 28 at Cularo, on the north side of the Isara. The following day he began negotiations with Lepidus; but did not actually start south until May 18. Two days' march from Forum Voconii he learned of Antony's union there with Lepidus, from the faithful republican Laterensis. May 28 (ad fam. X 21) he declares everything is lost. This disputed date is fixed, by its agreement with the course of events, by hoc (= huc) in X 21, 5 referring to the neighborhood of Lepidus and Antony, and by the apologetic tenor of the letter, which adduces, as evidence of his celerity (X 21, 1), his earlier crossing of the Isara (May 12 ad fam. X 15, 3), whereas he had continually procrastinated. Antony was the ablest of the generals and the dominating influence in the conduct of Lepidus. Plancus, overcautious, followed a vacillating and dilatory policy.

Kauf und Verkauf von Priestertümern bei den Griechen. W. Otto republishes a Milesian decree (Abh. Berl. Akad. 1908 Anhang), which specifies the share of the victims due the purchasers of the priesthood, i. e. the priests, at public and private sacrifices; in the latter case skins were excepted. The fragment breaks off at the beginning of a third class. The sale of priest-hoods is accordingly not a sign of Hellenistic decadence, as the above decree belongs to the V or early IV century. This had already been surmised by Wilamowitz from a II century decree of Priene (cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen, p. 134, *Inscr. v. Priene* n. 174) in which the exemption from the trierarchy was evidently a traditional formula, as it could have been actual in Priene only before the battle of Lade 494 B. C. (cf. A. J. P. XX 455; Whibley *Com. to Greek Studies*, p. 319).

Doppelfassungen bei Juvenal. F. Leo points out and reconstructs double versions in Juvenal, beginning with the Bodleian fragments (cf. A. J. P. XXII 268) and traces the MS tradition. There were two authentic editions of Juvenal: the first published by himself, the second after his death. The latter contained a



number of alterations, and although not carefully edited, became the standard and basis of the commentaries, beginning in the II century. Copies of the first edition, however, were known to the commentators, and continued to exist down to the XI century, from which the posthumous edition was interpolated from time to time.

Miscellen: Gabriel Téglás publishes a military tile found at Gyulafehérvár (= Karlsburg, Apulum), inscribed: LEG. XIII GE ET ADI = leg(io) XIII Ge(mina) et Ad(iutrix) I. This proves that these legions together constituted the first garrison in Dacia under Trajan, as Mommsen and others had concluded from a similar tile found at București, which Téglás plausibly conjectures had been brought from Gyulafehérvár early in the XIX century.—F. E. Kind selects from several parallel passages in Nicander and Philumenus, omitted by Wellmann (cf. *Corpus medicorum* X 1, 1), Nic. Ther. 934-956 = Phil. c. 15, 15-16, on account of their importance for the text. Of the twenty-six ingredients of Nic. the text of Phil. contains twenty-one, and the others can be obtained by emendation. Kind also emends the scholion to Nic. Ther. 190: *ιχνεύμων: είδος <κάττου>*, for *ἀετού*. Hence *ίερὸς δέ ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους, ὡς Αἰγύπτιος* is correct, and Bentley's conjecture *αἰγυπιός* mistaken.—F. Blumenthal shows that the praefectus iure dicundo, associated with the duumvirs on Caecilius Jucundus' receipt (cf. Mau-Kelsey, p. 214), merely acted as a substitute for the latter during their absence in Rome at the trial of the Pompeians and Nucerians for the riot in 59 B. C. (cf. Tac. ann. XIV 17).—A. B. Drachmann adduces additional proof in support of his belief in the existence of traces of a version in Soph. Antigone, according to which the heroine buried her brother (cf. A. J. P. XXXII, p. 462).—Th. Reinach offers emendations to Menand. Periceirromene.—C. Robert shows that Od. i, vv. 24, 25 are interpolations, without which the location of Ithaca becomes clear.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

There may be a diversity of opinion as to the value of addresses and popular lectures ; there can be no diversity of opinion as to the disproportionate drain on the time and energies of the orator and the lecturer, as well as on the patience of the discerning portion of the audience. When the author of these performances rereads them after the lapse of years—nay, it may be after the lapse of months or weeks—he is apt to be seized with an immense disgust. If rashly committed to print, they are perpetual reminders—unhappy reminders—of the necessary conciliations of benevolence and the trivial jests which every American audience demands. And so I congratulate myself whenever I have withstood the temptation—and there is always a temptation—to bring these epideictic affairs of my own before a wider public, one that is not moved to sympathy by the living presence of the performer. They are things that perish with the using, or ought to perish with the using. One such praelection was extorted from me some months ago, and, in order to acquit myself of what seemed an inevitable duty without unnecessary interruption of my regular work, I took for my text a book which has had a certain vogue among those who have a vague fancy for Greek and like to have their predilection justified, like to have some professional scholar tell them what to think, but more particularly what to say, when they encounter the sneers of those who regard this whole line of studies as obsolete. But before I had completed my task, I bethought me of reading the criticisms that had been made of Mr. LIVINGSTONE's volume, *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us*, and found that the work had been satisfactorily disposed of by those organs of opinion for which I have respect ; but it was too late to change my subject, and so I set my teeth and said to myself: Si vous y êtes, comme ie pense, donnez un peu plus de volée à vos cloches—memorable words addressed to an ancient and ineffectual performer in one of Balzac's Contes Drôlatiques, unread by me for fifty odd years. So true is it, as I had urged on a similar occasion (*Hellas and Hesperia*, p. 84), that the words that come up to us in time of stress are not always the words of the mother-tongue. In short, I was in for it, and did my best under the circumstances. And there the thing rested, and I bade my little discourse keep company with my other temporary trumperies. The long vacation came on. All my arrangements for the Journal had been made, and, like the man in Blair's Grave, I was sitting at ease in my possessions, when I received an intimation that one of my re-



viewers might fail me. I did not 'run to each avenue and shriek for help'—a vain proceeding at that period of the year—but in order to fill the possible gap I executed myself and made a summary of my rejected address, which I thought might serve as a review. Meantime the danger passed, and I was left with another time-wasting performance on my hands; but as in its revised form it was meant for publication, I consign it to its doom and give it a place among the unconsidered trifles of *Brief Mention*.

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Hardly a number of the Journal appears without some fling at translations and translators, ungenerous flings, as some may deem them; but I am jealous, and jealousy is cruel as the grave. Similar is my attitude towards books concerning the Greek genius, which are multiplying like translations, and like translations set my nerves quivering. Neither class of performances do I look at except under dire compulsion such as forced me to read Mr. LIVINGSTONE's volume, which has found its public.

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The book is clever—cleverness is even cheaper now than *bel esprit* was in Molière's time—il n' y a rien à meilleur marché que le bel esprit maintenant—but it is an inexpressibly irritating book to a man of my make-up. There is too much kowtowing in it. By reason of a long life of study and an environment that makes for personal independence, I am averse to any form of kowtowing, and while the whole world was making obeisance to that deft manufacturer of counters that passed current for coin of the realm, Matthew Arnold, I did not hesitate to object to such phrases as 'Conduct is three-fourths of life', whereas it is the whole of life—if indeed life is *βίος* (A. J. P. XI 126); and I am sorry that my friend Professor Goodell has accepted Matthew Arnold's definition of poetry as a criticism of life. Poetry is a criticism of life, but it is so much else. Matthew Arnold having had his day, Mr. LIVINGSTONE kowtows now to Nietzsche, who is all the rage, now to the Heavenly Twins after this fashion. 'In Germany', he says, 'Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (I miss the Ulrich), in England Professor Murray, have entered into the Greek mind to a degree impossible to previous generations'—generations to which I belong. Now, I yield to no one in my admiration of both these Hellenists; I am grateful to them both, but not to the extent of prostration, and I should not have bracketed them as Mr. LIVINGSTONE has done. 'Castor gaudet equis', and Gilbert Murray's poetical genius suggests a Pega-sean parallel, and *pugnis* is not inappropriate to Wilamowitz; but the Berlin scholar ought to stand alone.



No doubt the process of the ages brings with it a fuller appreciation of Hellenism, and of this process Wilamowitz and Gilbert Murray, each in his kind and degree, are conspicuous interpreters; but, after all, in the interest of the rank and file of Hellenists I maintain that the relation of the Grecian to things Greek is personal (A. J. P. XXXIII 305). The old scholar who loved Greek before Wilamowitz was born, who preached the glory of Greece when Gilbert Murray was in his cradle, finds it hard to kiss his hand to new luminaries—a proceeding forbidden in the Bible—though, to be sure, the *Udalricium sidus*<sup>1</sup> can hardly be called a new luminary. It was in this spirit of independence that I took for the title of the discourse I am now editing, 'The Wooing of Roxane', and compared myself to the inarticulate Chrétien of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*—Chrétien who loved Roxane with every fibre of his healthy being, and must have chafed when his fellow-admirer expressed his feelings so much better than he himself could have done. How I rejoiced when Chrétien achieved the kiss of which Cyrano only caught the air when it was blown to him! In order to grow old gracefully, we are told, it is necessary to be a little behind the fashion, and yet in espousing the cause of Chrétien against Cyrano I might consider myself as up-to-date, for in a figure I am pleading the cause of intuition against intellection. Still, if I am up-to-date, it is because of the inevitable cycle in ways of thinking. The same old issues recur, as the same old jokes recur, and the problem of the universe is a new edition of Hierokles, which I read seventy odd years ago in the *Graeca Minora*. Only the type is not so clear as the old, the ink is not so black. The grammarian, the student of rhetoric, encounter the same antitheses everywhere. Herakleitos, to adapt an old illustration of my own,<sup>2</sup> with his eternal flux is  $\omega\varsigma$ , is 'how', and answers to the impressionist. Parmenides with his everlasting one is  $\delta\tau\iota$ , is 'that', and answers to the idealist. The sophists juggle with 'how' and 'that', the artists in speech put  $\omega\varsigma$  for  $\delta\tau\iota$  to avoid the yawn between two vowels, and bid philosophic systems go hang. Even Plato, who begins with  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\tau\iota$ , winds up with  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \omega\varsigma$ . Impressionism wins the day. Dionysios, the pedantic teacher of rhetoric, Dionysios, Usener's *magistellus*, analyzes all his orators. Lysias, for instance, he tells us, has all the virtues of style, purity of diction, clearness, conciseness, vividness. The arrangement of his narrative is faultless; he knows how to assume the character of the speaker, and touches the rôle he assumes with sympathy; but after all this analysis, Dionysios is forced to declare that in a question of genuineness he has to rest his judgment on an indefinable  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ , that  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ , which in the case of Demosthenes, be-

<sup>1</sup> In my youth the planet Uranus was still called *Georgium sidus*—a loathsome piece of snobbery.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. XXVIII 354. Comp. X 472.



comes a still more untranslatable *αὐτάρκης χάρις*. In point of fact he sorts his orators by a sense that is more subtle than the processes of chemical analysis; and thus we arrive at a conclusion which is supposed to be the last word of modern thought, and when we arrive, we find that we are living with Walt Whitman's animals who do not analyze, we find that it behooves us to worship and fall down and kneel before the Egyptian Anubis, to whom the world is a smell-scape.

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But really this is nothing new to me. Many years ago I insisted that the way to understand Pindar lay through synthesis, not through analysis. Keeping step with genius is a subtle process. All keeping step is subtle, and the advocate of impression against intellection might quote LIVINGSTONE to his purpose, for LIVINGSTONE agrees with all the fashionables in turn. Now he is an analyst, anon an impressionist and if it were worth while I could make him plead with me the case of Chrétien against Cyrano. Only it is distinctly not worth while. One of our foremost Pindaric scholars, Fraccaroli, has advocated the doctrine that Greek poetry began to decline when consciousness came in (A. J. P. XV 503); and one of his compatriots, Bodrero (A. J. P. XXXI 110), maintains that the coming of Sokrates was the downfall of the true philosophy of life, and evidently has no more respect for the son of Sophroniskos intellectually than old Cato had politically, and Mr. LIVINGSTONE seems to be of the same mind—the Nietzschean mind. The true Greek genius reveals itself in the early period. And then he proceeds to analyze what is unanalyzable, and presents us with a number of Notes of Hellenism. Somehow he reminds one of the *Sylva Nuptialis* of Nevizan, a poem well known to students of such matters. I am not a student of such matters, but I happen to have a copy, and I was amused to find not long ago in a lending library intended for virgins and boys a French translation of the same poem. It is a poem in which the thirty points of female beauty are catalogued with an unsparing minuteness that reminds one of Alkiphron (1, 39). This production of Nevizan's, by the way, came up to my mind again the other day, when I read how a young woman in one of those eugenic debates now so common claimed for herself physical perfection. But despite eugenics, people will not mate on that basis, and I bethought myself of what Mrs. Humphry Ward says in one of her novels, if they may be called novels, that a woman may have all the endowments that could make the ideal wife for such and such a man; and then comes along a girl that has a way with her, and that girl triumphs over the embodiment of all these admirable qualifications.



Now, Hellas is to me the girl that has a way with her, and I don't want her physical and moral and intellectual charms catalogued by Mr. LIVINGSTONE or any other writer. According to Mr. Murray's deliverance, in the *Yale Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, The Tradition of Greek Literature, these charms are largely to be divined. They are not all revealed in the literature that we possess, for, as he urges, we are unhappily dependent on the selection made by unqualified persons of a later day—monks and the like—so that the true springs of Hellenic beauty are to be discovered only by the divining rod of poetical geniuses—such as Mr. Murray himself. Let us thank God that something is left for us poor moderns.

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But that is an aspect of the problem of Hellenism that is not discussed by Mr. LIVINGSTONE, and would hardly be discussed by him at any rate, as he has narrowed his range to the earlier period, to what he considers the characteristic period; and it is in this domain that he undertakes to circulate his Notes of Hellenism. Of course, it may seem strange that I should object to this, for I am a determined analyst, and I have described my proper occupation as the chemical analysis of Greek style. And, which is worse, some years ago I wrote a chapter on Americanism and Hellenism, in which I claimed for Americans all, or nearly all, the characteristics of the ancient Greeks of Mr. LIVINGSTONE's (and Nietzsche's) best period. Here are Mr. LIVINGSTONE's headings: The Note of Beauty, The Note of Freedom, The Note of Directness, The Note of Humanism, The Notes of Sanity and Manysidedness. Now, we Americans are free, we are direct, we are full of a kindly humanity—no people more so. We are sane, too sane to be taken in by Mr. LIVINGSTONE's catch-words. We are manysided, and if one misses the note of beauty, what race of men ever made greater sacrifices to achieve the vision of beauty than we Americans? The poor school-teacher scrapes together all her living for a sight of the wonders of art and nature on the other side of the Atlantic, to the immense surprise of Europeans themselves and the immense profit of hotel-keepers. And if this were not enough, M. Bergson has recently given us a certificate exchangeable for the Note of Beauty.

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But all this analysis is in vain, and my own analysis was not very seriously meant. The chapter may be set down as one of my elaborate jests, and I was frank enough to say at the outset that I was at a loss to characterize Americans. It was plain enough that I did not pin my faith to the three apostles of Americanism there cited—Professor Brander Matthews, Dr. Henry van Dyke, and President Butler. Of these Professor van Dyke,



although his special mission to Europe was to tell Europeans what manner of men we Americans are, nevertheless omitted two of the most salient characteristics of our people, 'our peculiar versatility and temperamental resiliency', to use the elegant language of a reviewer in the *Nation*. Sooth to say, I should not have had the courage to carry out my somewhat sophistic parallel, if I had read the following account of an interview between M. Paul Bourget, who explored America some years ago, and Mark Twain—American of Americans.

'There isn't', Mr. Clemens is reported to have said, 'there isn't a single human characteristic that can be safely labelled American: there isn't a single human ambition or religious trend or drift of thought, or peculiarity of education, or code of principles, or breed of folly, or style of conversation, or preference for a particular subject for discussion, or form of legs or trunk or head or face or expression or complexion or gait or dress or manners or disposition or any other human detail inside or outside that can rationally be generalized as American'.

What Mark Twain has said of America and Americans may be made to apply to Hellas and the Hellenes, and he who should scrutinize closely Mr. LIVINGSTONE's characteristic of the Greek genius will find that there is no consistency in his doctrine, that he tries to be on both sides of the fence at the same time. Our pilot's boat yaws frightfully. The trouble about Mr. LIVINGSTONE is the trouble that affects many persons imperfectly acquainted with Greek. They mistake silences of language for absences of character. A flagrant instance of this is the footnote in which he tells us that there is no recognition of personality among the Greek thinkers—just a faint trace of it somewhere in Aristotle—a remark which I have dealt with in a recent *Brief Mention* (XXXIV 233). He might as well abandon the note of humanism, because the Greeks had no word for humanism, as writers on 'Humanität' have pointed out. But that would be quite in line with the charge brought against the French that they have no 'home' because they have only 'foyer' and 'chez soi'; but they have the thing in a deeper, truer sense, and guard it with more jealous love, than the Briton who packs off his boys to school at the earliest possible date. How often does 'humanity' occur in Shakespeare, whom Mr. LIVINGSTONE has credited with Wordsworth's 'Still, sad music of humanity'? Failing to punctuate,<sup>1</sup> 'still, sad' he has left me still sad at the spectacle of the gyrations of this interpreter of the Greek genius. Euripides, the human, is still Euripides the human, though we can't translate Mrs. Browning's epithet into Greek. Mr. LIVINGSTONE makes merry over those cramped intellects, those befogged brains that after ten years' study cannot give any account of the characteristics

<sup>1</sup> Oddly enough the same failure to punctuate occurs in A. J. P. XXXIII 480, l. 39. I am sorry that I cannot lay hands on a special monograph concerning the oxymora of the Lake School, in which 'still music' would naturally figure.



of the Hellenes, except that the Greeks did not have the same appreciation of scenery that moderns have. He laughs at this solitary characteristic, but does not stop to shew that the same thing is in line with his own method. *Solvitur ambulando*. A visit to the sites of Greek temples would forever dispel such nonsense. But comment on all Mr. LIVINGSTONE's pronouncements would carry me over the whole field of Hellenism, and as he is preaching the same gospel that I have preached for more than half a century, I ought to be as generous as St. Paul tried to be in like case.

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So much for Greek, for it is indeed ungracious in these days, when the love of many waxes lukewarm, to find fault with any encomiast of Hellenic studies; but one more protest must be entered. Greek is not to be extolled to the disparagement of Latin, and Mr. LIVINGSTONE's outgivings as to the Latin language and Roman literature have aroused in me such feelings of resentment as are not yet outworn. The classics were to have been my avocation, not my vocation. Perhaps they are still, but whilst I adored Greek from my early childhood, it was something to be adored, not to be mastered, as it is yet; and when the question of livelihood came up, Latin was to have been the business of my life. But it turned out otherwise. Still there was great joy in my Latin work, and I 'nourished a youth sublime'—in human life nothing but youth is sublime—on both Latin and Greek poetry; and the Latin nourishment stood me in good stead during the darkest days, which were also the noblest days, of a long life—the days when the elect among the combatants North and South lived on a plane lifted far above the mean-nesses of to-day. And so I brush Mr. LIVINGSTONE's sneer at the Roman poets aside. Grecian as I am, I would not give them up for any resuscitated Alexandrians, and when, now many years ago, Mr. Postgate, A. J. P. IV (1883) 209, called Ovid an inferior Cicero in verse, I resented the characteristic as I afterwards resented Daudet's criticism: *Ça un poète? Tout au plus de l'infanterie montée*. Meantime Cicero has come back (A. J. P. XVIII 242), and the *nimum amator ingenii sui* has struck chords in me that have never ceased to vibrate. Just after the war I was called on more than once out of the depths of the gloom and defilement of the reconstruction period for inscriptions in honour of the loved and lost, and responding to the cry 'Sculpe que-relam' for a monument to the memory of the lads of one Virginia school, I bade the head-master carve upon the tablet,

<Hi>bene pro patria cum patriaque iacent,

the lament of Briseis for her brothers in the *Heroides*. That note of despair has been lost in the louder music of our new nationality, but it lingered long; and when shortly afterward (1867) I



sought to build up the waste places of my people in the humble ways of educational endeavour, I set down as a fitting example of the nominative of the infinitive,

Non tam turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum est.

All that is left of it to-day is 'contendisse decorum est'; and when I read the other day that there is to be a monument in honour of the Yale men who fell in the war, whether on the Union or on the Confederate side, I said to myself: What better motto for the joint monument than the 'contendisse decorum est' of the 'inferior Cicero in verse', 'the mounted infantryman' among the winged brotherhood?

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Among the articles summarized by MELTZER<sup>1</sup> that have passed over into the Brugmann-Thumb Syntax is one on the subject of gender, a subject of perennial interest (IGF XXIV 62-69), on which I have had something to say from time to time; e. g., A. J. P. XXV 111, XXVII 361. Years ago Brugmann set his face against fanciful attempts to explain grammatical gender by natural gender, and the paper under consideration is a reinforcement of his famous Princeton discourse. Here as there analogy is shewn to be the potent solvent of such problems as the feminines of the second declension. ἡ ἵππος, 'cavalry', is followed by ἡ κάμηλος, 'camelry', and both are due to the feminine collectives—ἡ ἀσπίς, 'the shield-corps', ἡ αἰχμή 'the spear-corps', and the like. Of course, to a person of my ill-regulated fancy, for which I have been sharply rebuked even in the domain of poetry, in which fancy may be supposed to have some scope (A. J. P. XIV 501), the sexual element will not down; a feminine collective is a mother (S. C. G. 41), and the primal institution of matriarchy comes to the front (see FARNSWORTH'S *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste*). And in these days when sexual hygiene is freely discussed in mixed companies of men and women, I might have no hesitation in taking up the subject again from my point of view. But MELTZER has pronounced Brugmann's paper a model, a gem, 'eine kleine Perle', and I do not wish to be classed among the parishioners of Pater Brey, on whom pearls were thrown away; and what I have to say here is really a glorification of analogy, and so far forth an acceptance of Brugmann's doctrine. Great indeed is the goddess Analogy, but the instances of her power I am about to adduce lie in the opposite direction to that which Brugmann has taken; they are samples of the way in which the termination has been too potent for the grammar, the way in which scholars—and not those of the lowest rank—have yielded to the spell of the final syllable.

<sup>1</sup> Jahresbericht 1904-1910. Cf. A. J. P. XXXIV 370.



And while Brugmann is explaining the way in which the masculine nouns come to be used as feminines, the same nouns are quietly restored to the masculine ranks. I call no names. I might cite the great work of a first-class grammatical authority in which ἡ ὁδός figures as ὁ ὁδός, and my eyes have seen '*hic* Peloponnesus', '*hic* periodus', and '*hic* supellex', in conformity with the rule 'Masculine are nouns in -ex'. The latest example of this deviation occurs in the writings of an illustrious Pindarist, who has emended an epigram of Simonides (A. P. XIII 10, 5) by changing ζαθία in Ἴσθμοῖ ζαθία to ζαθία. 'Der Isthmos', he says confidently, 'ist kein Femininum'. Alas, it is ἡ Ἴσθμός over and over again in Pindar, O. 7, 8; 8, 89; and in I. 1, 32. we find Ἴσθμός ζαθία, the very adjective emended. The usage seems to have been a local one, and while εἰσοδος will occur to everyone as a sufficient analogy, γέφυρα might suggest itself to others, for γέφυρα is Pindaric for the Isthmus of Corinth. Compare N. 6, 40: πάντων γέφυρα, and I. 3, 38: γέφυραν ποντιάδα. The gender seems to me not inappropriate to the genius of the place, the home of the ιεροδουλοὶ and Pindar's πολύξεναι νεάνιδες ἀμφίπολοι Πειθοῦς. The Isthmus was a 'gateway', and the symbolism of gate-money would readily be understood by those who have ever peeped into the Sunday-school literature that has gathered about the Hebrew Daleth. But οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς, and in Athens a more abundant entrance is indicated by Menander's successful rival: ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεφγμένη. εἰς ὁβολός' εἰσπήδησον (Philemon 4, 4 M.). The Isthmus was a door. At all events sexual imagery would have spared the world in this case an unnecessary conjecture, and that is something gained; and not only so, but it would have confirmed the λέναι etymology of Ἴσθμός, despite the 'digammated' Ἴσθμός of the Isthmians.

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As I write, the cable brings the news of the death of Robinson Ellis. Not many weeks have passed since he put forth one of his lectures—'nourished' lectures were they all—so that he must have worked on to the end, a lesson to those who need it. To the world at large he was the great editor of Catullus, though he edited so much else. To me he was a sympathetic friend and a generous helper in giving the American Journal of Philology the professional stamp, not yet effaced by the fantasies of *Brief Mention*; and as a manner of memorial I give here a list of what he wrote for the Journal, and another list of the reviews consecrated to his work:

- I 389-401: The Neapolitanus of Propertius.
- II 411-424: On the Fragments of Sophocles.
- III 485: Review of Buecheler's Petronii Satirae et Liber Priapeorum.
- IV 210-211: Coniecturae Babrianae.
- V 1-15; 145-163: On the Elegies of Maximianus.



- VI 285-295: Remarks on Vol. II of Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*.
- VII 224-227: Corrections in the Text of Parthenius.  
 310-324: Phillips Glossary.  
 239-243: Review of Plessis' *Études Critiques sur Properce*.  
 88-91: Review of Schenkl's *Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica*.
- VIII 1-14: On some Disputed Passages of the *Ciris*.  
 399-414: Further Notes on the *Ciris*.
- IX 474: Elegia in Maecenatem, 61, 2.  
 362-363: Review of Rubensohn's *Crinagoras*.  
 265-273: Enoch of Ascoli's MS of the Elegia in Maecenatem.
- X 159-164: A Contribution to the History of the Transmission of Classical Literature in the Middle Ages, from Oxford MSS.  
 208-209: Two Conjectures on the *Dirae* and *Lydia*.
- XI 1-15: The *Dirae* of Valerius Cato.  
 137-144: Suggestions on the 3d Vol. of Kock's *Fragmenta Comicorum Atticorum*.  
 357: *Ciris*, 470-472.
- XII 348-349: Callim. *Lauacr. Pallad.*, 93-97.  
 481-485: *Ad nova fragmenta Antiopes*.
- XIII 343-348: *Ovidiana*.
- XIV 350-361: Suggestions on some epigrams of the 3d Vol. of Didot-Cougny's edition of the *Anthologia Palatina*.
- XV 233-235: Review of Bröring, *Quaestiones Maximianae*.  
 469-494: New Suggestions on the *Ciris*.
- XVI 498-506: Review of Herwerden's *Εὐριπίδου Ἑλένη*, and Jerram's *Euripides, Helena*.
- XXI 76-77: Notes on the Recently Discovered Elegy of Poseidippus.
- XXIII 204-206: New Conjectures on Parthenius' *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*.
- XXVI 437-440: *Culex*, 367, 8 and *Ciris*, 66.
- XXIX 178-185: Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's *Comedies of Menander*.
- Reviews:
- III 86-89: Gildersleeve's Review of Ellis's *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis*.  
 VI 229-230: Warren's review of Ellis's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.  
 IX 359-362: Ashburner's review of Ellis's *Fables of Avianus*.  
 XI 93-95: Klapp's review of Ellis's *Catullus*.  
 XIII 101-103: Warren's review of Ellis's *Noctes Manilianae sive dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii*.
- XXV 357 ff.: Brief Mention of Ellis's *Correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius*.
- XXX 360: Brief Mention of Ellis on *Latin*.

Long before I knew him personally, I was much stirred by his translation of Catullus in the metres of the original. This was in my own translating days, before I had realized the hopelessness of translation, at least for myself; and I was naturally much interested in comparing my handiwork with his. In 1880, one of my memorable years, I went abroad in the interest of the *Journal*, and for the first time came into personal relations with English classicists; and the early numbers of the *Journal* shew that I had succeeded in enlisting the help of Oxford and Cambridge scholars of mark. Of the classical men whom I met during that summer, Robinson Ellis gave me the most cordial welcome, shewed the deepest interest in my project, and proved to be the most conspicuous and steadfast contributor to the work



that has absorbed so much of my time and energy. After my return we exchanged letters from time to time until of late years, when his eyes failed, and he ceased to send me those marvellous specimens of chirography, which by reason of the minuteness and intricacy of the characters were as perilous to the eyesight of others as his incessant reading of manuscripts had been to his own. A man who could illustrate a Latin commentary by a reference to Brer Rabbit cannot be said to have been out of touch with our times, and yet I have always felt as if I had been privileged to know one of the great scholars of the past, with their bewildering wealth of first-hand knowledge and their immediate vision. His interpretations often seemed to be fanciful, his conjectures too acute to be convincing, but the massiveness and the genuineness of his learning held my critical temper in check; and I shall cherish the memory of his friendship as a precious possession. Two visions of my kind host, my sympathetic correspondent, abide in my chamber of imagery. One as he sat in his rooms poring over a yellow parchment MS. lighted by two candles. No figure more like one of the pictures of those large-limbed scholars of the old days whom he delighted to honour. 'A book-worm, a candle-waster'<sup>1</sup> he would have been called by the wits of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, to which he seemed to belong. The other as he stood in a pouring rain, over against the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and recited to me pages of Petronius, not contained in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of the *Satyricon*. His last lecture was on the *Amores* of Ovid. Vast, varied, and vivid was his knowledge of those ranges of antique life and literature, and he would not have disdained the association of his name with that of Peter Burmann.

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W. A. M.: Cicero says, to be sure, in his hurried letter to his brother Quintus (II 9, 3) that the poem of Lucretius had *ingenium* and *ars*, and Suetonius (p. 38 R.), that Cicero 'emended' it; but if there was anything that Cicero despised it was Epicureanism and all its literary works, and there is no other evidence that he ever read Lucretius or took other contemporary poets seriously. And yet, if he was asked to launch the dead poet's work—a tribute to his good nature and reputation (Pliny, Ep. III 13)—the natural thing for him to do would have been to turn the job over to Tiro, his man of all work. And this I think he did: Tiro put the book together and published it, and the great orator got the credit. This is the only solution that gives me any peace of mind in this much debated matter. Lersch had somewhat the same opinion many years ago (*Röm. Diorthosen* 19).

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* III 2.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR KENT (A. J. P. XXXIV, 315-321).

Sir: If Professor Kent—whose bibliographic zeal and scholarly enthusiasm I highly regard—had conducted his first preliminary studies on Lucilius' I and EI rules (AJP. 32, 272-293) under the good guidance of the concluding sentiment of his second paper neither article could ever have been written. Had he but read to the end the text of Ter. Scaurus (*aetate Hadriani*) to whom we owe the quatrain that has troubled him he would have met a passage—which, with its authenticity of 1800 years, he seems to have overlooked, even after I cited it for him in AJP. 33, 315, § 10—a passage plainly certifying the absolute correctness, *et literatim et punctuatim*, of the quatrain as diplomatically printed by Goetz and Schoell in their Varro (p. 207):

m<e> ille<sup>1</sup> hominum, duo m<e> ilia, item huc E utroque  
opus, m<e> il[i]e<s>,  
m<e> ilitiam, tenues I: pilam in qua lusimus; pilum,  
quo piso, tenues; si plura haec feceris pila,  
quae iacimus, addes E, peila<sup>1</sup> ut plenius fiat.

A dozen pages off in Keil (p. 32)—but on the next page in Goetz and Schoell, who attribute the words ultimately to Varro—Scaurus picks up again the "plural rule" and writes:

si autem cum eadem [i]<sup>2</sup> littera aliud breve aliud longum est, ut illa [et]<sup>2</sup> pila, apices ibi poni debent, ubi [h]isdem litteris alia atque alia res designatur, ut vénit et venit, áret et aret, légit et legit ceteraque his similia; super I tamen litteram apex non ponitur: melius enim I <in> pila in longum producetur.

If language means anything the words *illa pila* in this context refer to the Lucilian quatrain, and objectively certify that Lucilius wrote here not only a *pila* but a *pila(m)*, and *pila(m)* objectively

<sup>1</sup> Varro's charge (AJP. 33, 314) of inconsistency in the application of the plural rule (ib. 313, § 5) applies on the face of things chiefly to the singular, albeit very large plural, *meille*; but probably did include a censure of Lucilius for extending the rule for the plural termination *-ei* to other syllables (*meilia peila*). Keil must have been right in supplying for Varro-Scaurus as follows (7. 18. 12); cum alioqui i non aliud in singulari quam <in plurali neque aliud in media> quam in extrema syllaba sonet, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The excision of *i* is quite acceptable, but it is more than likely that we should read *illa* <*pila*> *et pila*, to conform to *venit et vénit* (better than *vénit et venit*) later on.



(i. e. metrically) certifies *i* before it,<sup>1</sup> which certifies in turn that *tenuēs i*<sup>1</sup> refers to *pīla(m)*. The phrasing *tenuēs i pīla(m)*, etc. is further objectively certified by the chiasmic antithesis of the cola *tenuēs i<sup>1</sup> pilam in qua lusimus* × *pilum quo piso tenuēs* (type *abc* × *c'(b')a<sup>2</sup>*; or, if we read *piso* <*I*><sup>1</sup> *tenuēs*, *c'b'a*). Now the certification of *tenuēs i pīla(m)* fixes the reference of *item huc E* to *m<e>iles m<e>litiam* and *item* certifies to *m<e>ille m<e>ilia*. Incidentally, *pīla* proves *lusimus*<sup>3</sup> and by merely allowing him a characteristically Latin tense usage vindicates for Lucilius a bit of poesy, an allusion to "auld lang syne", that Professor Kent deems queer.

Those who interpret the Lucilian *i/ei* rules as mnemonic can realize in all of his examples the "plural-collective rule" (33, 313, § 10; 315, § 11), and have no occasion to challenge the substantial correctness of the orthographical tradition behind the rules for final syllables. In not following the early epigraphic orthography of *miles* (*mille* not being so determined) Lucilius deviates from the correct tradition; and as Varro, who was doing his spellings at school less than a decade after the probable publication (33, 312) of Lucilius' rules, criticizes him (*supra* fn. 1) for using *ei* in singulars and <in medial as well as> in final syllables—a criticism as applicable to *meiles* and *peilia* as to *meille*—we have no warrant to ascribe to Lucilius any further motive than to arrange mnemonics in terms of the "plural-collective rule". I may again call attention to the probable bearings of the "military rule" (33, 316), which was taking root as early as Vel. Longus (*ap. Marx II* 134).

But a correct tradition of derivation may lie behind Lucilius' grouping of *meiles* with *meille*, for we have no ground for suspecting either the historical correctness or the post-Lucilian origin of Varro's statement (33, 315) that 1000 men per tribe constituted the original legion of 3000. And thence Varro derived *miles* from *mille*. Further cf. Mommsen on the decimal political units of the primitive Roman burgesses (*Hist. of Rome I*, p. 101), and again Mommsen defines *mil-es* as 'tausend-

<sup>1</sup> That a Roman actually engaged in contrasting *i* brevis with *I* longa (i. e. "tall *I*") pronounced and was always bound to pronounce the designation of *i* by the name of *I* were past belief. Moreover, as we actually have the tall *I* on stone as early as 646 a. u. c. (v. Christiansen *de apicibus*, p. 28), only a decade after Lucilius wrote his rules, it was doubtless open to him to write in his text *i* and *I*, and that by a graphic symbolism so obvious that it may be as old as Plautus (see Lindsay *L. L.*, p. 10), even though the stone-cutters left this schoolroom invention so long unused.

<sup>2</sup> This (b') is the *I* of *pilum* as heard after *i pīla(m)*. Cf. Virgil, *G. I.* 299 *nudus ara* × *sere nudus* (type *ab* × *b'a*), elliptical for (*agros*) *n. a.* × *s. n.* (*agros*) = (*a*)*bc* × *c'b(a)*.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Kent actually emended *pīlam in qua lusimus* to *pīlam in qua pinsimus*, in spite of the express statement of Mar. Victorinus (*ap. Marx II*, p. 134) that Vel. Longus changed *pilum* to *pīla* 'concinnitatis causa', so that when Longus writes *pīla in qua pinsitur* we really know that he substituted this for Lucilius' own *pilum quo piso* (see 33, 315 fn. 2).



gänger'. The decimal organization of the army is shown by the title of the *centurio* (from *cent[un-t]urio* = 'hundred-ruler', see Fay, Bull. Univ. of Texas, No. 263, p. 43).

May I call attention, at the end, *pro domo mea*, to the corroboration of my claim of genetic relationship between *pilum* 'pestle' and *peila* 'javelins' by Kropatschek's demonstration (ap. AJP. 34, 319<sup>2</sup>) on archaeological and historical grounds of the same relationship?<sup>1</sup>

Ehrlich's claim of pre-Latin *-i* from *-ei* (34, 320) was also staked out by me in 33, 313; and in an essay of March, 1911, (now in type for IF.) I took the position that in pre-Latin *humi* (whence we best explain the *humus* paradigm) *-i* was from *-AI* (in *χαμ-ai*), because it was an iambic word. In an essay of the same period, still unpublished, I maintained that the *-i* of *Brundis(i)i* represented an IE. reduction of *-(Y)AI*. Thus much to establish my entire independence of Ehrlich as regards the final *-i* diphthongs in Latin.

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<sup>1</sup> Lexical development is infinitely rough, infinitely subtle. Thus Eng. *pounds* = 'uses a pestle', but also 'fires a heavy shot'; *rod* = 'shaft of a spear' (Oxf. Dict. s. v. III 8), but also 'small piece of wood <spillikin> used in calculating' (ib. II 6b). Cf. *κόπανον* 'axe, pestle'. The Etruscan *pilum praeferratum* (Blümner, Techn. I. 19), working in a tubular 'mortar', must have been quite javelin-like. As to taking *peila* for the plural of *pilum* we may ponder on Fr. *ciseau* 'chisel': *ciseaux* 'scissors'; or on Eng. *drawers* (plur. tantum): *drawer*.



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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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